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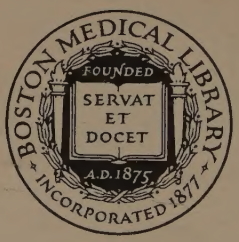

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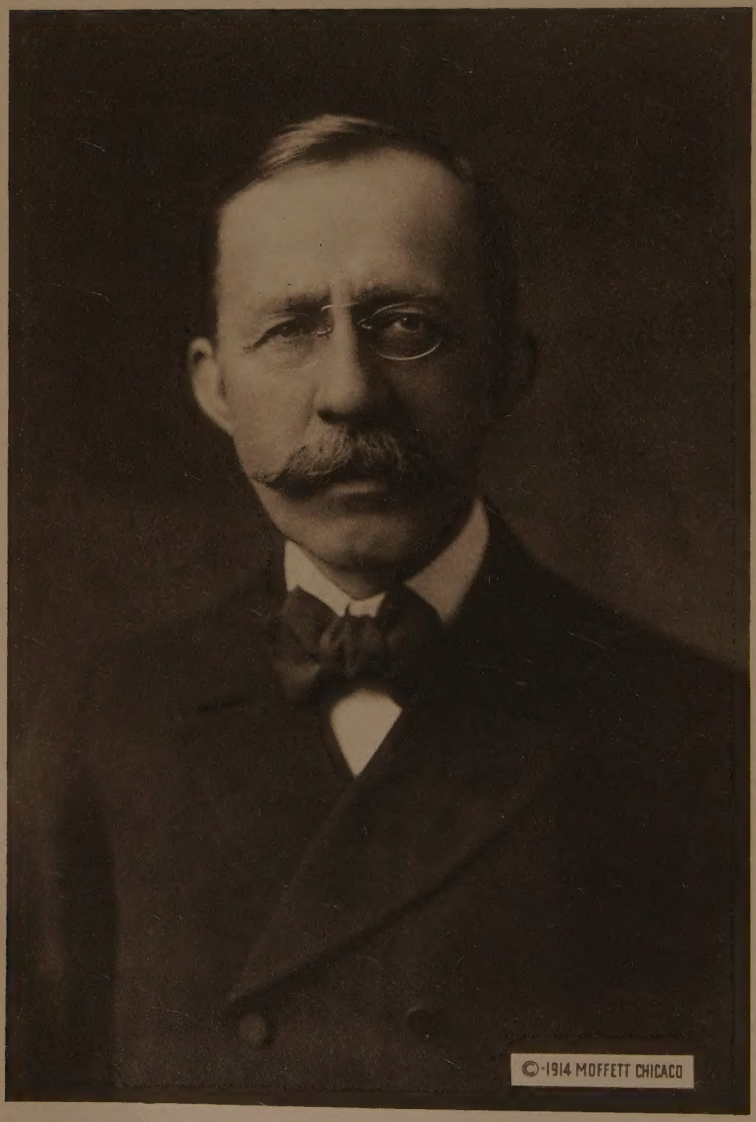

Graham Taylor

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSION

HELD IN

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

MAY 8-15, 1914

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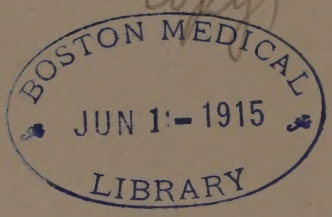

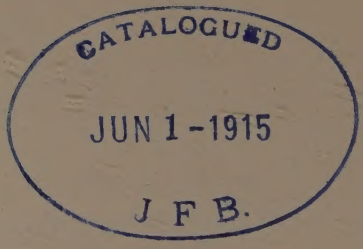

PREFACE

The general title of this volume tends to conceal a literature of most striking character and value. If, instead of calling the work "Proceedings", we should let it take its name from the section on Social Hygiene it might appear as "An Appeal to the New Conscience"; if from the strategic attack in the field of Corrections on the failure of American treatment of the misdemeanant, "Hope for the Minor Offender". So any one of a dozen titles would be appropriate, from "Neighborhood Democracy" to " The Menace of Feeble-mindedness". But for these forty-one years the series has appeared under the general name "Proceedings". Perhaps, however, this very continuing title itself may contain the most progressive suggestion.

One objective, always apparent in the discussions of this body, was unusually paramount at Memphis. From beginning to end, either by direct application or illustrative reference, the nature and importance of the community program was set forth. The poverty, vice, mental defect, and delinquency of a certain community is to be reduced: by what institutional means or what development of public opinion is this general improvement to be made? To the new member or casual reader this idea may serve as a link of unity among such seeming diversity of thought.

The Memphis meeting brought the National Conference again closely in contact with the social questions of the South. The reception was so cordial and the experience so beneficial and alluring that the stay is to be prolonged. The 1915 Conference is to be held in Baltimore May 12-19. A Baltimorean by birth and long service, Mrs. John M. Glenn, now of New York City, is the new president. The momentous events of the present year presage a memorable conference.

Chicago, October 1, 1914. WILLIAM T. CROSS.

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Proceedings of the Forty-first
National Conference of Charities and Correction

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The County—A Challenge to Humanized Politics and Volunteer Co-operation

Graham Taylor, Chicago.

No greater transition in the tendencies of the times has faced the National Conference of Charities and Correction in the forty years of its experience than that which confronts us who have entered upon the fifth decade of its survey and service. It is the tendency to entrust to public administration and support humanitarian functions which for most of the centuries were recognized as the exclusive prerogative of religion and are still for the most part fulfilled by volunteer agencies in and outside of the churches. Any present transitional tendency is more quickly and better understood when it has some counterpart in the past which affords at least background to furnish perspective and sense of proportion. Arnold Toynbee's advice to read history with present problems in mind is as effectual when reversed and we try to read the present with history in mind.

The Chartist movement in England seventy-seven years ago furnishes a prophetic situation predictive at least of some phases of present tendencies involving humanitarian needs and resources. Then as now the rising cost of living was rapidly reducing the standard of living. Then as now unemployment and dependency were resented as an injury to which charity added insult. Then as now the recognition of the right to live was taken to involve the concession of the right to work for a living. Then as now the righting of social wrongs was claimed to be the primary function of politics. Therefore the "people's charter" was demanded from Parliament then, just as the referendum and initiative and the recall are demanded of our legislatures now. Then the extension of the franchise to disfranchised men was demanded, as it now is to disfranchised women, in response to and in fulfillment of a new incursion of race consciousness. Then as now religion was stoutly held to be accountable both for this divine discontent and for its human satisfaction. Then began in Britain the modern Christian social movement, which now finds religious expression in every language and gathers force in many forms of faith.

Denatured Politics

Then it was that Frederick Denison Maurice gathered together the broken promises and the shattered hopes of his own troublous times in a prophecy of the humanizing of religion and of the religionizing of politics, which is the most significant tendency of our times.

This is his prediction of the rise of politics for the people out of the denatured partisanship which has dehumanized government:

"Politics have been separated from household ties and affection, from art and science and literature. While they belong to parties, they have no connection with what is human and universal; when they become politics for the people, they are found to take in a very large field; whatever concerns man as a social being must be included in them.

"Politics have been separated from Christianity; religious men have supposed that their only business was with the world to come; political men have declared that the present world is governed on entirely different principles than that. But politics for the people cannot be separated from religion. The world is governed by God; this is the rich man's comfort, this is the real hope in the consideration of all questions, let them be as hard of solution as they may; this is the pledge that Liberty, Fraternity, Unity, under some conditions or other, are intended for every people under heaven."

Humanized Local Government

To whatever personal or political motives we may attribute the taking over of humanitarian functions by town and county, by city and state, we can scarcely fail to account for the country-wide, well nigh world-wide, movement to do so as an overflow of religion into politics, or at least as the state's assumption of the social results of the church's initiative. Certainly nothing could so impressively attest the fact that religion has builded better than it knew as to find the state becoming more of a schoolmaster than the church, to find the county taking care of more sick and aged, widows and children, than the churches can care for; to find the city sheltering more homeless strangers than were ever found within the gates of the Christian hospice, protecting children exposed to their own or others' waywardness, doing justice and loving mercy, if not walking humbly before God.

But these very facts face both politics and religion with a serious challenge. Can politics become religious enough to fulfil these sacred humanitarian functions in the spirit and with the purpose of religion? Can religion imbue the people with an ideal and spirit of statesmanship that will be adequate to evolve the charity of today into the justice of tomorrow? If so, politics and religion must accept and meet this challenge at the one point where local government is loading up most heavily with human functions and yet is the most neglected of all our political units—the county.

County—Oldest and Most Pervasive Government

In direct descent from the "shire," which is the earliest form of popular government, the county is our oldest political unit. As such, the primary and most essential functions of government naturally gravitate to it, except in New England and some sections of the South where the town and district precede and supersede the county. It is the most pervasive of all American local governments, covering the country in every state as the very warp and woof of the national fabric.

There are 2,952 counties in the United States reported by the census of 1910. Five-sixths of them are rural, ten per cent. of them having no incorporated municipalities. The 115 semi-urban counties, having an urban population of from 50,000 to 500,000, include 13,000,000 inhabitants. There are eight great city counties having populations of 500,000 and over. The county is also the most prevalent political unit, not only permeating our whole legislative, judicial and administrative system, but being the mold in which our party organization is cast. Our machinery for nominating and electing officials is centered in the county, and the "county central committee" is almost everywhere the most active and potent of our party organizations.

Executive and Humanitarian Functions

In addition to these undergirding responsibilities, the county is invested with these specific executive functions which are quite as essential to all government; levying and collecting taxes, making and keeping open the ways of communication by constructing and maintaining roads and bridges, preserving order and administering justice through the sheriffs' office, the courts, justices and constables, and even by the militia in earlier times, protecting life through the coroner's office, managing and supporting schools, registering and recording deeds, wills and vital statistics, licensing certain sales, as of liquor, and legislating by the referendum for the restriction or prohibition of such sale.

To these governmental functions of the county there have been added, and with rapidly increasing volume of late, the relief of the poor, at the almhouse and at home through the county agent, by the funds to parents or widows' pensions; the care and cure of the sick in general hospitals and in sanitariums for tuberculosis patients; the custody of the feeble-minded, insane, and epileptic; the arrest, conviction and punishment of misdemeanants and criminals, and the custody and probationary care of juvenile delinquents.

County Service in a Great City

The extensive and intensive work of the county, which, with varying form and degree, but of the same kind, is the prerogative of every county, cannot be better illustrated perhaps than by massing the over-

whelming volume of Cook county's service to the people of Chicago and surrounding towns.

As required by law, it held last year national, state, county and municipal elections and primaries. It maintained the county building, ten stories high, occupying half a block, containing offices and the courts, and a criminal court building and jail occupying another half block; it constructed and maintained roads and bridges over an area of 993 square miles, excepting the 191 square miles within the city limits of Chicago.

It provided 1,400 teachers for 40,000 pupils in schools of the outlying towns.

It recorded all deeds determining the title of real estate and documents affecting the title to personal property for a population of 2,546,000 people.

It issued and recorded marriage licenses for 36,000 couples, and granted saloon licenses outside the city.

It levied, assessed, collected and allotted to the state, county and municipal governments an annual revenue of about $47,000,000.

It served legal process and enforced court orders upon 191,469 persons.

It maintained the circuit court with 10,898 suits and 25,000 litigants, the superior court with 5,770 cases and 12,000 litigants, the probate court with 4,412 cases, the county court with 5,925 cases, the criminal court with 3,500 prosecutions.

It housed, fed and cared for about 11,000 prisoners in the county jail, nearly 10,000 of whom required medical treatment for infectious diseases.

It maintained public order in case of riots.

It gathered in, temporarily cared for and committed to state asylums or discharged 2,334 insane patients.

It assumed and maintained care for 10,597 delinquent and dependent children.

It isolated and stamped out contagion.

It housed, fed and furnished medical and surgical treatment for 34,000 sick people, 1,000 tuberculosis patients, and 3,000 aged, infirm or irresponsible people.

It supplied food, clothing and fuel to about 200,000 persons; buried 978 pauper and friendless dead, and granted $165,000 to 350 indigent mothers for the support of 1,126 children. To perform this service it required the full time of 3,000 employes and part-time of about 10,000 others. The appropriations of Cook county for 1913 total $7,072,486.96.

The cost of county government and service is reported by the United States census to be in New England at the rate of $.92 per capita, in the southern states $1.20, in the central states $2.30, in the western states $6.25 and aggregating the total expenditure in all the 2,952 counties of the enormous sum of $300,000,000 a year—nearly half as much as the national government costs.

The county seat is therefore the center of more governmental activities and human service than any other seat of government. It is the rural capital of a great majority of the American people, and is the executive office of many of the most important of the great cities' functions.

Neglect Coincident with Growth

Coincident with the growth of its functions in diversity, human importance, administrative exactions and political power, the county has suffered from its own citizens' neglect, the consequent inefficiency of its officials and the partisan perversion of its prerogatives and powers.

This is everywhere evident in the carelessness, inaccuracy and illegality with which public records and accounts of the counties are kept; in the confusion, lack of co-ordination of its laws and methods of procedure in its relation to the city and the state; in the evil conditions prevailing in county jails, almshouses, provisions for dependent and neglected children and public health, which this National Conference has ever exposed and always sought to improve. The negelect of the county by voters, taxpayers and people is still more glaring than the inefficiency and corruption of its administration which is due thereto.

This ignorance and indifference justify one of our foremost investigators of county affairs in declaring that "we are still, as a people, profoundly ignorant of the particular functions which the county fulfils in our national economy and, except in specific instances of graft, exposé, taxpayers' suits, and sporadic achievements in the line of research and reform, we are still at a loss to put our fingers upon the county's sore spots."

Decline of Rural Counties

Nevertheless the spots are so sore that the secretary of the National Federation of Retail Merchants recently reported to the President of the United States that while the population of the whole country was increasing twenty-one per cent, no less than 217 of the 777 county seats in nine states, including New York and Pennsylvania on the east, Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin on the west, lost population, as have 6,956 of their towns.

Although this loss is attributed to the competitions with the great centers which cause the elimination of the small retail merchants, yet it is noted as surprising that it has taken place at county seats, which are "in many ways the center of most of the activities of the county unit along the line of politics, courts, collection of taxes, and in other directions. And strange to say, this tendency of the decline of the towns is greatest in the richest and most thickly settled parts of the states."

May it not be due in part to the citizens' neglect to promote their

own interests by the development of the public resources and agencies of their rural counties? Still greater and more disastrous is the neglect of county government by the citizens of great cities just in proportion as its exactions, expenditures and human responsibilities increase to the maximum. Just there, where the most money, public welfare and personal suffering are at stake, good citizenship is weakest and partisan exploitation worst.

Causes of Inefficiency

There are in the county system itself very obvious causes for inefficiency in administration aside from the sheer neglect of the voters. Counties differ so greatly in their area—from 25 square miles to 20,490 square miles; in their population—from 5,000 to 2,500,000; in social and industrial conditions—from a scattered, native, farming community to the largest and most cosmopolitan manufacturing and commercial centers. Counties differ widely also in their very types of organization derived from their origin and in their very diverse inherited methods of administration. Therefore it has been impossible to standardize their form and management. In each state the counties have drifted on their devious ways without comparing themselves either with each other, or with those of other states. Criticism and correction have been difficult and ineffective.

Legislation has either ignored the county and left its primitive forms and methods to be outgrown and restrictive of growth, or it has still further embarrassed county administration by a patch-work of confused and often conflicting laws, which have made good government impossible and left officials uncertain of their obligations and without supervision. Local governments of the town, municipality and the county have thus been left, each to go its own way, without correlation or co-operation either with each other or with the state.

The resulting confusion and conflict, duplication and waste widely prevalent have never been more effectively exposed than by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency in its report on the nineteen local governments in Chicago. There are actually twenty-six within the territory in which citizens of Chicago live, and within the county of Cook there are no less than 300 taxing bodies, the county clerk spreading 366 separate taxes.

Beyond the Limits of Democracy

Every elector of the county living in Chicago is expected to vote for 69 county officials, of whom the report declares "each one is practically independent of all the others and is responsible for his conduct in office only to himself and to the people who elect him. There is nowhere in the county government any central, co-ordinating official or body." During a period of nine years this same elector is summoned by national, state and local elections to choose officials for 144 different elective positions.

On the combined national, state, county and judicial ballot voted at Chicago at the November election in 1912, there were 440 names of candidates.

If anything were lacking at least to extenuate the city voter's neglect of the county, surely sufficient shelter from full blame is afforded him by such measurements of how far and fast the limits of democracy have been transcended. But he has still more to excuse him, for the advantage in this situation given to and taken by partisan politics rounds fully out the overwhelming odds against intelligent and patriotic voting.

As we have seen, the county is the most permanent and effective seat of partisan politics in America. The county seat is actually the seat of the county central committee. It, or the county boss, actually selects the county commissioners and other officials whom the bewildered voters are supposed to freely elect. When their selection is made formal at the polls, it has been truly said that "the only man competent to issue orders to county officers that they shall do thus and so, or, failing to obey, shall be disciplined; the only man competent to enforce these orders is that unofficial but most powerful being, the county boss." The contracts let by county officials and far more the fees and salaries of some of them, which in some city counties far exceed the salary of the President of the United States, are tributary to the treasury of the dominant party's county organization.

Thus the vicious circle goes on its endless round. Thus despite, and even because of, the increasing expenditure and human importance of county administration, inefficiency and neglect have increasingly characterized and scandalized it the country over, with comparatively few conspicuous exceptions.

At last this gauntlet, which has so long been flung at the feet of local patriotism and which has been left to lie there so shamelessly long, is being picked up here and there by those who can no longer tolerate politics which have no connection with what is human, or religion which is separated from such human interests as are at stake in local politics. Household ties and affection are beginning to intertwine themselves in the affairs of households of civic as well as of religious fellowship. The people's politics is asserting itself in determined efforts to understand, simplify, unify and humanize local governments.

Transferring County Functions to State

This movement has at present two tendencies in dealing with the difficulties of county administration. One is virtually to abolish the county by transferring its functions to the state.

This suggestion comes chiefly from city dwellers who are so overwhelmed by the complexity of their multiple local governments, and the inefficiency and corruption involved thereby, as to despair of any simplification or solution of their problem, except by the elimination of this one

of its main factors. They argue, and with much force, that the state whose legislature makes the laws should control the state's attorney who can either execute or nullify them, as his county constituents may direct. They plead that the coroner's office can be effectively filled only by the appointment of an official who can meet both the medical and judicial exactions of a function that belongs to the state and not to the county, where "great power and great obscurity" are entrusted almost inevitably to "a person of no special ability or character." They cite the necessity and advantage which have led to the transference of the care of the insane, the epileptic, feeble-minded, the delinquent, from the county to the state. Thus, one after another, they propose to eliminate the functions of the county by merging them either with those of the state or the municipality.

County Home Rule Charters

The other tendency in dealing with the difficulties of county organization is toward reconstituting county governments by home-rule charters. Recognizing on the one hand that the county is too deeply rooted in the ground plan of our entire system of government, of the judiciary and of party organization, to be eliminated; and on the other hand, that the county is the principal, if not the only, governmental agency through which our rural people, who constitute 42 per cent of our entire population, do the things that each man, woman and child of them must have done, these promoters of the county as a democratic unit propose to adapt it to each of three differing conditions.

Commission Government for Counties

Counties including agricultural areas and rural towns may be adapted to the commission form of government with a county manager. The bill providing for this change which is urged by the New York Short Ballot Association, has in part at least been anticipated in Shelby County, Tennessee, of which Memphis is the county seat. The act, as affirmed by the chancery court, while leaving the justices of the peace their constitutional prerogative of constituting the legal county government, transferred the actual management of the county affairs to three commissioners by authorizing them to conduct the department of workhouse and turnpike roads, the department of county health, and the department of purchasing and finance. The bill proposed for New York state provides for three county supervisors at large, one to be elected each year, who shall appoint a county manager to be their executive officer, purchasing agent and general overseer of all county work and institutions, with power to appoint their superintendents, together with the county treasurer and attorney.

County and Municipal Federation

For the second class of counties, which includes both rural and city communities, a federation is proposed which, while leaving each local community intact and free to develop its own interests, invests the delegated county board with the powers of a central governing body over the police, the civil service and the election of superior judges, the appointment of the sheriff, the court clerks and public administrator being left with these judges. This plan, which also provides for the short ballot and the county manager, was elicited by Alameda county, California, in its quest for a better adjustment of taxes for its city and country communities. Much is hoped from the fellowship of such a county federation in promoting a community of interests between the city and country people, and in interesting private citizens in their public county affairs. In counties including cities of the first class, it is proposed to make their areas practically co-terminous, so that the functions of both may be combined, as they are in New York, San Francisco, St. Louis, and will be in every great city.

It has been well said that in spite of the county's "monotonous tone, its semi-legal atmosphere, its lack of popular appeal to the imagination, our national reconstructive genius has at last fastened upon the county as a fallow field for its operations." It is evidenced by the rise of such investigating bodies as the Westchester County Research Bureau, such propagandism as that of the New York Short Ballot Association, such expert agencies as the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York city and the Bureau of Public Efficiency in Chicago, and such groups as are undertaking local surveys of rural and municipal communities.

Farmers Abdicating Citizenship

In one such rural township of Minnesota the investigators were met with such expressions of indifference to citizenship and contempt for politics as these: "The more Americanized we are getting to be, the poorer citizens we become;" "a farmer of today won't even read or talk about politics, to say nothing of going to political meetings;" "what's the use of farmers taking off time for politics when the whole thing is run by political bosses anyway?" "I am ignorant of politics and proud of it, for that is no business for an honest man;" "what were town halls ever built for anyway?" "The school buildings are large enough for the turnouts we have at elections and town meetings too, where only about 50 men, out of 160 eligible voters show up for town meetings and less than two-thirds vote at a general election."

But the more public-spirited farmers of this community thought that "schools run by the government certainly should do more to acquaint the growing generation with practical knowledge about government." "We need young men," they said, "who will understand the organization

of society in government, and who clearly see the relation between the local township and the county organization, and the connections between the county, state and federal governments. Then farmers will get to see how vitally their own welfare connects up with governmental activities."

County Base for People's Politics

Thus not any too soon, but all too late, politics is being disconnected from mere partisanship and identified with what is human and universal, with what concerns man as an individual and as a social being. In so doing, the county may well be made the local base for democratic participation in government. Its care for roads and water, for health and sanitation, for the poor and the afflicted, for the courts and their administration of justice, certainly makes its service very human and of interest to every individual. The county lies all around and very close to every home and neighborhood, every one's home town and city, and therefore ought to be, and can become, the framework for the fellowships formed about those most primitive and personal possessions.

All this humanizing of politics and extension of local and state governments seems to be superseding those very voluntary agencies which have given birth to the humanitarian spirit and have borne the burden and the brunt of giving to it all its varied and costly expression. But never will history let us forget that from the beginning until now it has been the function of these volunteer agencies to initiate, to experiment, to demonstrate. They still will be called upon to exercise these functions before any branch of government will feel authorized to take over and carry on what is thus attested.

Volunteer Functions Indispensable

Never in all the history of their long relationship to public agencies have the volunteer agencies, including the churches, been more absolutely indispensable than now. For, with the progress of the democratic state, with the extension of the franchise to women and the foreign-born on the largest scale ever attempted, with the placing of more and more responsibility upon the individual citizen, with the ever-increasing exactions upon officials, the public agencies were never more dependent upon the active, intelligent, constant co-operation of volunteer agencies and private citizens than now.

We who constitute the membership and administrative forces of these private agencies should look upon their overflow into public policy and administration with gratitude untouched by jealousy. No greater attestation could be given our motives and our methods than to have them built into the ideals and structure and standards of the community. Nothing could have been better for the progress of legislation and official administration than to have had these new responsibilities and functions

entrusted to the public agencies and built into the very framework of the state. Thus we have been humanizing government. We have been idealizing politics. We have been more or less fraternizing the business of public affairs. We have added professional status to competent public officials by sharing with them these great humanitarian functions now belonging to the town, the county, the municipality and the state.

Public and Volunteer Agencies Interdependent

Instances multiply which demonstrate not only the practicability and efficiency of co-operation, but also clearly show that so great has become the interdependence of the public and volunteer agencies, officials and private citizens, that one cannot succeed if the other fails. These instances are conspicuous in the four fields of administration, legislation, civic training and the social application of religion.

First and most fundamental in the field of administration is the co-operation between such volunteer, expert agencies as the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency with the official agencies charged with making and standardizing budgets and public accounts. Resentful suspicions and self-defensive antagonisms are at this crucial point giving way to sympathetic and constructive co-operation, greatly to the public welfare. City clubs, both of men and of women, are setting the type and method of intelligent participation in public affairs which can be carried on and out into the administration of town and village, county and state.

Publicity is not only thus best given to the conduct of public affairs, but public opinion thus brings to bear its promptings and deterrents upon such critical issues as the granting of public utility franchises and the issuance of bonds.

The coroner of Cook county, startled by the increasing inquests involving preventable deaths—nearly 5,000 a year in Cook county, and 123,000 last year in all counties, while in four years of the Civil War not more than 90,000 on both sides were killed in battle—appealed for a commission of public safety to help prevent the needless slaughter. In response the great railways, trolley lines, transfer companies, automobile manufacturers, machine shop managers and trade unionists lined up with public officials of the health, police and other departments to examine the causes and unite to prevent so-called accidental deaths.

So infant welfare associations are co-operating with local health departments and the Federal Children's Bureau for the prevention of our excessive rate of infant mortality which is reported by Miss Lathrop, chief of the Bureau, to involve the deaths of at least 300,000 babies annually, before they have completed one year of life.

Effective Co-operation

The effectiveness of such co-operation strikingly appears in the humanizing of the administration of justice. Juvenile court committees and the Juvenile Protective Association support and aid judges and probation officers in their difficult and delicate task of supplementing family discipline. At Chicago the County Court is assisted by four social investigators to report antecedents and surroundings in cases of insanity. The Juvenile Court has thus secured a woman assistant to the judge who hears the cases of delinquent girls in the privacy of the court chambers. The Court of Domestic Relations has a trained social worker to advise the distraught women. Both courts have a rest room for the women and a nursery for the children. The Boys' Court, for those over the juvenile court age, has trained investigators and advisers at work with the judge. The Morals Court, dealing with victimized girls and wayward women, has also women assistants who work in co-operation with women police officers.

In preventive and constructive effort commercial bodies and women's clubs are working with school boards and park commissions to develop the neighborhood use of school buildings and the establishment of playgrounds and recreation centers.

Out of such co-operation such social work has been added to municipal and county service as that so successfully administered by the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare and that which has recently been undertaken jointly by city and county at St. Joseph, Missouri, under the Board of Public Welfare, and at Chicago by the county Bureau of Public Welfare, which assumes investigation and after-care of the families of inmates in the county infirmary for the poor, the tuberculosis hospital, the county jail, and other public institutions.

In the field of national, state and local legislation, volunteer and expert organizations are more and more effectively supplanting the secret lobby of special interests. Such co-operative bodies are recognized by our legislatures and courts as valuably co-operating in the delicate and difficult adjustment of law to the needs of life, of judicial justice to the ever advancing demands of social justice.

Training for Efficient Service

To awaken and guide this new interest in public affairs among both private citizens and public officials, far more efficient training for volunteer and official service must be more widely furnished by public and professional schools, and by such a specialized journal as *The Survey*. The most hopeful sign of the times is that so many of the regular occupations in life are felt to have a social bearing upon community welfare. In rural communities, bankers, lumber dealers and other tradesmen are being urged at their conventions and by their trade journals to become "community builders" in their small towns and agricultural

counties and are taking a new interest in village improvement, town planning and county administration.

To bear home to the hearts and consciences of those in training for all occupations, this loyalty to public welfare in their private pursuits is the highest service which teachers and trainers can render the commonwealth. Manufacturing and commercial men need to be taught and inspired to regard the safety and welfare of the human elements of their plants as not only promotive of business efficiency, but as their responsibility in promoting public welfare. Doctors need to be imbued with the prior claim upon them to co-operate with health departments and commissions in assuring public health by the improvement of sanitary and hygienic conditions, at whatever cost to their curative work and its rewards. Lawyers' patriotic, expert service is desperately needed in the framing of laws and ordinances, for the prevention of unnecessary and wasteful litigation, for the simplification of legal procedure, as well as in the manifold administration of law. A new professional ethic must be taught in medical and law schools if the claims of humanity and the state are to be considered paramount to the opportunities for personal gain at public expense. So, too, teachers and ministers have not all yet heard the divine and human call to build the community up out of their schools and churches, and not church and school out of the community, nor have they learned how to do it.

To train the leaders of this volunteer rank and file in all the occupations of life, technical schools for civic and social training have arisen to meet the demand, either independently or in affiliation with university graduate schools. They have amply demonstrated the need for this new specialized education, in that their offer to furnish trained workers has created a demand for them so great that the supply has never yet been sufficient to fill the old and new positions requiring special training. But these very leaders must depend for their rank and file, not only upon the academic discipline given the fewer in the higher educational institutions and the practical work for rural citizenship by agricultural colleges, but also upon the incentive to good citizenship prompted in the youth of the high schools, and in the boys and girls all down the line in the grade schools.

Civic Test of Religion

Humanized politics and volunteer co-operation put up to the churches the most imperative claim for the greatest service which their respective communities and their common country have ever demanded of them. Never were their religious ideals of life, individual and collective, more essential; never was their inspiration to seek and realize these ideals more needed; never was the power for service which religion begets in the self-emptied, God-possessed personality, more absolutely essential than now not only to the progress but to the very self-preservation of the state. Slowly but surely literature and life, declarations of industrial

and social principles, community surveys and activities, Y. M. C. A. county work, and above all, organized and federated co-operation of the churches, are pledging their obedience to this imperative mandate of God and man.

There is at last a growing conviction that even the church cannot succeed if the community fails, and that the community cannot succeed if the church fails. The citizen is feeling his need of religion in "facing all that is disagreeable and problematic in democracy, concealing nothing, blinking nothing away, and at the same time, keeping his will strong and temperate, so that its edge will never turn." For the citizen "to meet all his social obligations properly, to pay all his political debts joyously, never to throw a glance over his shoulder to the monastery—this is a mighty day's work."

One of the keenest satires on the failure and futility of much church work to meet the demands of the times, ends with this frankest confession of the need of it in a democracy, and this noble insistence upon the dependence of social justice upon religion: "Nothing but a church will do. All the other schemes of democracy come to naught for want of that. The lecture platform is no substitute for Sinai. Democracy is a religion or nothing, with its doctrine, its forms, its ritual, its ceremonies, its government as a church—above all, its organized sacrifice of the altar, the sacrifice of self. Democracy must get rid of the natural man, of each for himself, and have a new birth into the spiritual man, the ideal self of each for all. Without religion, how is man, the essentially religious animal, to face the most tremendous of all problems —social justice?"

CONFERENCE SERMON

The Message of Religion to Social Workers

Rev. James I. Vance, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tennessee.

Text: "Now abideth faith, hope, love." 1 Cor. 13: 13.

My subject is the message of religion to social workers. Were the occasion different, I might reverse the theme, and speak on the message of social workers to religion, to the church,—on the message which the people who are striving to make the earth a more decent place to live in have for the people who are striving to prepare the people of the earth for a more decent habitation.

I am not only willing, but eager, to admit that there is something for the church to learn from the agencies at work in the world today for social uplift. As a minister, I hail any help that can come from anywhere toward solving the problems which have to do with lending a helping hand to our brothers and sisters who have become lamed in the struggle of life. At other sessions of this Conference we preachers, whose work is chiefly spiritual, and incidentally social, sit at the feet of trained and experienced leaders in the field of social redemption, and listen to what they can tell us of the best ways to help humanity.

But is there not also something for the agencies at work for social betterment to learn from the church, and should not any toiler for the common good, any friend of the man who is down or out or wrong, any apostle to the underfed and underclothed and underpaid and undertaught, any evangelist to defectives and dependents, any reformer whose work is chiefly social and only incidentally spiritual, hail any help which may come from anywhere that will make easier and surer the passing of the slum, and the lifting into health and happiness of the hurt children of our race? And this is the particular session of the Conference at which the church may give its message, at which social workers sit at the feet of religion to listen to any word of encouragement and advice it may have to offer as to the best ways to perform our common task.

For let us not for a moment imagine that in any sense our word is different. Let us not proceed on the theory that the preacher or church worker in his distinctive sphere and the reformer or social worker in his distinctive sphere are dealing with hostile problems,

or seeking separate goals; for they are not. Both are trying to save the world, if you will put into salvation as big a meaning as He put into it Who died to save the world. When the Son of Man said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me", he wiped out all sectional and sectarian and national and class and creed and color and age lines, and pronounced for the sanctity of our common humanity. When He said: "Whosoever shall give a cup of cold water to a disciple in my name shall not lose his reward", He tore to rags every veil priestcraft would hang between the common life and religion's holy of holies, and made everything that is secular spiritual, and so everything that is spiritual secular. Social workers are religious leaders, and religious leaders are social workers. Let us recognize the divine solidarity of our mutual task; for the God Who leads us is one God, and He is in all life.

Nevertheless, while our goal is the same, the tools we use are different, and our vision of the common task which confronts us varies; so that, as we work away, it may be helful for us now and then to pause in our toil and look up and salute each other, and listen to what our brothers who labor on another part of the work may have to say about efficiency; for efficiency is the big purpose in a Conference like this. The annual Conference of Charities and Correction is vastly more than a pow-wow of sentimental altruists. It is a gathering of scientific specialists, in which each, from the angle of his personal training and experience, gives to all the others his estimate of the best ways to reach the common goal. The sermon of the Conference is the message of religion to this end.

What, then, has the church to say to social workers? What contribution can religion make to the forces which labor to destroy the social evil and the drink curse, to secure better laws and kinder conditions for childhood and womanhood and wage-earners, to institute a saner treatment of drunkards, drug victims, prostitutes, and criminals, and to open a door of hope to all the defectives and dependents of the race? The message is threefold. "Now abideth faith, hope, love."

Faith

It is first a message of faith. It declares that you cannot save the world without God. Faith stands for the recognition of the spiritual forces at work for the world's redemption. It declares that there is something beyond good laws and just wages, beyond eugenics and environment, heredity and health, fresh air and recreation centers, and well-cooked food, beyond charity and philanthropy. It is worship. It is the soul's passion for God. It is the hunger of the human heart for its Heavenly Father. This is the deepest cry of human nature. God made us for Himself, and our hearts are restless until they find rest in Him. Man has forever, and no program of human betterment is adequate which leaves the eternal out of the count.

You must go further back than social conditions for the causes of social unrest. You must go deeper down than the dirt of a slum to find the explanation of the ruin of a soul. Why do certain people yield to certain temptations and get into trouble? Why are some of the members of our human family in the penitentiary this morning, and other members of the same family here in the church? It is no answer to say that it is because some of us have succeeded in not getting caught. Why are there defectives and criminals and paupers? You say that it is because of heredity and environment, but your theory breaks down before you get three steps from your front door. Many with the best heredity and environment are traveling the lost trail. You must dig deeper. You must get down to personality. If the patient is ever cured, the remedy must reach not merely his surroundings, but him, his inner life.

Man is essentially a spirit, and incidentally a body. He is a soul, and merely has a body. While his body reacts tremendously on his soul, only a soul can lift the body. During the recent past, we have swung away from this, and our theories of life, our methods of education, and our schemes for human betterment have been dominated by materialism; but the pendulum is swinging the other way now, for we have found that no scheme of salvation really arrives which stops short of the spiritual center of man's being.

Since man is essentially spirit, any permanent betterment of the individual and of society—for society can never be better than its constituent units—must be more than skin deep. It is not enough to clean up the environment, and give the man a better house and better wages and cleaner diversion. All this must be done, of course. But we must make the man who lives in the house better. We must change him, regenerate him. You cannot cure appendicitis with the color of the wallpaper. Let us write down as an axiom in our work that any effort to improve society which leaves out of account the improvement of the individual is doomed to failure, and that any effort to improve the individual which leaves out of account the spiritual part of his being is already a dismal failure.

All future progress for man must be in the spiritual realm. If there is to be any further evolution, it must be of the soul and character. There is no sign that man is growing a better digestion, better blood, better taste, smell, sight, but there are abundant signs of soul-growth. You can see him climb up when the spiritual is quickened, and take on God-like qualities.

Therefore, an atheistic social worker is an anomaly. "The fool hath said is his heart, There is no God." The man who starts out to save the world, and who begins by throwing the church on the slag dump and relegating everything religious to the scrap heap, will never get anywhere. He is like a man who tries to run a street car, and who begins by severing all contact with the power-house.

"And now abideth faith—." Faith is here to stay. We can never get along without it. We can never save the world without God, for to save the world, one must do more than throw up a dirt-bank against a yellow peril. He must conquer the flood of pauperism, vice, crime, and suffering. Society needs more than a shelter. It needs a lift.

Hope

The message of religion to social workers is also a message of hope. Hope is the assurance of victory. It is the confident certainty of success. It is a glimpse of the heights while you are away down in the valley. It is a sight of the goal while you are still weary miles from its radiant rest. Indeed, hope is more than this. It is a glimpse of the heights while you are away down in the valley, and living in the valley as if you were already on the heights. It is a sight of the goal while you are still weary miles from its radiant rest, and living as you will when the goal is reached. Hope is nursing in your heart the quiet courage and the serene confidence which come from certainty of success. It is seeing how things are going to be, and living as if they were that already. Hope is standing in the thick of the world's woe and want, in its shabby tumbledown tenements, amid its squalor and filth, its famished and wronged people, with a gibbering idiot at your side, with a man in prison stripes under your eyes, with a dead child in your arms, with the din of human wrong in your ears and the seething woe of human sin swarming before and sickening your soul; and there singing a song, and looking past it all to where the shadows lift and the everlasting morning breaks. This is glorious hope, and it is the second word in religion's message to social workers.

It is the declaration that we are bound to win. Evil is only temporary. Nothing that is bad has any future but a grave. We are saved by hope. Religion declares there are no hopeless cases. No matter how bad the individual may be, he is not all bad. There is something left in him to work on. I believe in original depravity, but my creed does not stop there. It does not even start there. I believe in aboriginal divinity. God made us, and somewhere in every life, however much in ruins, there remains the tracery of the Maker's hands.

Religion is a message of hope because it is a message of life, and life is stronger than environment. If religion could promise us nothing but an improved environment, the prospects would be poor; but life creates its own environment. Watch that river grind a channel for itself through the solid rock; watch a snow-drop crack wide a stone pavement. Life is invincible, and the Savior of all that is lost said: "I am come that ye might have life, and have it more abundantly." The hope which religion offers surpasses our sublimest expectations. Christ's dream is world-conquest, and this conquest expresses itself in a kingdom "of whose increase there shall be no end", in a state of society where things are to keep on getting better forever. And so the church

says to the social worker: "Paint your fairest picture, sing your sweetest song, climb to your highest summit, and know that the reality is all this, and more."

"And now abideth hope—". Hope is not a mirage, a mist, a fog-bank topped off with shimmering moonlight. Hope has foundations. It abides. So gird your loins afresh. We are not in a losing business. The good is bound to win. God is the force which makes for righteousness, happiness and redemption, both social and personal, and He is on the throne. The new heavens and the new earth are coming, and every slum must go. Hallelujah!

Love

The crowing message of religion to social workers is love.

Love is the constructive force of the world. Love is the redemptive influence of the race. Love is the transforming power of society. Love is the regenerating touch in the individual. Love is the civilizing spirit of mankind. It is love that works miracles, miracles of healing, of comfort and courage and inspiration, of reformation and redemption. The victory of love is the perfect victory.

I am not unmindful of the value of system and organization. I am not pleading that social workers be maudlin, sentimental, and unscientific; but we must not worship our tools, nor be so tenacious of our system as to make the people we try to help its victims. There are social workers all of whose altruistic impulses run to machinery. They want society saved scientifically, and they are sometimes so obsessed with the scientific method that they forget poor people have feelings.

The Savior came to love us into greatness. He has compassion. It was something to Him that people were in trouble, sick, poor, oppressed. It all broke over His great heart. He shared it all. This was the very heart of the atonement. The atonement is not a dogma, but the Son of Man showing the world that God has a heart. No one can ever be so bad as to forfeit the Savior's love, and the sole and supreme qualification for service which He demanded of Simon Peter that fateful morning by Galilee was "Lovest thou me?"

If we are to help people, we must care for them. "Write me as one who loves his fellowman." Deliver me from a man who is a mere professional in anything,—from a preacher who is a professional soul-saver, from a social worker whose interest in people is like that of a biologist in his specimens, whose concern for the world is purely academic, who goes down into the slum for materials for a magazine article as a sociologist, to pick up the rags of the poor wretches who tenant those haunts of misery and hang them out on the literary lines at twenty dollars a page! The world is hungry for love. When we love people as Christ did, we will be able to do for them what He did. "And now abideth faith, hope, love, and the greatest of these is love."

Such is the message of religion to social workers. Faith is the

recognition of the spiritual, hope is the assurance of victory, and love is the constructive force in humanity. Our work is vast, but we are not alone. Our task is hard, but it is not impossible. Our duties are difficult, but love will find a way. There is much to do,—thank God there is! Life need never be stale. Thank God for the chance to do something for somebody, and for the sublime example of Him Who still stands in the midst of the world's servants, Who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister", and Whose word to all the social workers of the world is, "Whosoever loseth his life shall find it!"

CORRECTIONS

At the evening session of this Committee, May thirteenth, the entire Police Department of Memphis were present, assembled in uniform.

Report of the Committee—The Treatment of the Misdemeanant.*

Amos W. Butler, Secretary, Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis, Chairman.

Who knows how many persons are confined in local jails in the United States? Who comprehends the magnitude of the problems involved? How many appreciate its relation to the individual, to his family, to society?

The Bureau of the Census tells us that 452,055 persons were committed to county and municipal prisons in 1910, under sentence or for non-payment of fine.** We call them misdemeanants. It is the name ordinarily given one whose offense the law does not deem sufficiently serious to warrant a state prison sentence. If the ratio of commitments to the whole number received is the same throughout the United States as in Indiana, it is probable that one and one-half million people annually come under the influence of these local prisons.

We know that jails are the spoil of partisan politics. They are maintained largely on the fee basis. Most of them were built without any proper idea of the purpose they were intended to serve. As a rule they are insanitary, they lack proper provision for separating the sexes and there is no means of employment. Often they are crowded far beyond their capacity. There is little attempt to classify the prisoners. They congregate in the corridors and the older and more experienced in criminal ways instruct the others in vice, immorality and crime. In how many such institutions are women not only waited upon but searched by men?

The late Samuel J. Barrows once remarked: "Back in 1867 a committee of the New York Legislature said: 'There is no one source of crime more operative in the multiplication of thieves and burglars than the common jail,' and that statement still remains true of a large number of jails throughout the country."

*General Session, May 13, 8:00 P. M.
**Bulletin No. 121, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Many of you heard Dr. F. H. Wines' scathing denunciation of these institutions.* Delegates to the International Prison Congress who visited this country in 1910 declared our local jail system as bad as it was centuries ago in Europe. "Every jail I saw ought to be wiped off the face of the earth," said Thomas Holmes, secretary of the Howard Association of London, and this was the general verdict of these distinguished prison officials and penologists. It was the idleness of the prisoners, the lack of fresh air, the indiscriminate mingling, the long delayed trials that impressed them so unfavorably. "I asked two colored men how long they would be in and they said they did not know; that they had waited eleven days for a trial," said Dr. Eugene Borel, professor of law in the University of Geneva, Switzerland. "That is a shocking travesty of justice. In Europe a prisoner gets a hearing within twenty-four hours."

Yet under such conditions as these we detain hundreds of thousands of persons,—the vagrant, the drunkard, the witness, the run-away boy, the first offender, the hardened criminal, the man awaiting trial, the convicted law-breaker. What can we expect but that they will degenerate in body, mind and morals? Even where work is provided, as is done in some larger jails and workhouses, it is under the old contract system, which we should all like to see abolished. In some states misdemeanants are employed on the public highways. However successful this may be in some parts of the country, it would probably not be in conformity with the public sense in the more thickly settled communities, or practicable to any great extent in the more northern latitudes.

The Misdemeanant Neglected

The whole question of the apprehension, treatment and release of the misdemeanant is of tremendous importance. While prison reforms are coming with surprising rapidity, they have been confined largely to the felon. The misdemeanant has been neglected.

In the first place, what are the qualifications of the average policeman? Ordinarily he is without training or experience. His politics have usually had more to do with his appointment than any other consideration. What part can such a policeman play in an enlightened system of penology?

In a number of states the constitution proclaims that the penal code shall be founded on principles of reformation and not of vindictive justice. How far has that been interpreted in the statute laws? The provision of most of our state constitutions that justice shall be administered "speedily and without delay" is wholly forgotten. We generally think that the day of imprisonment for debt is past. Yet many jail prisoners are held for debt—the fine assessed against them. The man of means pays his fine and goes free; the man without money suffers

* Proc. N. C. C. C., 1911, p. 52.

imprisonment under conditions which menace health and morals. It frequently becomes necessary for his family to ask for help; sometimes he loses his job. If he becomes embittered, or vindictive, need we wonder at it?

The picture is not all dark. Here and there light is breaking through. We are coming to understand that the policeman can be a social agent, a next friend, an instructor in obedience to the law. We are beginning to regard as the best officer the one who makes the fewest, not the most arrests. In some cities women are being added to the police force, and there are police matrons, and jail matrons, and even women judges.

"Humanizing the courts" is an expression coming more and more into use. Instead of sending to jail men who are unable to pay their fines, judges are releasing them conditionally and giving them a chance to earn the money. The plan works admirably. Judges are finding that their confidence is seldom misplaced. This principle has been enacted into law in Massachusetts and other states. Elsewhere it has been practiced without special authority of law. In New York State the probation law provides for the collection of fines on probation and also for restitution on probation.

We are further coming to believe that too many persons are sent to prison. Some states have adopted a system of probation, under which many law-breakers are reclaimed to society without the stigma of a prison sentence. Probation has been successfully tried in Massachusetts, New York and other states.

We have learned too, the value of the farm colony for the open air employment of almost all classes of public wards. This has been applied to the insane in Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Indiana; to epileptics in New York, New Jersey and Indiana; to feeble-minded in Massachusetts, New Jersey and Indiana; to both dependent and delinquent children in many states, and more recently to certain classes of prisoners including all kinds of misdemeanants of both sexes. What is being done at Cleveland, at Occoquan and at Guelph is well known. The most recent development of this movement is the New York State Farm for Women Misdemeanants. The simple, inexpensive, yet substantial form of buildings, the freer life, and the opportunity to contribute in part at least to their own support, make it far better for the inmates and cheaper to the taxpayer.

In Indiana the first step in this direction came about through the establishment in 1907 of a state workhouse for women misdemeanants as a branch of the Women's Prison at Indianapolis. The institution is entirely in control of women. Then the Board of State Charities began a vigorous campaign for a state farm for male misdemeanants. Conditions in the county jails were shown forth in the following paragraph:

HOW PRISONERS LIVE AND LEARN IN INDIANA COUNTY JAILS.

They live in idleness at the expense of the taxpayer.

They learn vice, immorality and crime.

They become educated in criminal ways.

They degenerate both physically and morally.

In 1913 an appropriation was secured, the land has now been purchased, and work on the buildings will soon begin. The law contemplates that the construction work shall be done largely by State Prison and Reformatory men. The new institution is for men who have a jail sentence of sixty days or more, and prisoners may be transferred from the state institutions whenever room for them exists at the farm. Eventually there will probably be several such farms in the state, and this movement, with proper amendments to existing laws, should in time do away with the use of the county jails for the confinement of convicted offenders, and leave them only as places of detention.

We now look forward to the time when we shall have a form of indeterminate sentence for misdemeanants. The success of this form of sentence for felons in Indiana as in many other states justifies our belief that it will prove valuable in the treatment of misdemeanants. Certainly some improvement can be made over the present illogical short sentence, which benefits neither the individual nor the public in whose name he is held.

New York has already taken an important step in this direction. Misdemeanants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are to be committed under an indeterminate sentence to the reformatory for this class of offenders, authorized by the legislature of 1912. The site for this new institution has not yet been located. It is the purpose of those interested to place it on a farm and to make it one of the most complete and modern of reformatories.

State Control of County Jails

Another needed reform, state control of county jails, is receiving some attention. J. S. Gibbons, Chairman of the Prison Board of Ireland, said: "I tell you what I think you lose sight of in this country—that all these splendid reformatories deal with merely a drop in the ocean compared with the county and city jails to which your thousands of prisoners go and where many are manufactured. We were in exactly the same condition up to 1877 when we brought county and city jails out from under local authorities in the United Kingdom. We found the antecedent to all reform was state centralization. In 1877 every prison and jail was put under central administrative authority and the expenses paid out of the imperial funds. Three acts were passed simultaneously for the three kingdoms. We then began at the bottom,

closing all the superfluous ones, and in that way we were able to close about half."

I have the following statement from Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, of England: "The Prison Act, 1877, transferred the Local Prisons of this Country (i. e. prisons for the confinement of all classes of prisoners other than those sentenced to penal servitude) from the control of local "Visiting Magistrates" to that of the State. The Act came into effect on the 1st day of April, 1878, 113 Local Prisons being so transferred. Since that date, their number has been reduced to 56. At the time of their transfer, the Local Prison population stood at 21,030—the highest known. From that date a continuous fall was recorded until 1885, when the numbers reached slightly over 15,000. After a series of fluctuations below and above this number, the population stands at 15,000 at the present time. Relatively to the total population of the country, the figure for 1878 represented 686 committals per 100,000, while that for the year ended 31st March, 1912, was the lowest on record, viz:—439 per 100,000."

Massachusetts, perhaps, has led the agitation in this country for state control of county jails. In other states there has been some publicity in favor of such action. An offender against the federal law becomes a prisoner of the United States and is under the direction of the federal judge. Why should one who violates a state law not be a prisoner of the state? That is the theory which underlies the new law for jail supervision in Indiana. Offenders against the state law have been placed under the oversight and authority of the judge of the circuit or criminal court, who is a state officer. This judge may say where and how the prisoner shall be detained. and if the jail is unsatisfactory he may condemn it. He is authorized to prescribe rules formulated by the Board of State Charities which has supervision of all jails and other public charitable and correctional institutions. A violation of these rules, once entered in his order book, is in effect a contempt of court.

While these advance steps have been taken, the reform is by no means general. Most of the states continue to use, unchanged, the system long since discarded in Europe, whence it came. The results are not reformatory. On the contrary, they are destructive alike to the individual and those with whom he later comes in contact. Local jails are recruiting stations for our larger state correctional institutions. We should make greater progress in reformation if we did not first pollute the stream we are going to treat.

The outlook is not bright, but it is by no means hopeless. The evils which exist are the natural result of the system we adopted. Let us change the system. Let us begin at the bottom and study all the steps in the treatment of the offender—his apprehension, detention, trial, conviction, probation, confinement, treatment, employment, conditional release, final discharge. Let us set as our goal:

1. A system of police recognizing character, merit and efficiency in the personnel and a proper social view for its operations.
2. A prompt hearing for every person arrested.
3. The establishment of juvenile courts for all children's cases.
4. Provision for the care and detention of delinquent children outside the jail.
5. A probation system for adults similar to that of juvenile courts.
6. Separate trials for women offenders.
7. A modification of the present system of fines in order not to discriminate against the poor.
8. Classification of prisoners, confinement of individuals apart from each other and absolute sex separation in county jails.
9. The prohibition of the use of the jail for any other purpose than that of temporary detention.
10. The abolition of the fee system.
11. State control of all minor prisons.
12. The establishment of industrial farms for convicted misdemeanants.
13. A form of indeterminate sentence for misdemeanants.
14. Their release on parole under supervision.
15. The abolition of contract labor.

The following members of the Committee on Corrections approve and sign the report: Major R. W. McClaughry, Julian W. Mack, Arthur W. Towne, Frank E. Wade, Joseph P. Byers, John J. Sonsteby, Quincy A. Myers, W. H. Moyer, A. J. G. Wells, J. A. McCullough, John H. DeWitt, Archdeacon B. M. Spurr, Amos W. Butler. Mr. E. Stagg Whitin disagrees with what is said about the employment of convict labor on public highways in the more thickly settled northern states.

MR. BUTLER, CHAIRMAN: In line with the outline I have given, I present as the next speaker a gentleman who, as judge of the Municipal Court of Indianapolis, has worked out a system of releasing prisoners to pay their fines and costs. He also established a separate court for women offenders, and a domestic relations court,—Hon. James A. Collins, formerly judge of the Municipal Court of Indianapolis.

HUMANIZING A COURT

James A. Collins, Former City Judge, Indianapolis, Ind.

It is not my purpose to present a theory for dealing with the poor and unfortunate who make up the daily toll of police duty but the actual working of a definite plan.

Probation has been defined as a judicial system under which an offender against penal law, instead of being imprisoned, is given an opportunity to reform himself under supervision and subject to condi-

tions imposed by the court to the end that if he makes good no penalty will be imposed. The enactment of a law by the legislature of Indiana in 1907, under which courts may exercise the right to suspend sentence or withhold judgment in the case of adults, made possible the application of the probation system in the administration of justice in circuit and criminal courts and courts having concurrent jurisdiction. The probation method of dealing with minor offenders in our state was an attempt to follow the spirit of the constitutional provision, "That the penal code shall be founded on the principles of reformation and not of vindictive justice."

The aim of the City Court of Indianapolis during my term of four years was to administer justice tempered with humanity. The welfare of the unfortunates, the saving of women and children from hunger and want was to the court a matter of much greater moment than the piling up of a vast amount of fines and costs. If the efficiency of the court was to be determined by the number of dollars and cents wrested from offenders, then the constitutional provision above referred to should be re-written and the law of 1907 repealed. Such a step, however, would be to turn back the dial of human progress one hundred years. So long as the constitution and the laws of the state permit, the people will demand that justice shall be administered upon humane lines.

In order that the best possible results might be obtained both for society and the individual, the probation system as established in the City Court of Indianapolis contemplated the following:

1. The Suspended Sentence

The power to suspend sentence where the circumstances seemed to justify has saved many novices in crime from undergoing the harsh punishment that would otherwise be meted out to them and that seems to be contrary to the constitutional provision that "All penalties shall be proportioned according to the nature of the offense." As has been well said, the system under which a father and husband pleading guilty to a charge of larceny based upon the taking of a bundle of oats or a loaf of bread was sent up, was often sure to work brutal injustice. That it continued as long as it did is a remarkable fact.

During my term I suspended judgment in 700 cases and withheld judgment in 7559. Of this latter class less than 3% were returned for a second or subsequent offense.

While there is no provision under the law for the employment of paid probation officers, adequate supervision in 575 cases was made possible by good citizens volunteering to serve in that capacity. These probationers were required to furnish the court a monthly report signed by the probation officer. Time will not permit the details of these reports. Each tells its own story of heroic efforts toward right living.

2. Paying Fines on Instalments

The payment of money fines on instalment was a new departure in the administration of justice. The old method of collecting money fines which compelled the defendant to pay or replevy the same moment he was fined was always a source of great hardship on the poor. It was unreasonable to expect a common laborer arrested late at night and convicted in the morning to be prepared to settle with the state. If he was unable to pay or make arrangements to have his fine staid for the statutory period, he was sent to prison, not because the court had given him a term of imprisonment, but because he was poor, which is in effect imprisonment for debt. The pitiable scenes of wives and mothers and sobbing children crowding the corridors of the court pleading for the release of a husband or father against whom a money fine had been assessed and who was utterly without money to stay or pay the same, was a powerful argument in favor of a plan that would relieve such a deplorable situation.

The power to parole a misdemeanant carried with it the power to direct him to pay into the probation department a dollar a week toward the satisfaction of a fine and costs to be assessed against him when the final payment was made.

Such a plan as this requires no legislative action and could be introduced into any court where the judge has such powers as are granted the courts of Indiana.

In city courts defendants may be divided into three classes: those who can pay the fines assessed them, those who would pay if they had a chance, and those who wouldn't pay if they could and couldn't if they would. The middle class represents very largely mechanics, clerks and laborers, in no sense criminals, but who for some breach of the peace are brought into court and who are generally of a deserving character. It is to this class that the work has been directed. A money fine is their punishment, but instead of imprisoning them they are paroled with instructions to pay into the probation department each week one dollar or as much more as can be spared from the family treasury until the amount indicated by the court is paid in full. During the four years that this plan was in operation these probationers paid into the court $34,014.00.

Out of 3,832 persons placed on probation to pay fines 3,220 paid their fines and costs in full, while 102 were given credit for partial payments and committed to serve out the balance. However, 205 were unable to pay anything and were committed to the jail or workhouse. In 152 cases the circumstances of the families were such that the court felt justified in withholding judgment rather than committing the defendants. Out of the entire number placed on probation 143 did not live up to their agreement with the court and re-arrest was ordered in each of those cases.

The plan operated to the benefit of the individual in several ways:

It saved him his employment, it saved his family from humiliation and disgrace, but more than all it saved his self-respect.

3. Drunkenness and the Pledge System

No unfortunates appeal more strongly to the court than the victims of the liquor habit. In all cases of first offenders charged with being drunk and where the defendant had others dependent upon him for support, the court made it a condition on withholding judgment or suspending the sentence that the defendant take the pledge for a period varying from six months to one year. 382 pledges were taken, all of which were kept faithfully but 27.

When the family or relatives could afford it persons were sent to institutions for treatment, and the record shows but one failure. Where the financial conditions of the defendent were such that he could not pay for the treatment, arrangements were made for the payment of the money into the probation department in weekly instalments, thus assuring the defendant the benefit of the treatment and the institution the satisfaction of its debt. With the assistance of W. H. Roll, a volunteer probation officer, supervision was successfully provided for 136 men charged with drunkenness who had reached the down-and-out stage. Without friends and relatives, and in many cases unemployed, these men were drifting into a condition where they would soon become public charges. The reports furnished the court show that this timely help and assistance was the means of saving these men to useful citizenship.

In the severe cases where the defendant was bordering on delirium tremens, he was committed to the workhouse and the superintendent informed of his condition. While there was no special arrangement for the treatment of inebriates at the workhouse the superintendent successfully provided a separate department in the wing formerly used as the woman's prison. These cases were thoroughly examined by the physician in charge, and such medical and special attention given to them as the circumstances seemed to justify. Although these facilities were inadequate, nevertheless a splendid work was done among this class of unfortunates and harmless offenders.

4. Medical and Surgical Treatment

It was not an infrequent experience for the court to find persons charged with offenses of a character that disclosed physical or mental defects. Arrangements were always made for medical care and treatment. In meeting the problem presented by such conditions the court had the co-operation and assistance of the superintendent of the City Hospital, as well as some of the best known physicians and surgeons of Indianapolis.

5. Imprisonment of Minors

One of the most difficult problems that confronted the court was the disposition of minors when the offense was so serious that the interests of society would be subserved by incarceration. Through an arrangement with the superintendent of the workhouse an unused wing of the building was set apart for such offenders and in this way they were kept separate and apart from the old and hardened offenders.

6. Restitution

The criminal code of Indiana is absolutely silent upon the question of recovery for loss or damage to property and injuries to the persons growing out of criminal acts except that in cases of malicious trespass the court may fine a defendant a sum equal to twice the amount of the property damaged. To fine a person double the value of the property damaged and because of his failure to pay the same, place the additional burden on the citizens of supporting him in the workhouse or jail seems in itself an absurdity.

As a part of the probation plan the court required every person charged with any offense involving the loss or damage to property and injuries to the person to make full and complete restitution to the injured party before the final disposition of the case. Upon a proper showing that restitution had been made the court was in a position to take such action as the other facts in the case justified. Under this plan $7,166.83 restitution money was recovered and paid over to the proper parties.

7. Separate Session for the Trial of Women

To Amos W. Butler and Demarchus C. Brown, of the Board of State Charities, was due the credit for the suggestion of a separate session for the women and girls. Acting upon this suggestion the court set apart Wednesday afternoon for the trial of such cases. To the local Council of Women was due the credit of putting the suggestion into effect by guarantying the expense of a woman probation officer for the court. To make the separate trials of women and girls something more than a perfunctory task an adequate system of investigation and supervision was absolutely essential. Like all innovations connected with matters pertaining to the work of the police, it was at first looked upon as a fad and predictions were freely made that the life of the plan would be short because of the nature of the work and the rapidity with which it must be discharged. But notwithstanding the criticisms it proved to be a sane and wholesome method of dealing with the delinquent women of the city.

The legislature of 1911 enacted a law providing for the appointment of a court matron in cities of the first and second class, and this act prescribed her duties as follows: "She shall, under the direction of the judge of the city court, investigate and report to such judge upon

the past histories, conditions of living, morals and character and habits of all women and girls awaiting trial in such city court and shall have supervision of such women and girls while not in actual custody until final disposition of the charges against them." As a result of this legislation a definite work is now being done throughout the state in aiding and assisting a class of women heretofore most shamefully neglected.

The following report by Mrs. E. P. Hopkins, court matron, who had charge of the investigation and supervision of women during my term, tells its own story:

Total number of cases investigated	586
Judgment withheld	317
Fined	28
Committed to Women's Prison and Jail	61
Dismissed	90
Discharged	26
Continued Indefinitely	38
Judgment Suspended	19
Sent to Grand Jury	6
Committed to House of Good Shepherd	1

Of this number 69 were placed on probation under the supervision of volunteer probation officers and 72 were returned to their homes, 61 girls sent to the Faith Home were detained there until employment was secured for them. The most important work, however, of this department was the aid given to girls living in houses of prostitution. Through the special work in this connection 23 girls gave up their lives of shame and the reports show that they were all working and leading better lives.

8. Domestic Relations Session

No more important problem was presented to the court than those cases involving domestic relations. The need for a change in the method of dealing with such cases is thoroughly understood when one realizes the many things involved in the imprisonment of the head of the family, especially when there are mouths to feed. In order to deal intelligently with these people and to arrive at a just conclusion, Thursday afternoon was set apart for their consideration. A thorough investigation was made by the court matron of the conditions surrounding the man, his home, his employment and his associates and was presented to the court at this special session, to the end that in the final disposition of the case it might be done to the best interests of the family as well as the individual. Since the establishment of this session and up to the close of my term 440 cases were investigated and were disposed of as follows:

Total number of cases investigated	440
Judgment withheld	155
Fines and Costs	106
Workhouse and Jail	34
Juvenile Court	11
Dismissed	39

Discharged	27
Continued Indefinitely	44
Grand Jury	6
Sentence Suspended	18

9. Employment

Through the probation department the court attempted to meet every angle of the social problem as represented by the delinquents brought before the court. To the need of employment could be traced many cases of delinquency. To meet this condition special efforts were made to obtain employment for men. From a crude beginning it developed into a permanent plan resulting in all of the larger employers of labor looking to the probation department for their help. More than 600 persons secured employment in this way.

In the presentation of a subject like this one realizes that the material side must always be at the forefront, but to one whose daily life was spent in the very midst of these problems and who viewed them from every angle there are many arguments that cannot be expressed in facts and figures. The problems presented by 49,916 persons brought into the court during my term were large and varied. To meet them was a gigantic task, but the results have more than justified the effort.

Any innovation in the administration of justice is the subject for more or less criticism, just and unjust. Did this work place additional burden on the taxpayer? Emphatically no! It reduced the number of commitments to the jail and the workhouse more than fifty per cent. During the first year of its operation there was a saving in the cost of feeding prisoners in the county jail of $1,293.00 and in the maintenance of the workhouse of $4,631.00. However, the results of a system of justice are not to be measured in dollars and cents. Such a work aims at the physical, mental and moral uplift of the individual rather than the cold satisfaction of the law. It aspires to restore the erring to society as useful citizens and transforms our penal system into a mighty influence for the uplifting of society.

The reports to the court showed that home conditions had improved; that men had abstained from the use of intoxicating liquors; that employers had been enlisted in taking a more friendly interest in employes; that men had joined churches and in other ways attained a higher standard of living.

This touch of humanity in the administration of justice in a criminal court was not only a profitable investment so far as the public was concerned, but better than that would have been, it made possible the social regeneration of thousands of men and women.

MR. BUTLER: The two topics, parole and probation, are before us this morning. I wish we could draw clearly, as is not always done, the distinction between the two terms. Probation is release of an individual

before incarceration, while parole is release of an individual after institutional treatment. We will so distinguish between them in this program. Mr. Mulready, President of the National Probation Association, will be the next speaker; his subject is Probation. He will also touch on parole.

PROBATION

Edwin Mulready, President, National Probation Association, Boston, Mass.

It is well to have this Conference emphasize the difference between probation and parole. Even in a gathering of this kind we hear the terms used as if they were synonymous. Nothing could be further from the truth. This is really more than a question of terminology. It concerns the essence of a principle in the care of the offender against the law. The "ticket-of-leave-man" is an old acquaintance, but the probationer is a child of recent birth. Probation is an effort to reform the offender while under the immediate care of the court; while parole is but a continuation of the work of the institution from which the person has been released. Probation has been defined as a judicial system by which an offender against penal law, instead of being punished by a sentence, is given an opportunity to reform himself under supervision, and subject to conditions imposed by the court, with the end in view that if he shows evidence of being reformed, no penalty for his offense shall be imposed.

When compared with the ancient method of treatment accorded the offender against the law, the probation idea is certainly revolutionary. From the condition where it was the practice to turn over the offender to the one injured by the offense for such punishment as the aggrieved party considered adequate, to probationary treatment, is a long step. In the ancient days there was some difference of opinion, as there is at present, regarding the amount of punishment which might be justly inflicted. The community undertakes to punish the offender against the law, and for generations the effort has been made to fix the punishment to fit the crime. The world has undertaken to measure in days, months or years, the exact number of minutes which would probably satisfy the community for the offense committed. That we have failed in this effort is generally admitted, and now we have come to believe that the amount of *medicine* prescribed must be determined by the real character of the offender, and cannot be determined for any patient in advance.

Without regard to the manner of inflicting punishment, or the amount or duration of it, all treatment of the convicted criminal was at the beginning a punitive measure, established primarily for the good of the community, as a deterrent to the potential offender,—and incidentally to uphold the dignity of the law which had been violated.

Less than fifty years ago, when a good old philanthropist, visiting

the Boston Police Court, conceived the idea of mitigating the punishment inflicted, and with due regard for the protection of the community endeavored to help the defendant redeem himself and become an independent citizen rather than a dependent criminal and really put his idea in practice, he builded better than he knew, and a revolution in the matter of the treatment of offenders against the law was there begun.

The Principles of Probation

A portion of our time might be spent profitably in a discussion of probation principles as they are often improperly stated, showing by a negative proposition that probation is not another means for letting off defendants. Where probation is most successful it is an integral part of the judicial system. It is as much a matter of judicial procedure to place a person on probation as to sentence him to a penal institution. Some argue that the one placed on probation becomes thereby the ward of another governmental department, much the same as though he were sentenced to a penal or reformatory institution, the probation department assuming a similar position to that of the institution, and thus relieving the court of any further responsibility in the matter. We cannot admit the soundness of this position, for the person on probation still remains a ward of the court, to be called in at any time, and if the circumstances warrant it, receive the sentence which might have been imposed at the beginning.

Probation is a postponement of a sentence which may finally be imposed. It is a test of character. It is a similar proceeding to that employed by the physician who wisely postpones contemplated action in order to observe the real character of the disease which he is fighting. It is the establishment of a higher standard of justice in our courts, for to deprive human beings of their liberty without proper inquiry is to lower the standard of real justice. It is a measure intended to fit the ever-changing social conditions of the times in which we live. It is a great financial gain to the community, for by the postponement of sentence, offenders against the law are given the opportunity to support themselves and their families, and under the watchful eye of duly appointed officers of the court, work out their own salvation.* It saves that which the state can never restore when once taken from the individual,—that portion of self-respect without

* Note the following encouraging results of adult probation in Massachusetts:

There was received in the year 1909 from 617 non-supporting husbands $25,218.13; while in the year 1913 from 1240 non-supporting husbands there was received $140,773.96. Or, in other words, while we had a gain of 100% in cases we have had a gain of nearly 450% in money collected. The probationer who is made to contribute it is usefully employed, as he must be in order to provide for the payments, and the public is relieved of the expense of maintaining him in jail. It is obvious that the collection from the probationers by replacing the public care of both them and their families gives the Commonwealth and its cities and towns financial relief far

which any person labors under serious handicap in the battle of life. It reverses the system of degradation which was once thought to be a necessary part of the punishment imposed upon the offender. It recognizes in the offender against the law a bond of common humanity, which makes us consider that he may be "a man for a' that". It is constructive and it seeks to supply those things, which, through the fault of the offender, or the neglect of the community, have been found to be missing in the individual character. It removes the distinction which sometimes is so apparent between the rich and the poor, and the probation officer stands as the guardian of the poor when arraigned before the court of justice.

Large numbers of people are constantly passing through our courts, many of them to enter the great penal institutions which are found on every hand. Probation is designed as a means of investigation of the character, history and circumstances of these unfortunates, or, if you will, wicked, persons, so if it is found necessary to deprive one of his liberty it shall be for reasons which shall commend themselves to all right thinking people.

Investigation and Supervision

Intelligent, sympathetic, careful investigation is the keystone of successful probation work. Without it probation may easily become, not a blessing to the community, but rather a great curse, for we shall never lose sight of the principle that it is not entirely the interest of the individual, but the welfare of the community which concerns us in our work. While stating this principle and abiding by it, we must insist that in a large majority of cases the interest of the individual and the interest of the community are identical.

Supervision is the next essential element in probation work. The probation officer is not to watch—but to watch over his probationers. The offender "is given an opportunity to reform himself, under supervision," and because there are missing in the individual probationer certain elements which make for success in this endeavor to reform, the probation officer is called upon to lead and direct the efforts of those under his charge.

Investigation has been called the keystone of the arch which supports the probation idea. Intelligent supervision might be described as the buttress, which, if improperly constructed, may fall and with it bring down the entire structure. Well directed, helpful, supervision

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beyond the sum of the collections. During the past year the following amounts have been received by probation officers for:

Restitution	$ 24,250.63
Non-support	140,773.96
Court Expense	3,335.34
Suspended Sentence	49,304.09
Grand total	$217,664.02

$52,639.43 was paid directly to the public treasury.

leads the probationer on the road to good citizenship. Mis-directed, though well-meaning supervision may destroy every hope of success with the probationer.

The administration of probation law depends on human agencies, hence there will always be failures in individual cases. Those not worthy will be given the opportunity to do well and still fail. In such cases prompt action must be taken if for no other reason than to retain the confidence of the community in which we labor. Prompt surrender of those who default on probation is absolutely necessary and always very valuable as an object lesson. This important duty must be performed, not in a spirit of impatience or disappointment, but rather with an idea of further helpfulness to the individual.

In the great army of law-breakers there must be found many who require somewhat permanent custodial treatment, but let us determine who they shall be and act with the same certainty as we do in other important affairs of life, so that injustice shall not be done to any human being. Each day we are gaining in real knowledge of the problem of the feeble minded, the insane, the irresponsible. While the probation officer, because of his position in the court, must take an active part in the classification of these cases, he must bear in mind that it is his duty to proceed slowly in this important work, for until the psychologist becomes a duly recognized agent of the court, or psychologists generally reach an agreement upon this classification, the judge of the court and his lay-helper, the probation officer, should approach cautiously the determination of a question involving the liberty and happiness of many people.

Probation is a system for the readjustment of the individual in the community. Suggestions may be properly made for the rehabilitation of individuals with a "slant" in their charcater or environment, but such suggestions must necessarily be as varied as the individuals concerned, or the environment involved. Hence the effort must be to select officers, both men and women, for this important work, who shall not only have a proper appreciation of the position to which they have been called, but who shall also be selected on account of their training and suitable temperament.

Bishop Lawrence, the great leader of the Episcopal Church, has said: "I know of no better illustration of the essential oneness of the community so strong as the story of the prisoner's life; how the social, religious and sanitary conditions of his boyhood and his home led him to drink and to crime, and how the neglect of the community brought upon the community the care of such a one during his natural life." The story of thousands of such lives, which have come to my personal knowledge, forces the conclusion that the real study and important work of the future will be to examine carefully the causes which are producing the offender against the law, and to labor for their abolition. Prevention, not cure, shall be our watchword.

I make no distinction between adult and juvenile probation work.

If our experience with probation for adults does nothing else, it unerringly points the finger of condemnation at the community which in the past has neglected the work which should have been undertaken for the children, and teaches us our duty in this respect for the children of today.

MR. BUTLER: Under the rules of the Conference, the one who formally opens the discussion is allowed ten minutes, and each succeeding speaker has five minutes. Judge Bacon, of Memphis, will open this discussion.

DISCUSSION

HON. WILLIAM BACON, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tennessee: In hearing the reading of these two papers by such recognized authorities on matters of this kind, I was impressed more with one fact than with anything else, and that was, it does not matter how good your laws may be, how broad they may be in scope, and how lofty the ideal you have in mind in drafting the law, the good that results depends entirely upon the personality of those who administer the law. We have no adult probation in the state of Tennessee. We have not progressed that far in civic matters. We hope to accomplish much along this line at future sessions of our legislature, and the fact that we have a very good and excellent juvenile court law in the state will reasonably assure us that we shall go from this small start to the larger matter of adult probation and that we can expect in due course of time to make that progress. So any work that is being done by any of the municipal or criminal courts along the line of adult probation in this state is necessarily crude and unsatisfactory because the necessary machinery of probation officers is not given to the judges and sufficient latitude and authority over the prisoners, and the matter of suspending fines and the partial payment plan is not provided in the law.

It is a serious thing to give any man the right to deprive another of his liberty and his freedom even for the space of an hour or the space of a day, and we men who serve on the bench have that power, and I for one approach the bench and the trial of cases with fear and trembling. It is so easy to err on one side or the other. It is so easy to let your sentiment and kindheartedness run away with you and fail to do your duty to your people and to your city by letting persons go free who for the sake of the community and for the sake of the prisoner himself, perchance, should be confined. It is easy on the other hand when you serve day after day and have these cases similar in nature come before you, to drop into routine customs of considering them, becoming hard and callous and not giving to them the sympathetic ear and the thoughtful consideration they should have.

I do not think that the prisoner should be considered solely as respects benefit to the commonwealth and protection of lives and property. The physician who is most successful is the one who can in the largest number of cases properly diagnose the case. It is an easy matter, comparatively, when the physician has ascertained certainly what particular disease the patient has, to treat that disease and to effect a cure, and if the physician is wrong in his diagnosis all the medicine and all the treatment and all the science will not cure the patient, but possibly may do great and permanent harm.

If I were going to classify cases that pass through the police court with reference to trying to benefit humanity I would divide them along the lines of the frequency of the offense. The classes of cases that give least trouble

are those persons who come but once into the police court in the course of their whole natural life. The college boy who goes out on a lark and is picked up for creating a disturbance or the man who has committed some little indiscretion and is brought in for the first time, is sufficiently punished and benefited, and the community is sufficiently satisfied, by his being locked up over night. It is a dreadful experience to be placed behind bars. There are many people in communities who have never been inside of a jail or police station. They know nothing about them, even as visitors. They are not sufficiently interested in matters that concern the community to visit the jails. The chances are that young men will never return and their cases may be dismissed with a word.

The second class consists of persons who commit some minor violation of the law and come back in six months or a year, or two years, for some similar offense. That class of offenders need not be as seriously considered as the last.

The last class is the perpetual offender. He presents the most serious problem in humanizing the courts. What are you going to do with him? You cannot treat him in an intelligent manner until you have definitely determined what is the matter with him. When you can so analyze and classify his case as to put your finger on the particular matter that is causing him to violate the law, then you can intelligently go about the proposition of making a good citizen of him.

It is impossible in the limited time allotted to go fully into this phase of this great question, and in conclusion I merely wish to urge upon those interested in movements of this character, that they devote more thought to methods of diagnosing the maladies of the criminal classes than to other matters of so-called reform. I believe that this will produce better results, and might in the end, if workd out to an ultimate conclusion, greatly lessen the work of the courts, and greatly reduce the number of offenders against the law.

The Treatment of the Misdemeanant
General Session, May 13, 8:00 P. M.

MR. BUTLER: My friends, in charities it is ever our duty to oppose the natural tendency to follow the line of least resistance. In every field of activity this is manifest; nowhere is it more evident than in our local prisons and our jails. Do you know how our prisoners live, and what they learn in our county jails? They live in idleness at the expense of the tax payer; they learn vice, immorality and crime. They degenerate both mentally and morally. They are educated in criminal ways. I desire to present the first speaker, who has been perhaps in more prisons and jails than almost anyone in this audience, and who out of his wide experience and the splendid work he has done in the state of Alabama will tell us something of the county jails. I have pleasure in introducing Dr. W. H. Oates, State Jail Inspector of Alabama, of Montgomery, Alabama.

THE COUNTY JAIL

W. H. Oates, B. Sc., M. D., Alabama State Prison Inspector, of Montgomery, Alabama.

The subject of this paper is not, to the average citizen, an attractive one; but the fact that unpleasant ideas are associated with it is persuasive that with respect to the construction, care and management

of these, unfortunately, necessary adjuncts to civilized existence, the prophylactic effect of public sympathy and public interest is sorely needed. Publicity is not only a political antiseptic, but is the sure antidote for most, if not indeed all, of our governmental ills.

The growing spirit of altruistic progress which now pervades society, has not, in any field of needed reform, manifested itself more plainly and more beneficially than in prison regeneration. Nor has there been any field in which reform was, and to some extent still is, more sorely needed. In discussing the hardships of a sailor's life, Dr. Samuel Johnson was once moved to say to Boswell, that he could not conceive of any man who had so little intelligence as to be a sailor if he possessed sufficient ingenuity to get into jail. Had the famous doctor inspected the surroundings of many American prisons of even this date, he would, I think, have adopted some other illustration to emphasize the discomforts of a life before the mast.

I think I am not far from the truth when I say that our penal system is an anachronism,—a survival from a barbaric past. In its theory it is beautifully adapted to the end sought, but in its practical administration, it is absolutely destructive of that desired result. In theory a man convicted of crime is imprisoned, not because the state hates him, not in a spirit of revenge, or retaliation, but simply because he shows by committing crimes that it is not safe for others that he be allowed to mingle with them. It is not safe to allow a murderer at large, because he might take other lives; a thief must be confined because at liberty the property of others would be subject to his attack. Logically, therefore, it would follow, that if he is ever released, it must be only when those impulses which induced him to commit the crime have been corrected. Therefore, the period of imprisonement ought to be devoted to physical regeneration, intellectual development and moral instruction. Otherwise, the whole purpose of the original imprisonment is lost. Society is not entitled to protection against a thief for a term of years for which he may be sentenced only; it is entitled to be protected against him for all time. So, how futile it is to say to a man: "You are a thief; therefore, to protect others you must be put where you cannot steal; for ten years you will associate with other thieves, deprived of all the sweet, elevating influences of life, suffer indignities which will make you hate the law, and finally turned out as much an enemy of society as the law can make you."

Of course his punishment may deter some few from crime, may even, in isolated cases, work a reformation, but in the vast majority of instances, society has fashioned a warier, deadlier, more efficient enemy. Society can never gain anything by the humiliation and degradation of any of its members. It must gain much by the elevation and instruction of any of them. The existence of public schools and churches is a recognition of this fact. The inevitable conclusion

must be that the greater the need, the greater must be the correcting influences.

If a normally good child should have instruction at the expense of the state that he may grow up a good and useful citizen, how much more effort should the state make that a bad one may also develop into a recognition of his social duties.

Under the present system, a convict is worked to produce revenue; for the time being he is an animal, a beast of burden, a slave, his moral and intellectual faculties being unexercised, atrophy and die. His physical subjection to another is calculated to destroy every vestige of self-respect, and in some respects even worse. The places in which he is confined are so insanitary that his sentence of imprisonment is really a sentence of death. No enlightened people would tolerate a law which provided that as a punishment for larceny, a thief should be inoculated with the germs of tuberculosis, or typhoid.

Loss of Sense of Brotherhood

It is, therefore, a pressing duty which the sacred obligations of a common humanity impose upon every citizen to recognize that men, though criminals, are human beings, that they, more tempted, perhaps less fortunate, less strong than we, are still moved by the same emotions and suffer in the same flesh. Of each of them it may be said, no matter to what morass of life his fate has brought him, to whatsoever red guilt, as Carlyle in his incomparable story of Charlotte Corday said of Morat, "For he, too, had human affections, a brother and sisters, and was wrapped in swaddling clothes and slept safe in a cradle like any of us."

These considerations, while applicable under all circumstances, and with reference to all places in which human beings are confined for whatsoever purpose, press upon the mind with peculiar force in the case of the county jail. As a rule, the persons who are confined in the county jail have not been adjudged to be guilty of any violation of the law. The inmates of the county jail are usually persons who are awaiting trial upon some charge for which the law does not permit bail, or who are too poor and uninfluential to procure bail. They are presumptively innocent, and in many cases are so declared to be by the jury to whom the question of their guilt or innocence is submitted.

If the situations to which I have alluded above are pertinent with reference to individuals who are established by a conviction as being criminals, how much more pertinent are they when applied to innocent persons who are restrained of their liberty by the strong hand of the law, and who have in reality committed no offense?

While most of those who are confined in jails are there simply for safe-keeping and awaiting trial, and therefore presumptively innocent, they have been, as a rule, housed in unclean, ill-ventilated, foul-smelling structures, with no room for exercise, and scant, if any, pro-

vision for, and no incentive to, personal cleanliness, and exposed to every peril of fire and disease. Their food has been coarse, ill-prepared and ill-served, and every auxiliary with which modern science fortifies the physical constitution against the inroads of disease has been conspicuous by its absence. Nor has there been any provision whatsoever against the idleness of mind which begets viciousness and is the fertile breeding ground of crime.

Conditions in Alabama

In my own state, Alabama, the above described regime has heretofore existed. Everything in the state seems to have grown and improved with the single exception of the jails. No additions or improvements have been made in a number of the jails throughout the state since they were originally built many years ago.

Absolute ignorance of the rudimentary principles of ventilation and sanitation is evidenced in the building of these old jails, and, in most cases, the bulk of the money expended was placed in a commodious residence for the sheriff, with one to four small rooms in a wing of the building for the jail, in which rooms, placed in the center, are the cells, usually eighty per cent. solid metal with twenty per cent. openings. The elementary principles of sanitation were totally ignored, and so-called disinfectants were used in lieu of the scrubbing brush and soap. Black was the favorite color used in painting the interior of the jails, resulting in a dungeonlike darkness which was almost invariably contributed to by dirty windows obstructing the entrance of light.

Isolation and segregation of prisoners have been totally ignored. The hardened criminal, first offender, and the juvenile prisoners have been confined in the same cells, thus converting our jails into veritable schools of crime, and the constant contamination by association must have been incalculable. Another deplorable fact, and one which I am ashamed to say, still obtains, is that there are no matrons in any of the jails of the state of Alabama. Female prisoners, regardless of color or the crime of which they are accused, are cared for by male deputies.

In view of the fact that there is no law requiring matrons in the jails, I shall use every effort to have the next legislature of Alabama remedy this evil.

The fee system, that far reaching, deplorable, pernicious and unwittingly criminal method of compensating sheriffs and other officers obtains today in Alabama. The result of this system nearly beggars description; it introduces into our jails the bad effects of the almighty dollar; prisoners are arrested because of the dollar, and, shame to say, are frequently kept in captivity in these steel cages for months awaiting trial on account of the almighty dollar, so that certain officers may profit by feeding them for a less amount by far than the state allows for their feeding.

The Legislature Convinced

Appreciating in part these deplorable conditions, the Legislature of 1907 adopted some means of remedying them, creating an office known as the Inspector of Jails, Alms-houses, etc., thus placing the jails under state supervision, but not under state control. After four years of hard work on the part of this department, it was found that the law was ineffective on account of a lack of authority given the Inspector, and in consequence of which the Legislature of 1911 changed the name of the department to that of State Prison Inspector and modified the law making it more explicit and extending the authority of the Inspector to enforce sanitation, ventilation and hygiene, and, while it is by no means complete nor a perfectly effective instrument for the purpose designed, it is, under the powers given, and the duties imposed upon the Inspector, a tremendous advance over the former system.

Since its enactment, three years ago, thirty jails have been built and remodelled along scientific lines, and in most of the jails of the state an excellent sanitary system has been insisted upon and attained. Light and air are freely admitted; conditions which made for infection have been removed, and food is served in many of the jails which may be eaten without the spur of extreme hunger.

There are yet a number of jails to be rebuilt or remodelled, and they will receive attention in due coure of time.

This law confers upon the State Prison Inspector the authority to formulate such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary with reference to hygiene, sanitation, cleanliness and healthfulness in these institutions. It also confers upon him the power to have all jails put in a proper sanitary condition, and to make such repairs, alterations and additions as he may deem necessary, and, if in his opinion, the situation requires it, to condemn the jail and order the erection of a new one. From his orders an appeal lies only to the Governor. As to the present Executive, I may say that only a manifest error on the part of the Inspector in making the order of condemnation would entitle any such appeal to consideration at his hands. Neither political nor other influence would in the slightest degree affect his action where the welfare of the helpless and unfortunate are involved. So I have fortunately been unhampered by any interference with the efficient administration of the law.

Direct Authority of Inspector

An effective weapon placed by the law in the hands of the Inspector is his power to order the removal of any or all prisoners from any jail in which they may be improperly cared for, or which is unsafe, to the jail of another county; and, as a large part of the compensation of Alabama's sheriffs comes from the feeding of prisoners, it is needless

to say that it has seldom been necessary to use it to secure proper food or fit conditions.

In laws dealing with this subject, it is certainly at this period essential to give the Inspector almost arbitrary power. Unless his recommendations and orders can be summarily enforced, lapse of time, political affiliations, and local sympathy with officers based on ignorance of the real conditions, would paralyze or, at least, minimize the effect of his efforts. Every jail inspection law should require and contain provisions which will effectively secure the building of jails throughout which light and air may be freely admitted, which have sufficient room for physical exercise, which are adequately heated, and which have provisions for securing the personal cleanliness of the inmates. There should be, of course, a window in each separate cell. The prison should be so constructed as to be absolutely fire proof; or if not, some provision should be made whereby each cell could be unlocked from one point.

The Alabama prison inspection law requires that all plans and specifications for jails or improvements thereon be submitted to the State Prison Inspector for approval.

Principles Adopted for New Jails

In building new jails in Alabama, the following ideas are being carried out. Shower baths are being installed in the male apartments, and bath tubs in the female and hospital apartments. The cells are being placed against the walls (all walls being lined with steel) with a window in each cell. The floors are of concrete on metal beams, and are laid on an incline to a drain pipe. In each central corridor is installed a concrete bench, and a sanitary drinking fountain. The dirty, vermin infested, insanitary mattress has been discarded and replaced by the swinging canvas hammock.

It is unlawful to confine in the same room or apartment white and negro prisoners; and men and women, except husband and wife, must not be kept in the same room or apartment. This necessitates a minimum number of four apartments in each jail, to which we are adding, when possible, hospital and juvenile apartments. Other requirements of this law are as follows: hot and cold water for bathing purposes; soap and towels; clean clothes when the prisoners are unable to provide them; compulsory bathing upon entrance and once a week thereafter; semi-annual fumigation followed by two coats of white paint on all the interior including all cells and metal work; fumigation of jails following removal of prisoners affected with infectious, contagious, or communicable diseases; adequate janitor service; a night watchman; kitchens to be adequately screened against flies; duty of the sheriff to keep the jail in a cleanly and sanitary condition, and to prevent spitting on the floors and walls; and the sheriffs are required to render a monthly report to the Inspector not later than the 10th

of each month, for the previous month, giving the number of prisoners, their race and sex, their physical condition, and such other detailed information as may be required.

These prisons must be secure of course. They may also be healthful and pleasant. They should in all cases be so constructed that sunlight and fresh air may be freely admitted.

Sunlight is an universal germicide and fresh air is its invaluable ally. Each jail should also contain a space in which daily and compulsory exercise in the open air may be had. An abundant supply of fresh, uncontaminated drinking and bathing water is an essential, and frequent baths should be required.

The food furnished should be ample, nourishing and well-prepared, and in sufficient variety. The food elements recognized by science as necessary should be required to be present in proper proportions in all meals.

There should be a jailor or warden in the building at all hours, with some proper instrumentality by which the prisoners may arouse him at night in case of fire, escapes or illness, and there should be, at reasonable intervals, a medical examination of each prisoner. Many diseases which are difficult in advanced stages yield to treatment in incipiency. There should also be a hospital department, with proper accessories, to which the sick should be removed.

The building should be as nearly fire-proof as possible, but apparatus for extinguishing fire should be in readiness at all times, and frequently tested and inspected, and all cells should be so arranged that they could be simultaneously unlocked in case of fire.

It is not unusual to hear from convicts the statement: "I never had a chance." We have not yet reached that golden age when every citizen of this great nation will have a chance, but we can at least hasten the day when the unfortunate, upon whom the state lays its correcting hand, will have a chance to be a stronger, better, cleaner man than when he entered.

When that day comes, the public will find that it is in receipt of a more valuable revenue in human character than is the financial return that is bought with the sufferings, the lives, and, it may be, even the souls of brother men.

While no provision is made in our present law for other than the physical well being of our prisoners, I trust that ultimately some will be made whereby they may be mentally advanced, or at least occupied. Modern criminology recognizes that crime is a manifestation of abnormality, and this lies as often in an unoccupied, as in a diseased, mind. A few magazines, a few well selected books, might well drop a seed or commence a mental habit that will redeem a criminal and restore to society a citizen.

It will be a happy day for society when some of its members may look upon a jail as a place where health was not lost, but regained,

and where habits and mental attitudes were fixed, whose tendencies were not downward to evil, but upward to better things.

MR. BUTLER: Fortunately there is a way out of the darkness. It was left for the United States Government less than ten years ago to begin, in this country, to point us the way, when it selected Mr. W. H. Whittaker, who began his prison experience by developing the work of the District of Columbia farm at Occoquan, Va. He will tell us what has been done in the way of utilizing open air, open farm, open building treatment of short term offenders, instead of keeping them in jail.

THE INDUSTRIAL FARM

W. H. Whittaker, Superintendent, District of Columbia Workhouse, Occoquan, Va.

(Stereopticon Used)

If results are ever obtained in the handling of the criminal classes it will be through right treatment. There must be a thorough investigation before the stain of a prison sentence is passed. In a great percentage of the minor offenses, rather than give the offenders a workhouse sentence, these unfortunates should be dismissed with a friendly word of encouragement from the court. Or if, in the judgment of the courts, they need supervision, they should be turned over to a probation officer who will see to it that it is not necessary to imprison them. Those convicted of crime should never be committed to jail to serve time. The average jails of this country are a disgrace to civilization and are cesspools for the breeding of disease and crime.

Many cases that come to the criminal and police courts for minor offenses require only suspervision, change of surroundings and a new home. Institutional treatment should be the last remedy. We should abolish the fixed sentence and de-institutionalize our institutions; and, finally, these people must be made to feel whether in an institution or out of one they are working for home making. Modern penology should be not sentimental, but practical. We should adopt preventive methods for the sake of formation, not reformation, for ninety-five per cent of the subjects in the penal institutions and reformatories of the country have never been correctly formed mentally or physically. Unkempt, immoral and diseased citizens should be sentenced to an indeterminate term of sunshine, fresh air and honest work, with such system as will make of them an asset rather than a liability when returned to society. If this cannot be done, then sterilization or definite isolation on the farm must be provided. Modern penology, in addition to all this, teaches the importance of ideal administration of institutions for its wayward subjects,—that of humane, educated and trained employees in all departments of our penal institutions.

The Plan at Occoquan

We are attempting at the District of Columbia Farm to lay the foundation and inaugurate a system that will be practical, where the inmates will not suffer by having too much done for them, and will be made to feel, whether in an institution or out of it, there is a work for them to do individually. We believe that beneficial results cannot be successfully obtained in the old time prisons with high walls, locks and bars. We believe the walls must come down and the locks and bars must go to the scrap pile. We believe that for every bar of restriction removed, more rays of sunlight and hope will reach the heart of the convicted man.

With these preliminary thoughts, I will now briefly describe the District of Columbia Farm, which less than four years ago was a wilderness in the hills of Virginia, twenty miles south of Washington. The farm consists of 1150 acres of land costing the Government $18.00 per acre. On this land we have constructed thirty buildings, consisting of dormitories, dining rooms, lounging halls, hospital, horse and dairy barns. These are all one-story buildings, made of wood, with a view of giving ample light and ventilation. The plan for the prisoners is that of the congregate or dormitory system, having no cells, locks or bars about the institution. Two hundred prisoners are taken care of during the night in each dormitory and as we have 600 male prisoners this requires three buildings. Cots are arranged side by side in these dormitories on raised platforms, and sufficient bedding, consisting of mattress, sheets and pillows, blankets and comforts, is given to each prisoner. All the buildings are steam heated and electric lighted and have ample water, both hot and cold with modern sewerage.

During the evening and after the day's work is done and on Sundays, the men are taken to a large building known as the Rest Hall and Library, where they are permitted to talk, play checkers, read the daily newspapers, which are bought for them by the management, and they have access to a library of over 4,000 volumes. On summer evenings and on Sundays the inmates are permitted to take the benches out into the yard where it is possible to enjoy more freedom and have an abundance of fresh air. In one of the buildings referred to there is a shower bath and arrangements where the inmates make their toilets. In this building 125 men can be taken care of at one time. We have no wash basins but have a faucet for each man and the men are all furnished with individual towels and soap.

Difficulty of Short Sentences

The fact that prisoners are sent to us on short sentences, the time now being from fifteen days to three years, our average sentence being thirty-five days, makes it very necessary and important that sanitary conditions should be closely looked after. From ten to fifteen per cent of the

prisoners sent us, when received have vermin on their person. This, however, is looked after so closely that though we handle from five to six thousand people a year we are absolutely free from vermin in all of the 30 buildings. In working prisoners we give from fifteen to twenty men to an officer. His part is to direct this number in a humane and intelligent manner and to have them understand it is our purpose to be helpful. With such methods we have very little trouble so far as discipline is concerned.

Work on this 1,150 acres of land consists of building roads, constructing buildings, farming, making brick, crushing stone, building and repairing wagons, painting and white-washing the buildings, poultry raising, dairying, etc. At the present time we are working seventy horses. These are all cared for by the inmates, without an officer with them, and neither the farm or the buildings are enclosed by so much as a fence. We lose very few prisoners by escaping, less on an average than two per month. Our results show we get a fair day's work from each of our able-bodied inmates.

In handling prisoners for the past sixteen years, starting with the old-time methods of having a thirty-foot wall, cells, locks and bars, with stripes for clothing, (and a prisoner, when reported by an officer for failure to comply with some order, was taken into a room, his clothing removed and lashed with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the officer who reported him), convinces me that the open-air method, with as few restrictions as possible, so far as the inmates are concerned, will give us better results from the standpoint of discipline and reformation.

We handle the women prisoners from the city of Washington with the same system of buildings as are provided for the men. The female department is managed by women and the two institutions are some distance apart. The average population of the female department is about one hundred. The women do the laundry work and make the clothing for the population of the two institutions. In addition, a number of them work on the lawn and in the garden, do the painting and other sanitary work about the buildings. The female department, like the male department, has neither cell, lock nor bar. The buildings are one-story and have neither wall nor fence around them. We have handled three thousand women in the past three and a half years and have lost only three by escape.

We have very little sickness, and this we attribute to our method of work, sanitation and to the construction of the buildings, which gives open-air treatment at all times. Ninety-five per cent of our inmates, both male and female, show decided improvement at the time of discharge, both in their mental and physical condition.

The time is coming when the District of Columbia Workhouse will be self-supporting or operated even at a profit. When it is, I believe an appropriation should be provided whereby the dependent families of the inmates, whether they be sent to us because of non-support or

other violation of the statutes, should be paid a sum of money sufficient to provide in a comfortable manner for their support during the confinement of the offenders. If such a system were inaugurated the financial benefit received by the family would be only a secondary consideration. The greater benefit would be the lasting impression made on the individual while at the institution, developing in him industrial habits and self-confidence which would help him to become a self-supporting citizen, capable of caring for his family after he is released. This certainly would be true in sixty per cent of the cases we have if there can be brought about a change in the penal code of the District of Columbia to secure the commitment of inmates on indeterminate sentences, rather than on fixed sentences, as are now being given.

In conclusion, with the help of the stereopticon, I will endeavor to show you the style of architecture, the methods and achievements of the management during the past three and a half years.

MR. BUTLER: A good way to learn how to do things in public institutions is to find out how somebody else is doing them. We have become infatuated in Indiana with the open air farm colony plan in the treatment of the public ward, and when our legislature appropriated money to build such a farm as Mr. Whittaker has described, a commission was appointed to visit Occoquan, and also the prison farm at Guelph, Ontario. These two institutions are the Mecca of all persons interested in the prison situation today. Our good friend from across the line, Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Warden of the Central Prison of Ontario, Toronto, will tell us of the workings of his institution.

FARM TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AT GUELPH

Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Superintendent, Central Prison, Toronto, Ont.

I shall try to give you briefly some results. We commenced farm work four years ago this spring. Our farm consists of 840 acres. It is fifty miles from Toronto. I feel very much at home tonight, for the pictures Mr. Whittaker has shown us remind me so vividly of our own experiences. We commenced first by taking out fourteen men and two officers, then increased it to fifty men, and then built a cheap frame building in which to house a hundred and fifty. For the last two years we have had an average population of three hundred. Our average term is one year on the farm. We haven't a gun nor a weapon of any kind whatever. We never have had, and we never expect to have. The men that come to us range in age from sixteen to sixty, and are sent to us for all the calendar of crimes known except the great crime of murder. We have learned this, that these men are weak and can be controlled, as Mr. Whittaker controls them, by firm and kindly supervision.

What these men want is direction and help. We conduct a labor

bureau in connection with our institution and no man has gone out in the last twelve years who needed work and was willing to take it but we had a situation awaiting him. Three or four months ago three men met one morning in the labor department. They had all come from prison—two from our prison farm and one from an old-time prison in Kingston. The officer said to one of the men from Guelph, "What can you do?" The man drew up his right arm and said, "I can do anything you have to hand out, I am fit." Turning to the other man the officer said, "And what can you do?" And he said, "I am like Frank, I can do anything." Turning to the man from the old-time prison, the officer said, "And what can you do?" And the man said, "I am down and out. I can't do anything till I get built up." Do you want any better lesson than that, any more vivid illustration than that, against the old time cell and the new time system? If you do you are hard to please.

What Is Reformation?

What is reformation? Do we ever stop to ask ourselves the question? Reformation means expansion, means development, and our whole system in the past has been a system of repression, holding the man down, putting him in a six-by-eight, shutting out the sunlight and the fresh air, and then at the end of his sentence turning him loose and wondering why he does not reform. It would be a miracle if he did. We have failed to learn a lesson from what happened to the warden of the old prison at Philippi who became so fossilized it took an earthquake to waken him up. And then he had a bad case of stage fright and was going to kill himself for fear his prisoners would run away. The prisoners had not the least idea of running away. They stayed around to help the warden out and advised him to get his nerve back. And when he did that partially, he had sense enough left to ask the prisoners what he had better do, and it is worthy of note that they were able to tell him. They not only told him what he better do, but they gave him advice as to his family, which he didn't resent as men usually do. My dear people, it is just as true today as it was in the days of Paul and Silas, if we are going to aid these men we must get close to them and learn of them.

I told you we have three hundred men on the farm. Last Saturday, in our old-time prison in Toronto I talked with a boy who once lived in this city, an honest boy, partly colored, who was a helper on the boats on the Mississippi, a slim young fellow not weighing more than 115. He was attacked one night on the boat by a big bully and made the mistake of drawing a knife in self defense and got a sentence. He is not bad. All I have seen of him is good and attractive. He said to me, "Superintendent, are the buds on the trees out yet?" That went to my heart. There I had a kindly dispositioned, well intentioned young man before me, and he had to ask me that question.

I am not a weeping man. If I were I should have shed tears then. I took him to the front where an officer was at work and said to the officer, "Frank will stay with you till closing time." I saw him move rapidly away from the officer and I was startled and wondered for a moment if he were going to run away. He went swiftly and picked two or three dandelions and came back to the officer carrying them tenderly. His love of nature was such that even the dandelions were beautiful to him.

There is an indefinable something in God's out-of-doors that heals and uplifts. I cannot tell you what it is. "The rain cometh alike upon the just and the unjust." My friend, Mr. Butler, has heard me quote before the verse:

"A haze and a fair horizon,
The infinite, tender sky,
The ripe, rich tint of the cornfields
And the wild geese sailing high,
And all over upland and lowland
The charm of the goldenrod,
Some of us call it Autumn
And others call it God."

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Do you catch the spirit of those beautiful words? They tell what I should like to tell, how God speaks to our delinquents on the farm. They tell how God speaks to our men through the growing and ripening grain, and of the messages God sends through the birds that sing and soar over their heads.

Practical Results

Now, for results. Less than two per cent. of our men escape. Our farm is in the open country, with no walls, no stockade, no barbed wire, but they are under continuous supervision day and night. We operate a stone quarry, and built our lime kiln. We have our stone crusher, our brick plant turning out twenty-five thousand a day, with fifty men and two officers. We have our orchards. We milk seventy cows every day. We have probably twenty-five teams working all the time. We have a kitchen garden of ten acres, and there are always enough men who can be absolutely trusted on the outside to carry on the work economically. I join the president, Dr. Taylor, in the observations he made on the uniformed staff of policemen. I have supreme respect for officers. For fourteen years I did not believe it possible to do what we are doing, and no one has learned a greater lesson or received a greater revelation in this work than your humble servant.

On one of our farms two years ago eight hundred miles out from Toronto, where we were clearing up some wild land, it was worth ten dollars an acre when we sent forty prisoners on to it, and it was worth a hundred dollars an acre when they were through with their work.

Five men had been committed as insane, and were sent to the district jail there pending their transference to the asylum in Toronto, but the prospects were they might have to stay in this jail for a few weeks because they were eight hundred miles away. The local officials sent the five men to this camp of ours, gave them axes and put them at clearing up the land. Every one of those men regained his reason, went back to his home, and not one of them saw the inside of an insane asylum.

No Prison Labor Problem

Another great advantage in outdoor work for delinquents is that it solves to a large extent the labor problem with which we have to contend so strenuously. None of our products go into the open market. We require all the brick we can make for government institutions. We require lime and crushed stone for our government roads, the entire product of our farm can be used for other institutions, and it has practically solved for us the prison labor problem which up to that time embarrassed us, as no doubt it is embarrassing you.

When we went to the farm the first year I commenced to study among our men as to the effect of the new conditions. I asked a great many different men at different times, men of different types, the one question: "What do you find the greatest difference between life out here on the farm and life in the prison at Toronto?" Without exception every man I put that question to gave the same reply, and it was this: "To get away from that cell." One young fellow said, "Superintendent, to stay in that cell all day Sunday and every holiday and every night and see that cell gate staring you in the face, it is Hell." And he did not say it to be disrespectful. It was a pent-up Utica finding expression in the boy's words. I do not believe it possible for a young man in the formative years of his life to spend six months behind prison bars and ever be quite the same afterwards. It must have a hardening, callousing effect, which cannot fail to leave an indelible impress. Ladies and gentlemen, a cage is a cage, even though it is gilded!

By the time the plans for our institution are perfected by the architect, and when that institution is completed, no boy or man will ever sit inside and look through a grill on the world outside. We recognize the fact that there are a limited number of men that have to be securely taken care of. I have no unreasoning sentimentality to tell you that all fellows can be trusted this way; if they cannot there are other ways as effective as the old-time cage and infinitely more reformative and humanizing. I have not the time to describe to you the methods we are using. Come over and see us. Characteristic of all institutions, our latch string is on the outside.

Outdoor employment for delinquents is not a new idea. People are apt to regard it as something new. Not by any means. Have you ever stopped to consider that the first man God made became a

delinquent, that he was tried, convicted, and sentenced by the Supreme Judge of the Universe? And what was that sentence? "Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground." "To till the ground from whence he was taken." Judges and lawyers are always looking for precedents. Does this go far enough back? Is the authority sufficiently eminent? Last New Years a friend of mine in London, England, who takes an intense interest in work of this kind sent me a New Years card. On it was a brief quotation from Michael Fairless, just six words—"Above all, let us see visions." I thought of the Prophet Micah's saying: "Then shall your old men dream dreams and your young men shall see visions." This came to me as God's line of demarcation between youth and age, for just as long as we can see visions of hope and visions of betterment for poor humanity, just so long are we young, and when we cease to have these visions we are old. I like the arrangement. Let us remain young.

MR. BUTLER: It is not fair that the men should have all this program. A young woman who came to the last meeting of the American Prison Association charmed all by her presence and gave us much out of her experience. She will tell us tonight briefly about the care of the woman misdemeanant. I have the pleasure of introducing Dr. Edith R. Spaulding, of the Massachusetts State Reformatory for Women.

THE SHORT TERM OFFENDER

Dr. Edith R. Spaulding, Physician, Woman's Reformatory, Sherborn, Mass.

Mr. Randall, whom we are proud to claim as the chairman of our prison board in Massachusetts—a man, as you all know, of wide experience and splendid judgment, believes that reformatories for women should be hospitals rather than prisons; that many women are there because they are ill and that all are in need of medical care of some kind. This we have found to be true in the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women almost without exception regarding the long-sentence woman as well as the short term offender. While, as a rule, the long-sentence woman represents a higher grade mentally, she is usually a very unstable type nervously. While the short-sentence woman represents a lower grade of mentality, as a rule, she also shows in her physical condition the results of the excesses of her life, and also the nervous instability which has often been the cause as well as the result of her delinquency.

There are almost as many mental and physical types and medical problems to be solved as there are individual women, but in every case, the solution of the problem is greatly helped by the out-door work and recreation which the modern reformatory is offering its women. Whatever education in academic or industrial lines they may also need for their re-education, judging by our population at Sherborn, there is hardly a woman who does not need and need badly the help which is to be had from the out-door work and recreation.

In the last few months two cases which we have had stand out as marked illustrations of the benefit derived from such exercise. Two women came to us both showing symptoms of a bad bronchitis in which in both cases there was a question of tuberculosis. All cases of tuberculosis are sent from our institution to the State Infirmary for treatment. Until a

definite diagnosis of tuberculosis could be made, they were kept under observation with us and in the meantime were given out door work on the farm, even though it was in the midst of the most severe weather we had last winter. In six weeks it would have been difficult to recognize either woman. The first, who had been an alcoholic and drug habitue, showed no signs of bronchitis and gained in weight thirty pounds. The second, a woman of very low mentality, according to the Binet Scale only 6½ years old mentally, and whom it was very difficult to get to carry out any line of treatment, had nevertheless gained in six weeks forty pounds, and is now in a good physical condition to go to the feeble-minded institution where she is about to be transferred.

Besides the alcoholics and drug habitues and cases showing the ravages of systemic diseases, there is a very important class of women with whom it is almost impossible to deal successfully in any institution. These have been classified at Elmira very satisfactorily as "control defectives". Instead of a defect in mentality, they show a defect in self-control. They are exceedingly unstable nervously, have violent tempers and may on slight provocation attack whoever happens to be the victim of their momentary hatred, whether she is a matron or an inmate. Many of these women have already been confined in hospitals for the insane, but show insufficient symptoms of insanity for continued confinement there. In this class of cases, upon which often the whole discipline of the institution depends, the greatest possible help is obtained from physical exercise out of doors. They react badly to the indoor confinement and are restless under the routine which is necessary in the industries or even in educational work. They not only become more amenable to discipline but become a help rather than a menace to the life of the institution.

There are many problems in reformatory institutions which are still unsolved. There are many differences of opinion as to what methods should be followed to obtain reformation and re-education. On one thing, however, everyone who has seen the practical working out of such methods must agree, and that is the invaluable help which can be had from out-door work and recreation in reformatory life.

At present at Sherborn we have not the variety of work which Dr. Davis is able to give her women at Bedford. Still in the winter our women go out and shovel snow and clear land, always wearing gymnasium suits, as they also do at Bedford, and in the summer, they fight the weeds on the farm and make hay in the fields. Some day, we also may be able to lay our own walks and build our own silos, as Dr. Davis has already shown us is possible. The women love it. It is considered a reward of merit to be allowed to go on the farm, and a day never goes by without at least one and sometimes many applications. The sooner it is possible to grant all such requests in reformatory institutions the sooner we shall feel that our methods of reform are based on the surest foundation possible, and all industrial and academic training which is given in connection with the outdoor work will gain just so much more in its effectiveness.

MR. BUTLER: I call to your attention again the fact that the entire program of the committee has been on the treatment of the misdemeanant. We have begun with his arrest, his trial, his probation, his treatment in institutions. Tomorrow will be the last session, a secton meeting in connection with the committee on Social Hygiene and it will be largely given up to the treatment of the woman offender. At the suggestion of our president I am going to say that if there is anyone who wishes to discuss this subject as presented tonight we will take a few minutes for that purpose, but I shall be expected to limit each speaker to three minutes. Perhaps questions addressed to our speaker would be the best form of discussion.

DISCUSSION

The informal discussion which followed was participated in by James F. Bagley of Maine, Frank E. Wade of New York, Messrs. Whittaker and Gilmour, and others.

Outdoor Employment of Prisoners
Section, May 11, 9:00 A. M.

THE STATE FARM SYSTEM IN TEXAS

C. S. Potts, Chairman School of Government, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

In the twenty minutes allotted to me it obviously will be impossible to do more than make a very hasty survey of the state farm system as it exists in Texas. The penitentiary system embraces two penitentiaries and a number of farms, some owned by the state and some operated by the state under lease from the owners. The prison population is slightly less than four thousand, and to operate the system requires a force of a thousand or more officers and employes.

The principal prison, that at Huntsville, was established in 1849, while the one at Rusk, established for the purpose of developing the iron industry, was begun about 1870. In the latter year the Huntsville prison with the entire prison population, then numbering 489, was leased to Ward, Dewey & Company. In 1878 a new five-year lease of the Huntsville prison was executed to E. H. Cunningham and L. A. Ellis. By the terms of this contract the state turned over to the lessees the entire prison plant and the 1,569 men in return for a payment of three dollars per month for each prisoner, the state being relieved of all financial responsibility for his support. When this lease expired in 1883 the legislature refused to ratify a new fifteen-year lease contract that had been drawn up.

This action of the Legislature in 1883 marks the end of the plan of leasing the whole prison plant and the beginning of what has been known in Texas as the convict lease system, that is, the system of selling to railroads and planters the labor of the prisoners at so much per month. As time passed and the number of prisoners increased, the farms and railroads absorbed a larger and larger number until squads of prisoners of fifty and up were scattered over a large part of the state. At times there were only a few hundred men within the walls at Rusk and Huntsville, while twenty-five hundred and more were let out to contractors. But so many abuses arose in connection with the lease system that for many years there was a growing demand for its complete abolition, and, in 1910, following the revelation by a legislative investigating committee of shocking conditions in the prison system, a law was passed providing that the lease system should be brought to an end not later than January 1, 1914. Thereafter

all prisoners were to be worked on state account either within the walls or on farms operated by the state. Before the date fixed by the law had arrived the men were all withdrawn from the contractors and put to work on state account, thus putting an end once for all to this wretched business of making slaves of our prisoners for profit.

Beginning of State Farm System

The Law of 1883 is also the starting point for the state farm system that has now taken the place of the lease system. That law provided "that the Penitentiary Board may at any time, if they deem it advisable, purchase a penitentiary farm or farms upon which all convicts, not self-supporting, may be worked by the State." Under the authority of this act the Penitentiary Board about 1900 began acquiring land, and by 1906 it owned the Harlem state farm of nearly 4,000 acres and the Clemens farm of more than 8,200 acres. on these farms about 350 prisoners were being worked. During the last two administrations additional lands have been acquired, until now the prison system owns the following, as stated by the recent investigating committee:

	Acres	Valued at
1. The Clemens farm, Brazoria County ($268,000 sugar mill and 15 miles of railroad)	8,212	$ 812,000
2. The Harlem farm, Fort Bend County (Sugar mill and 18 miles of railroad)	3,740	544,000
3. Imperial farm, Fort Bend County	5,235	363,000
4. The Ramsey farm, Brazoria County	7,762	482,000
5. The Wynne farm, Walker County	2,000	31,000
6. The Goree farm, Walker County	1,000	24,000
7. The Shaw farm, Bowie County	2,000	100,000
Total	29,749	$2,356,000

The Shaw farm has been purchased since the committee's report was written. In addition to the two thousand acres purchased, the state is operating three thousand acres of the Shaw farm on lease with an option to purchase. Several other tracts are being operated by the state under lease.

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that the prison system owns some thirty thousand acres of land worth with the improvements considerably more than two million dollars. To get the total assets of the system there must be added to these figures the value of the prisons at Huntsville and Rusk and of the state railroad from Rusk to Palestine, a distance of 31 miles, making a grand total of about $4,000,000.

It should be noted, however, that the actual value of the prison system is very much less than the amount here named. In the first place, the system is deeply in debt, the amount being placed in 1913 at one and a half million dollars. Although the Legislature last year appropriated to the system more than half a million dollars, heavy losses have since been sustained as a result of the disastrous floods

of last December, and there can be little doubt that the indebtedness has not been reduced. In the second place much of the property is non-productive and must be abandoned for prison purposes, and it cannot be disposed of in the open market at anything like the price paid for it as shown in the inventory.

Financial Results

It is impossible to gain any accurate estimate of the financial returns from the operation of the state farms. The reason for this is the inadequacy of the system of accounting. "It is our conclusion", said the recent Legislative investigating committee, "that while the records may show, with a fair degree of correctness, most of the transactions of the prison system, such records are inaccurate and unreliable to disclose the profitableness or unprofitableness of any particular industry or business activity of the penitentiary system."

It is probably true that the farms have been profitable when the crops were good and the prices of cotton and other products relatively high. It is equally certain that losses have been sustained in the operation of the farms when the crops have been injured by floods, or freezes, or drouths, and when the market for agricultural products has been unusually poor.

Taking the prison system as a whole, it is certain that much money has been wasted in unprofitable experimental enterprises. As stated above, the prison at Rusk was established for the purpose of developing the iron industry, but the industry has never been a success, and the recent legislative committee reached the conclusion that "the Rusk Penitentiary has cost the State $2,328,305.54 above total earnings for only that part of its existence for which records are available." That is, for a period of about twenty-five years. As a result of this long and disastrous experience the iron industry has been abandoned and only 86 men are now kept at the Rusk Prison to operate the farm located there. Thus the state has something like half a million dollars' worth of property, including some 4,000 acres of land, much of which will have to be abandoned or sold in the market for whatever it will bring.

The attempt to make a success of the iron industry is responsible for another very disastrous experiment, that is, the building of the state railroad from Rusk to Palestine. This road was begun for the purpose of bringing charcoal and iron ore from the neighboring timber lands owned by the state, and was later extended through to Palestine, a distance of some thirty miles, and has since been operated as a commercial proposition. It cost something more than $500,000 to build the road and it has never earned enough to pay operating expenses. The Legislature in 1911 ordered the road sold, but up to the present time no purchaser has been found. As a result the prison system has on its hands a white elephant in the form of an unprofitable railway

which will ultimately have to be knocked down for whatever it will bring or be entirely abandoned and become a total loss.

Still another disastrous experiment in the estimation of the legislative committee was the building in 1912 of the sugar mill on the Clemens Farm at a total cost including additions and repairs of nearly half a million dollars. In the opinion of the committee this enterprise has not been and will not be profitable, as the acreage available for raising cane is small and the uncertainty of the crop exceedingly great. "If a sale could be found for the mill at Clemens," said the committee, "we would recommend its disposal on any terms that would return to the prison system a reasonable portion of its cost. In our judgment, the continued attempt to manufacture sugar invites certain loss." Since the committee's report was framed, the situation of the sugar industry has been made still worse by the placing of sugar on the free list.

These are only a few of the more disastrous experiments that have been made by the prison management at various times in its history. Numerous similar examples are cited by the investigating committee, resulting in losses of from $10,000 to $100,000 to the prison system. Probably at no time has the prison system been self-sustaining without the income received from hiring out the prisoners, a result more traceable to the losses of the prison factories than to the state farms. For several years prior to the adoption of the law for the abolition of the lease system in 1910, the income from the lease contracts amounted to more than $400,000 per year, much of which was net profit and went to offset such losses as have here been referred to.

Recent Losses

From the financial standpoint the most disastrous period in the history of the prison system has been the period since the adoption of the law abolishing the lease system in 1910. The losses which have amounted to something like half a million to a million dollars per year were in part due to disasters over which the prison management had no control, in part due to the effect of the new law, and in part, doubtless, to errors on the part of the prison management. Among the disasters over which the Commission had no control may be mentioned a fire that destroyed a considerable portion of the buildings at Huntsville, and another at Rusk, a very severe freeze that destroyed large quantities of the cane crop that had not yet been harvested, and several overflows of the Brazos river which swept away large quantities of cotton and other crops and did great damage to fences, barns, and other outhouses.

Among the features of the law resulting in losses to the prison system may be mentioned the payment to the prisoners of a per diem of 10 cents for each day of good conduct, which amounted to something over $300,000 from January 20, 1911, when the law went into effect, up to January 1, 1913. Another source of loss to the prison system,

it is stated, is a provision of the law limiting the hours of labor to ten hours a day. This is quite as long a work day as can be profitably secured during the winter months and is considerably shorter than is necessary for the care of crops during the rush seasons of planting and harvesting. Still another cause of large loss has been the too rapid change from the lease system to the state farm system, the men being drawn from the contract forces faster than they could be profitably utilized on state account.

An attempt to point out the mistakes made by the Prison Commission would be neither a pleasant nor a profitable undertaking. It will therefore be well to turn to some larger questions connected with the state farm system.

Advantages of the State Farm System

In the first place, I believe that for a large percentage of the prisoners found in the Southern states, no better use can be made of the prisoners than to work them on farms owned and operated by the state. About two-thirds of our prison population in Texas are negroes and Mexicans for whom some form of manual labor is necessary. A very large number of them come from the farms and are accustomed to farm labor. The outdoor life for which our climate is so well suited, coupled with regular hours and a reasonable amount of hard labor, is thoroughly conducive to good health and spirits on the part of the prisoners.

In the second place, it is believed that when the farms are properly cleared, drained, and dyked to prevent overflows, the state farm system will prove as profitable as any other industry in which the state could engage. It seems impossible to believe that with good fertile lands and free labor the prison system cannot be made self-sustaining. More than this ought not to be exepected. More than this is usually secured at the sacrifice of the health and moral welfare of the prisoners—a price that no community can afford to pay—a price that defeats the very end for which a prison system is established. Indeed it is quite probably true that the most economically administered prison system is the one in which the men, especially the young men, are so busily engaged in acquiring an education, in learning the things that young men learn in trades schools and industrial institutes, that they have little time left for raising crops or making furniture for profit. The taxes paid for the support of such a prison should be classed as an investment in public education and not as a useless waste of public money.

In the third place, the state farm system interferes as little with outside labor as any line of industry in which the prison system could engage. Many of the prisoners come from the farms where they have been previously engaged in agricultural pursuits, so that their employment in agriculture, as prisoners, does not result in any material increase in the total quantity of agricultural products put on the market.

Then, too, the total output of the prison farms constitutes such a small fraction of the total agricultural output of the country, that no appreciable effect is produced on market prices. But even if this were not true, it is the opinion of the present writer that the state should select the industries best suited to the labor of its prisoners and to the purposes of the prison system, and depend for a proper readjustment of the labor supply upon the well known economic law that labor will flow from an industry where it is not needed to one where it is. Such a readjustment at the worst would be only a temporary inconvenience to a limited number of persons. When such a readjustment had once been made, the prison industry would merely constitute one of several steady sources of supply of the particular product and it would no more be a disturbing factor than any free industry of equal output.

Concentration of State Farms

To make a success of the state farm system it is necessary that the farms be concentrated in one locality to facilitate the general work of farm management. With farms scattered from the mouth of the Brazos to the Red River, as in the case of Texas, the problem of farm management becomes very great and the cost of transportation of labor, mules, machinery and supplies is almost prohibitive. Not only should the farms be located near each other, but they should embrace several kinds of land, upland as well as bottom-land. Such an arrangement facilitates the diversification of crops and in periods of wet weather and the like enables the management to shift the labor from one farm to another.

Up to the present time practically all the farming has been done on the extensive plan and tremendous areas are cultivated for relatively small returns. To the present writer it would seem that the time had come in the history of agriculture in Texas for the use of more intensive methods of farming. Levees should be built around the prison farms to protect them from overflows. Many miles of such levees are necessary and their construction in the winter months would occupy the labor of many hundreds of prisoners and prison teams. In similar fashion the prison labor should be utilized in clearing the land and draining the farms and, in general, in preparing for a more intensive form of cultivation.

Need of Young Men's Reformatory

At this point, attention should be called to the fact that farm labor is not well suited for some classes of prisoners, and there is much need in Texas of a reformatory for young men between 17 and 25 years of age. There are about 1,500 young men in the Texas prison system between these ages. Of this number about 500 are white men. Many of these young men come from the cities and will return to the cities just as soon as they are released. As a result, what they learn on the state farms will be of small use to them in earning a living after they are released. For these men a reformatory should be established

where they should be required to put in a portion of their time on the farm and the remainder in learning such trades as will make them self-supporting when released. Many of these young men from the cities are addicted to the use of alcohol and other drugs and are suffering from disease as a result of dissipation. For them the sovereign remedy, combined with proper medical attention, is the outdoor life on the farm, together with proper food and regular hours of labor. After the drugs are worked out of them and their health has been restored, they should still be put through a course of education, including the mastery of a trade that will make them useful citizens when discharged.

Use of the Prisoners on the Public Roads

Much has been said in Texas of using prisoners in building public roads. It is now well settled in the minds of students of the subject that road work is not suitable for prisoners, other than those who can be worked under the honor system. During the last few months experiments are being made in road building of this kind in Texas. Three or four squads of 40 or 50 prisoners each have been paroled from the prison system to certain counties for use on the roads. These men are worked without guards, in citizens' clothes, and are paid wages at the rate of $7.50 per month. The county feeds and clothes and shelters the prisoners and pays the state $15.00 a month for their labor, one-half of which, as just stated, is passed on to the prisoner. From the reports in the newspapers these experiments are working out well, but it is yet too early to pass final judgment upon them.

To the present writer it would seem hardly necessary for the state to extend this system of road work. If men can be worked on their honor by the counties, why cannot the state prison system work the same men on their honor in cultivating crops or in building levees to protect the farms against floods? It goes without saying that there are a great many prisoners who cannot be worked under the honor system. But there seems to be no good reason why those who can should not be separated from those who cannot and be put in charge of one or more farms and paid wages for their labor or given a share of the profit from the sale of the crops.

County Convict Farms

Before closing this paper it will not be amiss to call attention to the fact that some of the counties are utilizing their prisoners in working the county roads, while others maintain convict farms on which the prisoners are worked, and still others are engaged in hiring out their prisoners as was formerly done by the state. It is generally believed by those informed that the grossest abuses now existing in Texas are to be found in these county road gangs and county convict farms. The use of the strap has been abolished in the state prison system, but prisoners are being whipped every day in the county gangs

and are in many cases being worked to the limit of their endurance. No official investigation has ever been made of the subject, though from time to time shocking stories find their way into the newspapers or are told in court proceedings, as occurred in the peonage cases from Burleson County tried in the Federal Court in Austin, in 1911.

It is the opinion of the present writer that the county convict system should be abolished and misdemeanants should be handled by the state on district farm colonies. The jail should be abolished, except as a place for detaining prisoners until tried, and all jail sentences should be served on the farm colonies, and always at hard labor, and under the indeterminate sentence. Under no circumstances should an able bodied prisoner be allowed to remain in jail in idleness.

Conclusions

I believe that the following conclusions may be stated:

1. That for the Southern states the state farm system offers the best method of handling a large per cent of the prison population. This form of labor is especially adapted to the mild climate in this section of the country and to the negro and Mexican population found in Southern prisons.

2. That farm labor is not altogether suited for young men, especially the white men, who come from the cities and will return to the cities after they are released from prison. For such young men reformatories more or less similar to the one at Elmira should be established.

3. That under reasonably efficient management the state farm system can be made self-sustaining.

4. That for convenience of management the farms should be concentrated in one locality and in order to facilitate diversification of crops and labor should embrace as many different kinds of soil as possible.

5. That while road work under the honor system is a feasible method of utilizing prison labor, no reason is apparent why the same labor could not be as advantageously used on the state farm, especially where much clearing, draining and leveeing remain to be done.

6. That the county convict system is a source of many abuses and probably always will be and should be replaced by a system of district farm colonies for misdemeanants, operated under state control.

DISCUSSION: The section meeting was opened with an extemporaneous address by Maj. J. B. Woods, Superintendent, Virginia Penitentiary, Richmond. The discussion was participated in by Mr. John J. Sonsteby of Chicago, Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York, Mr. John H. DeWitt of Tennessee, Mr. Starr Cadwallader of Ohio, Mr. William J. Ahern of New Hampshire, Mrs. E. W. Bounds of Texas, and Mr. Frank E. Wade of New York.

THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY

Report of the Committee: Charity Organization Ideals.*

Eugene T. Lies, General Superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, Chairman.

It has been urged from various quarters that it would be timely at this session to make a simple presentment of the cause of organized charity, a sort of re-affirmation of the fundamental ideas in its platform. Some of the considerations behind these requests seem to be the need of giving an answer both to the rampant and to the thoughtful critic, and of confirming and increasing the young charity worker's faith; as well as the duty of proclaiming the inherent value of the ideas and ideals of charity organization as helpful tests of larger social betterment measures proposed on every hand in our day.

Let me cite some of the well-known criticisms levelled at organized charity.

We are told that it is too professional, lacks sympathy; it gives too little material relief and too much advice; it costs too much in salaries to get food to the poor; it loves to investigate and investigate while poor folks starve; it is doing work which the government should do; it deals with effects and overlooks causes.

These castigations come, as we know, from various sources,—the unthinking, the superficial, the undiscriminating, the inexperienced, the radical, the man who wants too much for his money; the person without social perspective. But on the other hand, questions are raised also by friends of the movement who at times grow discouraged over its slowly accrued results, and conscientiously, too, by those who vaguely suggest that some other kind of machinery would be better.

I, for one, am ready to say that if we charity organizationists will every now and then stop, look and listen, when the critic is abroad, it will not be at all amiss. For in a sense, we should welcome him. He puts us on our mettle. He shows us at what points we have failed to make ourselves clear and thus, instead of wasting energy in carrying coals to Newcastle, we have presented to us the opportunity of building a fire where it is cold.

Though mindful of Miss Richmond's dictum of fourteen years ago

*General Session, May 10, 8:00 P. M.

Before presenting this paper at the Conference there had not been opportunity to submit it to all the members of the Committee, but since the Conference this has been done and a unanimous vote has approved the document as a committee report.

that "all live and growing things elude definition," and that "when we are able to say to every one's satisfaction precisely what charity organization is, then our charity organization societies will have had their day," I yet dare to say that there is a fundamental need of definition. For it is plain that there is an enormous amount of confusion in the mind of the average citizen, and also (let it be whispered) in the minds of very many persons who call themselves social workers, as to what is meant by "organized charity," as to what a charity organization society really is and what it stands for. And obviously to such lack of information can be traced many disappointed expectations as to achievement of one sort or another. Having so many sides to it, it is hardly to be wondered at that there are so many misunderstandings and so much half-knowledge about this field of work.

Origin of Present Ideals

It should never be forgotten that the work of charity organization as we see it to-day is distinctly an evolution. It grew out of social need. Thoughtless and indiscriminate relief to the poor has been proven everywhere the world over to move on to the breaking rather than the mending of human lives. The gift without the giver was seen to lead merely to more gifts. Unrelated ameliorative efforts meant waste, lost motion, excess here and neglect there, mob methods and inevitable chaos. The old predominant notion of personal causation and of simple causation of poverty called only for discipline and woefully meager betterment remedies.

England awoke in 1869 and America in the later seventies to the need of better methods of treating the problem of dependency than were at the time in general use. Students of social life, passionate lovers of men, analyzed the problem, deliberated and proclaimed what now appears to have been a rather new gospel,—new at least in the sense that it was offered as a broad community program for the handling of poverty. They emphasized the doctrine that human life was precious; that it has many sides, physical, mental and spiritual; that, though men may fall, they may rise again; but that he who would raise the fallen must apply discriminating judgment to the diagnosis of the causes and discrimination in applying remedies; his methods must be based upon the actual facts of life. The leaders called for joint effort, combination thinking, team play. As time went on and experience accumulated, it was more clearly perceived that man as he is is a blend of heredity and will power, *plus* many other influences from without, influences issuing from his social and industrial environment; that he is in many senses also a victim, a victim of others' greed and neglect. Then began the great program of prevention, the cleaning up of plague spots, the humanizing of industry, the community protection of life and health and the promotion of efficiency.

Here then is a life-saving cause that has been engendered by men and women who looked out with compassion upon a world in which there were sorrowful, broken fellow-beings needing good neighbors. And to neighborliness they gave a larger and finer conception.

History Repeated in All Growing Communities

In every growing community the same genesis and the same development of ideas respecting the treament of dependency are observable. Not always is the materialization a complete charity organization society, an Associated Charities, a Bureau of Charities, but the groping is in that direction. In the United States there are at present one hundred and forty-five bodies whose standards are such as to entitle them to membership in the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity and the number is ever increasing. For it is inevitable that wherever citizens really take thought about the nature of distress, its expansive and infectious qualities, and the unfairness and cruelty of letting it continue, there is a pooling of effort to reduce and remove it. It is interesting to observe that the calls for help made upon this American Association by the smaller cities of the country in establishing firm organizations of the type under consideration is almost beyond the ability of its workers to satisfy. The request is always based upon the conviction in those very communities that haphazard, touch-and-go charity gets nowhere, that mere impulse to help without knowledge of method or goals of worth are of little value and that duplication and un-relation of effort is crude procedure.

A sample appeal would run something like this:

> "Beggars are multiplying in this town. Many poor families are being given groceries and money by churches and individuals but none of the givers plan together to remove the cause of the dependency. Our tuberculosis death rate is increasing and the increase is largely over in our poor neighborhood. Here are many children growing up in families where parental guidance is of the lowest sort, or nil. There is plenty of good will here in this place but we do not know how to apply it. Please come over and help us."

Then the representative of the American Association goes there, studies the situation and aids in the planning of a society, provided the town is ready for one, or he takes an existing but weak organization and gives a prescription for its strengthening.

Now, to the critic who says we are too professional we declare deliberately that we are not professional enough in the sense that full professional standards would certainly call for the application of every known remedy in the catgeory of human helpfulness, and in this category would necessarily be compassion and devotion, without which our striving falls short. Lack of warmth simply means incomplete equipment of the individual worker; the equipment needs enlargement.

On the other hand, we do say emphatically that mere warmth of sentiment and good intentions without sound method and clear perception of desirable ends to be attained spells small-change charity and encouragement of weakness.

The assertion that the charity organizationist gives too little material relief in proportion to the amount of advice extended to the poor may honestly be met by the statement that the whole relief question has in the last few years received conscientious attention at the hands of charity organization societies, and that *they*, indeed, long ago promulgated the idea of full and adequate provision for clearly ascertained needs of dependent families. Without boasting, it may be said that private charity has always been more generous on the material relief side than public charity, but it also has had the courage to face misunderstanding by proclaiming that things alone, though important, will not and cannot solve our poverty problem in the large; that personal service is a *sine qua non* to even the successful giving of goods and money. The content of the term, relief, has been immensely widened, so that it now covers all that one may think of as "wise friendliness", and the wisest friend is an adviser, an encourager, an inspirer. He will aid in the removal of personal barriers to recovery and in the use of the strengthening resources of the community. Is there any folly so gross as that which leads a man to believe that the sorrowing, the baffled, the broken, need no advisers, on encouragers, no inspirers? Clearly we know today that the charity that does not evoke a spirit of hope and ambition is dead charity.

Criticism of Salaries

The trouble with the critic of salaries in the charity field very often is that he has never tried to work out an actual case of distress, does not realize its difficulties, and, therefore, necessarily cannot grasp the sum total of complexities in the poverty situation of a community which is ever and anon crying out for continuous, skilled leadership. Without systematic and carefully directed organization in a city like Chicago, for example, where the United Charties alone annually has to deal with about 15,000 cases, what would happen? Imagination can supply the answer. He would have free service, this critic, but it would be service to hand out alms. We, too, would have free service but it would be the service of wise friendliness and that would be trained, directed service. To get such implies the provision of trainers and directors kept at their tasks all of the time and thus we get back to a paid force. One may hope that as time passes and the number of volunteers increases the number of salaried workers may be decreased. An important part of our program is precisely to arouse purposeful charitable activity on the part of the many and not let it be confined to the few, for our faith is that the humane spirit expressing itself in wise helpfulness toward fellow men is the *greatest endowment of the race*,

a social power. But while the transformation process is going on let no man traduce groups of people who are facing the tremendous burden of a city's poverty. Let him tremble rather over the consciousness that he is increasing the weight of that burden by his thoughtlessness and his wild outcries.

It is entirely true that the cost of all charity is in the mass great, but wise charity can rightly declare that it is not responsible for that cost. And, as far as private organized charity is concerned, its upholders may point out that they are doing the double duty of raising the funds and grappling with a huge social task. If givers determine to encourage the doing of this social task in a certain way why should the non-giving critic rage?

When we are told that governmental agencies should assume a large part of the work now being done by private charity, we say yes and no. Yes, if conditions in the community are such as to give reasonable warrant that all hard-won experience in the charity organization field is to be respected, that high ideals of service will obtain, that there is community pride and community stability of purpose, a genuine "sense of the state," as H. G. Wells calls it, of sufficient strength to stand by the effort through thick and thin. But no, ever no, if shallow, visionless, job-hunting, social grab-baggers are to be in the saddle. Our patriotism, our humanity, would provoke us to strain every nerve to stop such a consummation. Let public outdoor relief officials give us a sign that the family rehabilitation idea has a standing with them and we shall and ought to clasp hands with them in an effort to work out a program. Certain it is that no mothers' pension legislation can be effectively administered unless the ideals of organized charity are persistently applied. Great praise is due those progressive public officials here and there who have ventured to break away from the old cut-and-dried methods of relief-giving and have applied the modern ideas of constructive charity. Our English colleagues are telling us that wherever in the execution of the varied governmental social measures, workers are being used who have had the hard training of private philanthropy, just there are the best results obtained, and vice versa. This is no surprise, even though organized charity under proper conditions should turn over some of its tasks to governmental agencies, let it not be forgotten that there will yet remain to it a large province for experimental effort, for wholesome, constructive suggestion and criticism.

A Co-ordinating Force

Turning to the function of organized charity as a unifying and co-ordinating force, it may with fairness be said to have won its way successfully. It has insisted in its every-day work that the welfare of the family as a whole was to be striven for, that the responsibilities of its various elements should be conserved and in doing this it has

helped to stem the tide of disintegrating influences in our present-day social life. Further, it has always aimed consciously to bring together the helpful agencies dealing with family problems for the working out of rehabilitation programs. Its promotion of confidential registration bureaus has been a great community benefit. In Chicago, for example, the bureau established by the United Charities is used by fifty-seven public and private agencies who last year cleared 110,294 names—a potent preventer of waste. In effecting helpful contacts, a more wholesome understanding between the poor and the better favored classes it has served as a social bridge.

Can it not be said, further, that in insisting upon diagnostic methods, in proclaiming that the individual and the family must be viewed in relation to society both as privileged and responsibility-bearing elements, this movement has done for all intending helpers of mankind a very special service?

The use of the term "Organized Charity" we would not pre-empt. Indeed, we say that any group or any individual that is *concerned* about fitting wise remedies to actual needs in poverty cases, and that co-operates intelligently with others in the social field is expressing the charity organization idea. For organized charity, let it be emphasized, though it is a trite emphasis, is simply careful, planned, result-getting charity. The leaders in all our varied social movements are more and more agreeing that the excellence of their work is in direct proportion to the completeness of the application of the fundamental ideas of organized charity, investigation, co-operation, adequate treatment, etc.

Organized charity has been a restraining, a wholesome tempering force amid the clamor for "hustle-up", revolutionary methods which mark the tide of much present-day social excitement. It knows that the "mills of God grind slowly," but "exceeding small" if given the right chance. But, on the other hand, it has with increasing realization of duty and, indeed, as a direct consequence of its carefulness of method, proclaimed the causes of misery courageously and set machinery in motion for their eradication. Has it not been called, and justly, "the mother of social movements?" Better housing, larger health and recreation provisions, anti-tuberculosis work, infant welfare conservation, school medical inspection, yes, industrial humanization and minimum wage legislation—have not all these and many other movements received either definite leadership or helpful backing from charity organizationists?

True it is that we ask of the ultra-radical: "Will your program mean the strengthening or the weakening of individual responsibility; the conservation and culture of family life or its further disintegration; the promotion of class divisions or the wholesome socialization of the great body politic"? In the face of the splendid and desirable demand for social justice it is not the most popular thing imaginable to utter a

word of caution, yet just because of the very general acceptance of this slogan by the populace and its capability of perversion and corrupt utilization by designing men, let those who have gone through the fire of experience and possess the facts as to cause and effect, play their natural part in the new social evolution. This is no call for standpatism but for intelligent co-operation on the part of the charity forces. With H. G. Wells, socialist, we may well agree that there is in the United States a "cold need of a great science of social adjustment and discipline and rightly ordered machinery to turn enthusiasm to effect". Merely "clapping our hands over schemes" and falling in line would be a reproach to our intelligence. But even when the proper social and industrial adjustments have been made, we charity organizationsts maintain there will still be plenty of instances of individual maladjustments and hence a need of continued effort along personal rehabilitation lines. This is denied, we know, just as there is implied denial even now in the opposition of the ultra-radical toward organized charity. It would seem as if he contended that a pure *laissez-faire* policy should operate with reference to those who are now falling by the wayside. He calls them victims, but he cannot exercise helpful sympathy for them. His sympathy runs to future generations. Ours runs to both present and future generations. He is looking with hope to future wholesale methods of help. We look to present retail means plus carefully planned future wholesale methods.

Now, all that appears crude in the work in this field which we are discussing, all that is defective, is largely the crudity and defect of immaturity. We are still young and there is hope. Let us refine our methods, let us enrich our understanding, let us utilize more effectively all that science, all that education, all that religion and love can contribute to the building and rebuilding of human life. Let us gather in recruits, let us take our light from under the bushel. Let us explain ourselves. Ours may be the fine task of helping to keep glorified in the world of rush and materialistic craving the sense of other-self. Ours should be the determined resolve to combine passion and purpose in our striving. With Charles S. Loch, we may declare that

> Charity is a social principle. Accordingly it has a social purpose; it requires a social discipline; it works through sympathy; it depends on science; and in fervency it is religious.

This gospel which we have been propounding has won out in dark places in the past; it is winning now. It has enlisted tens of thousands in its cause. But there are hundreds of thousands yet to be drawn over.

MR. LIES: This year the section of the Family and Community was given a large job. The scope of its interests covered what we know as charity organization, the family in relation to the community, as the name of the committee implies, the relation of philanthropy to business, and rural improvement questions. We did the best we could with such a large order to fill, and think the speakers on the various programs will be eminently worth while to hear. Miss Breckinridge will present the first paper.

THE FAMILY IN THE COMMUNITY, BUT NOT YET OF THE COMMUNITY

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago, Ill.

It is not my purpose to discuss those relationships between the family and the community which are the very bonds of the community's life. There are those who may not be aware of that dependence by which the life and the vigor, the beauty and the joy of the community find their source in the dignity, the comfort, the security and competence of the life of the family groups, who say, for example, "with the adults it is perhaps too late, but let us have the children and we will go ahead." They are, however, not of our number, but members of other associations than this, students from without of the forces, economic, social, spiritual, which play upon the family life, rather than workers from within co-operating with those forces to bring about a nobler relationship within the group itself.

We know that there can be no taking the children and leaving the adults which does not mean a severance from the very source of life itself. We know that that source may have become polluted and contamniated, in which case another reservoir of life and vigor must be tapped as nearly like that displaced as possible except that it is pure and wholesome. That the family is the unit of the community, that with it and through it our work is to be done if it will endure, is the fundamental article in the creed of us all.

Of course, as in other aspects of our life our profession outruns our practice. We know that the family is the centre and core of our life; but we are not able always to guard it from the perils to which it is often exposed. They present themselves in insidious forms, and we recognize perhaps only too late the venom of their attack. In most of our cities, there are housing conditions which are incredibly disastrous to family life. Crowded together, on the front, in the middle, on the rear of lots until one cannot tell front from rear—without space, with inadequate light and air, without privacy, to say nothing of dignity or beauty, if noble living does emerge it is as the water lily from the marsh and mire.

Our foresight fails and we do not see what is happening. Our insight fails and the damage may be done before we have spoken the word of warning. And sometimes our democracy fails, for we sometimes yield to the inherited practice of judging some groups of families as perhaps less noble and less valuable than others or, if not less noble or less valuable, noble and valuable in different ways. Their skins are darker or fairer, their stature is larger or shorter, their civilization is vastly more ancient or more recent—by tests such as these, we are tempted sometimes to classify not for purposes of more efficient service but as a basis for an *a priori* judgment. In this way, our

democracy fails, and since out of such classification come decisions based on adequate data, from that failure is bound to result ultimately a lowered efficiency of service.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to call attention to this danger in connection with a group of families towards whom we bear, in my judgment, a heavy responsibility. I mean those families who have come from other countries to throw in their lot with ours, and who, seeming to fail, are sent back to their earlier homes under the provision of our Immigration Law.

The Immigrant

From the point of view of the community the immigrant family presents itself as the problem of assimilation. This should mean the exercise of hospitality, offering what we have of good, and asking from them what is strong and vigorous for the common life. This is not the way in which it is always regarded. We use the bodily strength of the immigrants and transmute it into railroads and great structures of all kinds, but the peculiar values of their historic background, of their aspiration to a larger freedom, of their desire that their children should have nobler, freer lives than they have had—from these we often fail to extract any beauty or grace. We encourage them to exchange the scarf and shawl for the transfigurator and the American hat, and think we have assimilated them. We substitute the moving-picture show and the dance hall for the village festival and the folk dance and are not mindful of the waste and loss of it all. We have invented or applied several devices, especially for the service of the children. We thing rightly of the school as a great Americanizing device; but we are learning that the school cannot adequately serve the children without taking notice of the homes from which they come. The school visitor or the visiting teacher will help in the direction of interpreting the school and the home to each other to their mutual advantage. Other important devices are, of course, the health department, supplemented by adequate birth registration, supervision and control of midwives, and sanitary inspection, and the recreation center, equipped to serve the social needs of the entire family group. Of these there is neither time to speak, nor need, since they are discussed by other sections of the Conference.

But we may turn to look at the same problem from the point of view of the family, when it becomes the problem of adjustment or of readjusting old habits and practices to new demands and new ideals. This must be at best full of hardship and pain. Strangers in a strange land, with language and customs different, the great agony of homesickness alone would bind to the new arrivals any heart which had passed through the same kind of an uprooting. And to this suffering, are often added poverty, exploitation and frequently disaster. Now, most families succeed in making this readjustment and respond to

these influences of assimilation. Problems of poverty are found in our crowded foreign neighborhood, but unless they are complicated by some retarding influence, such as peculiarly corrupt political organization or a sectarian religious influence narrow beyond what is common. they are hopeful rather than hopeless, they are problems connected with the efforts to get up and out on to a higher level of comfort and efficiency. There is, however, this small number of immigrant family groups who are admitted but deported within three years of their arrival, who fail piteously, and in connection with whose difficulties, I believe, social workers have not taken advantage of their full opportunity.

One basis for excluding immigrants at the time of entry is probability of becoming a public charge. The provision of the Immigration Law reads as follows:

> That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission to the United States: All . . . . paupers, persons likely to become a public charge; professional beggars; . . . . (Immigration Act 1907, Sec. 2, 34 U. S. Statutes at Large, 989).

And then if within three years either it is discovered that at the time of entry they "were likely to become" dependent or they actually do become public charges from causes existing prior to their immigration, they may be deported. The law provides (section 20) that any alien who shall enter the United States in violation of law and such as become a public charge from causes existing prior to landing shall upon warrant . . . . be taken into custody and deported to the country whence he came at any time within three years after the date of his entry into the United States.

Insufficient Cause for Deportation

The figures from the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration recording the number deported on these grounds raise many questions of great interest to social workers. To be sure, if the total number of those deported for all causes is compared with the total number immigrating and admitted (p. 108) they seem insignificant, and of course the number deported for these special causes is even smaller. In 1912, when 838,172 were admitted, 8,152 were excluded as likely to become dependent; there were deported of those admitted and found afterwards to have been likely to become public charges 678; and of those who had become public charges and were deported, there were 731. In 1913, 1,197,892 were admitted, 7,941 were excluded as likely to become dependent; 1,262 were afterwards found to have been likely to become dependent; and 714 became public charges and were deported. (Report, 1913, pp. 10, 106, 110, 112.) But if these figures are scrutinized in terms of the wretchedness, disappointment and the despair they represent, they claim the attention of such a group as ours. About

them the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Mr. Keefe, said, however, in 1912:

> From the earliest days of Federal control of immigration it has been accepted as an axiom that this country should not permit persons owing allegiance to other countries to come, to be sent, or to be brought here if such persons are paupers or likely to become charges upon communities of the United States. It has also been recognized that if such persons do become public charges within a fixed period after entry they should be returned to the country of their allegiance rather than be supported by our communities.

And in 1913, the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Mr. Caminetti, said in similar terms (Report 1913, p. 15):

> The rejection of paupers and persons likely to become public charges is based upon the principle that the State and municipal governments in this country ought not to maintain, at the expense of their taxpayers, the indigent and destitute belonging to other countries. In the view of the law it makes no difference whether the aliens are actually paupers when they are brought here or become such within so short a time after entry as to show that their destitution here is the result, not of local conditions and environment, but of their own inherent inability to maintain themselves. Formerly the period within which deportation to country of origin could be effected if an alien became a public charge was fixed at one year. Since 1903 it has been fixed at three years. In view of the extent to which immigration has increased, even three years falls considerably short of what might be regarded as a reasonable time limit within which it could be held that the public charge status was the result of conditions existing prior to entry; and the bureau has suggested on several occasions that the time should be increased. It should be raised at least to correspond to the period of residence required under the naturalization law, to wit, five years.

It should be borne in mind that the decision as to whether the cause did exist prior to immigration is not a subject of judicial determination. In fact, the inspector in charge of one of the districts into which the country is divided for administrative purposes (Report 1913, p. 183) is somewhat aggrieved because the hearings on proposed deportation cases are complicated by counsel for the immigrant who endeavor to "treat it as a judicial hearing, whereas in fact it is merely an executive hearing, and to introduce matter which is irrelevant or inconclusive upon the only issue, which is whether the alien should be deported."

In this connection, one is reminded of the law of Settlement, and all the wretched limitations it has imposed on public agencies in their service of the needy. A man who has come from another parish or union or county or state must be helped if at all at the cost of that jurisdiction and in accordance with its decisions rather than with his needs. We have been trying to get away from that law, and private agencies have been grateful for their freedom from its control. But here in our immigration reports, year after year, we find the language, the spirit and the method of that outworn law. The attitude of social workers ought to be very clear, it seems to me, on the subject of the treatment of these cases towards which we are

tempted to relax in the application of many of our principles. Deportation seems an easy solution of difficult cases. Moreover, the places from which the families come bear very strange names, the language is different from our own and we do not quite imagine getting their background or referring to their home people for advice, co-operation and suggestion. And so with much less careful investigation than would ordinarily be considered adequate, and under circumstances which would not generally be regarded as a reason for sending a family back to their old home in Georgia from California or to California from Massachusetts, we share in a plan to deport a family to some remote village in Europe from which they have come to one of our American cities.

This happens sometimes just as an incident to a low standard of work. There was in Chicago a very nice Polish woman who after her husband's death in the old country sold the little farm and came to America with her two boys. She got a job in a pickle factory at $1.00 a day, and the boys went to school. When winter came, other widows in her tenement lightened their own burdens by getting "coal from the county," and so she got coal from the county. Getting county coal means, in the terms of the statute, "becoming a public charge." And the occasion was her widowhood which as a cause of dependency existed before her arrival. She was therefore referred by the county authorities to the immigration office and a deportation warrant issued as a matter of routine. When the inspector came to serve the warrant she was so overcome with terror and despair at the thought of being sent back to the home in which all ties had been broken, where her small strip of land had been sold, that she ran away. Through the efforts of the Immigrants' Protective League, who knew that she was a hard-working woman, capable of self-support, the warrant was annulled and in the five years that have passed since that time she has been a perfectly independent, self-sustaining woman, and the boys, who have shown a remarkable capacity for learning English, are nice American boys of whom neither mother nor community need feel ashamed.

Sometimes, the immigrants in their distress, suggest deportation, and we fall in with their suggestion without that close scruting to which we subject plans suggested by families in distress which are not in accord with their best judgment before distress fell upon them. A Lithuanian family, for example, with three children, came over, and within a short time the father was killed in an industrial accident in such a manner that there was no compensation. In her wretchedness the widow proposed that she be sent back to her brother, who is a priest in the old country. Correspondence with the brother, however, revealed the fact that while he would gladly receive her and do all in his power for her, he could, because of the political situation, help her much more effectively and render much more stable aid by sending a regular allowance to her here.

Should Receive Same Treatment as American in Distress

My point is that, however short the period of their stay before they fall into distress, however alien the tongue and distant the former home, the same principles should govern every case in which aid is asked or distress is to be relieved as rule in the treatment of the American family whom we are serving.

One quite elementary point would therefore be that, before calling in the aid of the public agencies, one should learn the length of time since arrival. Otherwise really gross injustice may result. In the case of an undersized tailor, an Hungarian whose wife had come over and toiled and saved until she could bring him and the four children, such a miscarriage of kindness almost resulted. Soon after his arrival, one of the little children wandered away and was lost for several days. The father was nearly mad with anxiety and when the child was found, suffered a collapse and was sent to the County Hospital. He recovered duly, went back to work and was supporting his family when a warrant for deportation was issued. He had been small and undersized before he came—within three years of this service by a public agency. That warrant, too, was annulled, but the energy would better have gone into rendering a real service to some one in need.

The Lithuanian widow suggested that she be sent back, but often when such a plan is made the immigrants cannot bear to acquiesce. They know that they have burned their bridges behind them, that they go to hopelessness and failure. They could not quote the Transportation Rules which so many societies have signed, but they know that "their condition and prospects will" not "be substantially improved by sending them to the place in question," as is required by Rule 1, section 2, or that they are not "a proper charge on the charity of that community." (Section 4).

They may perhaps have acted unadvisedly. There is, for example in Chicago, a German baker who sold his farm and came over thinking he could get land here; but he has not been able to do this. He is not really fit for factory work in the city. He will have to be given some aid—and perhaps other things as well as brains will have to be loaned to him to enable him to go on here. But he has less there than here, if only because here at least he has hope as a companion and there despair.

Sometimes in their distress we are given such evidence of the contribution they can make—if they are given the opportunity—of courage and simple heroism and devotion and self-sacrifice. There is the case of a Croatian who came over nine months ago and got work at $12.00 a week. He has been disabled two of the nine months owing to an industrial accident, but he has saved enough to send for his wife and four children. He has taken a tiny basement apartment and furnished it with articles bought on the instalment plan. He learns when they have arrived at Ellis Island that the baby was accidentally injured on

the way over and will probably not recover, but he must make a cash deposit of $150 to assure the cost of its care and treatment at Ellis Island. He is able to borrow this, and asks help only in making certain that the money is rightly and safely sent. It is hard to believe that with this burden of debt in addition to his distress and the result of his accident he will be able to pull through without aid, but one stands abashed before such simple heroism and such devotion. And if he and such as he come asking help, it is not too much for those who treasure the values of their community life to demand that in ministering to them the same thoroughness, the same reliance on their co-operation, the same belief in the value of what they can contribute shall characterize the help offered them that characterizes the services rendered to those of our own blood and our own language. No criticism of the immigration authorities is intended here. Criticism may be justified, but we are concerned here not with the method in which they interpret and enforce the law nor with the question of the social value of the law itself. We are concerned only with the question of our own standard of work, and the consistent upholding of our principles upon which alone efficient, constructive service to individuals can be renedered. Incidentally, we may remind ourselves, of course, that on the basis of this kind of intelligently consistent work, constructive suggestions as to change in method or legislative amendment may be made to the responsible public authorities.

MR. LIES: It is important now and then to ask what challenges may philanthropy put to business, and how far will business accept these challenges in a wise spirit? Will business ever overtake philanthropy and make us all unnecessary? These are a few of the questions Dr. Devine will try to answer,—Dr. Edward T. Devine, Editor of The Survey, Director of the New York School of Philanthropy, Professor of Social Economy, of Columbia University, a man of courage, a blazer of social trails.

PHILANTHROPY AND BUSINESS

Edward T. Devine, Director New York School of Philanthropy, New York City.

Let us use the word *philanthropy* in the old and noble sense as brotherhood touched with emotion; as the love of fellow man, not for what one can get out of him or as a channel for ostentatious benevolence, but for his own sake, as a fellow being whom not to love and cherish and respect is to deny our birthright of humanity. Not every man is by nature a philanthropist, any more than every man is normal and complete as to any other human trait, but the perfect man, the natural man, in the sense of that nature towards which the generations yearn and strive, is a philanthropist. He does care for others. He respects their rights not by contract, express or implied,

but because it is his nature. He struggles for their advantage, not with conscious deliberation in order to promote his own, but again because it is his nature. He avoids injustice, oppression and fraud, not because the laws restrain him, but because they are detestable. He cannot help it. He is born that way; and social nurture does but strengthen his innate inclinations. Whatever his superficial demeanor may happen to be, he is not callous at heart, or coldly calculating in his fundamental human relations. He is moved by social ideals of a progress in which all men share; by visions of a redeemed society in which exertion, toil, even pain and suffering may indeed persist, but if so not as a result of business relations, not as a result of man's injustice or neglect. That, if your minds go along with me so far, is what we are to understand by philanthropy, a glowing faith in humanity, a manner of life which is based upon constant recognition and acceptance of a family relationship to other men. It is inconsistent with deliberate incitement to class conflict, though it is not without a sympathetic understanding of that class conscious struggle which is, or may be, an intermediate stage towards universal brotherhood.

Business—perhaps because it is more familiar—is a litle harder to define. It is evidently not to be identified with philanthropy. Business men are constantly telling us that they are not engaged in philanthropic enterprises, a curious variant of this announcement being that they are not in business for their health, as if the preservation of their precious health were the highest form of philanthropy of which they could conceive, or at least the farthest removed from their ordinary preoccupation with business. Even social welfare features tacked on to industrial or mercantile establishments are often zealously guarded against what the proprietors are pleased to call the "taint" of philanthropy.

Business Not Altruistic

No! business is not philanthropy. They are not of one blood. In fact there is a temptation to take the short end of describing business as simply the opposite pole to philanthropy, its direct negation in principle and its chief obstacle in practical experience. We all recognize that commerce may be a means of strengthening human relations; that industry may represent the organized effort of society to meet human wants; and that both commerce and industry so understood are beneficent. Business, then, might be represented as that particular principle in commerce and in industry which antagonizes their unifying and beneficent results; as the exploitation of employees, competitors and consumers for personal gain. Pure business might be described as the unadulterated effort to secure from every transaction the utmost pecuniary advantage. If business were so defined, the business man would be one who deals with affairs, that is to say, with the making, transporting and marketing of goods solely from

the standpoint of personal profit, and it would be a matter of sublime indifference to him, as a business man, whether profits were obtained by the cheapening of machinery and processes, by lowering the wages of labor, by widening the market, by eliminating competition and raising prices, by monopolizing incidental unearned increment, by side sepeculations in securities, or by securing governmental favors. The temptation to give the business man this bad name and hang him at once is greatly strengthened by the unfortunate fact that business has done all these things and does them. Business in the abstract and business practice in the concrete deserve the hard things which have been said of them by the prophets of Israel, by the Greek philosophers, by the oriental seers, by the Christian fathers, by the poets of humanity, and by the candid critics of this latter age in which successive industrial revolutions have enthroned business in substantial control of our destinies, so that, as never before in human history, we may observe the real nature of business written large upon the face of human affairs.

But in such a characterization of business as this there would be injustice—an injustice like that of the Scotch Canadian philosopher who wrote a book on the American woman. He depicted a very disagreeable creature. Somewhere in his volume, he explained that this type of woman was distinctively American. It seems that she is to be found also in Canada and in Scotland, but for convenience he preferred to call her an American woman, because he had to have a title, and it seemed to pain the author less to picture the object of his dislike and disapproval as an American. That there might be some sensitiveness on the part of the real American woman appears not to have troubled his philosophic soul.

The prevailing mood among students of the social aspects of business is really one of perplexity. There are those who love business as Whittier loved a monk's cowl, or as ex-President Taft loves the courts. Quaker as he was, Whittier balked when he came to realize and bethought himself to ask for title deeds. Professor Taft himself is said to use strong language, especially in private conversation, about the doings of particular judges in these same courts which on principle he loves. Any socially minded business man has a hard time to defend business at its worst as we now all know it to be since the Hughes Insurance investigation, and the collapse of the New Haven system, and all the sickening exposures in the decade between these two events, have done their deadly work. Business includes all that is done primarily for profit, and the fact is that an infinite number of wholly useful and praiseworthy things are actually done from that motive. Whether commerce and industry could be carried on, as socialists think that they could, if the motive of personal profit were eliminated, is a fair question for debate, but certainly they are carried on from that motive mainly at present, and to business we must give the credit for the greater part of what they achieve.

Business Men Not Limited to the Business Motive

As we survey the history of industry and commerce, of business in operation, we discern unquestionably much that seems to express the spirit of philanthropy, that seems to prophesy a day when other motives will drive out or dominate the business motive, when consideration of social welfare, rather than the extortion of profit, will become a direct and all-pervading motive. Business men sometimes ascribe all these beneficent changes to the enlightened application of business principles. Enlightened selfishness is proposed as a sufficient guide to action even in matters vitally affecting others. Philanthropy is dismissed sneeringly, either as an utter delusion and pretense, or as a negligible means, among many, of personal gratification; in other words, a form of selfishness. I contend, on the contrary, that business is not entitled to this degree of credit, that it is only as the business motive is limited, restrained, supplemented or replaced by other motives that there is substantial progress in bringing commerce and industry and other social activities into conformity with genuine social needs. Fortunately the business man is seldom a business man simply. He is a leader of men with an instinctive fondness for accomplishing some good results from his leadership. He is an inventor with a pride in his inventions. He is a religious man with reverence for religious traditions and sanctions. He is a professional man with respect for professional standards. He is a consumer of liberalizing forms of culture. He is a citizen with a political and civic instincts. He is a philanthropist with the welfare of his neighbors, his employees, his competitors and his customers at least intermittently in mind. He has generous impulses and just desires. He circumscribes his business activities and prefers to be partially, at least, a man. He installs welfare schemes, shamefacedly telling the world that he is doing it for business reasons, that contented employees are a good investment, but really feeling a glow of satisfaction, not only at the higher dividends, but at the contentment. Nevertheless, welfare work, coming into existence in such ways, is certain to be fragmentary, erratic and disappointing. Business mitigated by philanthropy is better than business unalloyed, but it is no adequate safeguard for human interests. A deeper change than any that has yet been made voluntarily by business itself is essential. Industrial democracy in the spirit of philanthropy is essential, by which we mean the actual participation—not by sufferance but by established custom—the sustained and effective participation of industrial workers in determining the conditions of their work, not only hours and wages, but the conditions of employment and discharge, the introduction of new processes, the way in which one part of the work is to be adjusted to another, the administration of relief and aid schemes, of retiring pensions, and other features, of what makes up the total compensation of the workman. Some kind of joint responsibility should be established for maintaining standards of quality

of work, so that consumers will have a guarantee based not merely upon the business interests of proprietors, but also upon a long tradition and pride of workmanship in those who are actually doing the work. Obviously this is a different ideal from that of our friends, the efficiency engineers, relying less upon management and discipline tests and measurements, more upon individual initiative and *esprit de corps*, upon personal capacity and good will.

The ideal of philanthropy is human. It does not become enthusiastic over such conservation of workers as is directed towards the increase of profits. It does not rave over high wages which are paid in order to secure a low labor cost. It believes in conservation and in high wages for other reasons. Nor does it interpret as in the interests of business the current movement for the conservation of life and health, the various movements for reducing the death rate, for safeguarding the public health, controlling infection, improving the racial stock, raising the standard of living, protecting women and children, reducing hours of labor and promoting rational recreation in the hours of leisure. No doubt their net effect is to restrict, rather than to enlarge the field of exploitation. The content of life itself is the thing about which philanthropy is concerned. Workers are not looked upon as assets of business, but the ultimate consumers of the products of industry. There is to be no such nationalization of labor as Mr. Walling forecasts in his interesting *Progressivism and After*. To workingmen as philanthropists under the full sway of the spirit of brotherhood, the monstrous perversions implied in looking upon his fellow workman as a machine, rather than as a rational user and producer of wealth, will be sufficiently apparent.

The question which was in the mind of the chairman in assigning this topic is, I hope, partly answered. To what extent, you asked in the *Bulletin*, are the captains of industry heeding the pleading of the humanitarians in preventing misery and promoting the common good? Business has become more humane and more human. This is partly because business men have shared in new social ideals and have learned from the general trend of human events. It is partly because of external pressure. It is not primarily from enlightened or unenlightened selfishness. It has not been for the sake or with the result of increased profits. You asked further: Will the time soon come when business will stand out in the open, not merely with an assenting lisp, but rather with a championing shout, declaring that in the last analysis the human factor must never be submerged under the commercial and industrial? I hear that shout but it is in the language of civics and philanthropy and not in the dialect heard upon the Rialto.

Enlightened Selfishness Not Enough

Looking to the future we may expect more from the development of the social spirit in the community as a whole, from the strengthening

of the position of workers as such, and of consumers as such, than from any clearer perception of the directions in which business interests, in the sense of larger profits, are to be sought. There is no prospect that business will usurp the functions of philanthropy. There is no promise in any achievements of business unrestrained by law or external opinion which would warrant our abdicating as citizens or as agitators of public opinion. There is no safety in leaving business to manage its own affairs, that is to say, our affairs looked at from the aspect of the pecuniary advantage of the business manager of them. On the contrary, the one constant factor in all social problems which is most baffling, most dangerous, and most worthy of our constant consideration, is precisely the business interest which will suffer from its being solved. The socializing of religion, of philanthropy, of medicine, of education, of recreation, of government, is going on apace. The socializing of business lags far behind. There are unique experiments, like that of the New York Provident Loan Society in pawnbroking, which would seem to indicate that it is not impossible, but there are as yet no evidences that we may cast aside our philanthropic ideals and trust to business for social salvation.

It was in the first half of the nineteenth century in England that business had its unique opportunity. The new science of political economy was its charter and apology. Free trade came at its bidding, *Laissez faire* became its watch word, steam its magician. Everything then first conspired to give to business the chance which in earlier ages, religion, philosophy, politics, and economic conditions had equally conspired to deny. The economic man of the classical economists was not so much an abstraction, not so much a figment of the imagination, as we often assume. He was the real Englishman of an epoch, acting on a business instinct in a golden age made possible by industrial changes. But it was a failure. Factory laws and sanitary regulations, whether inherently desirable or not—and so late a philosopher as Spencer thinks they are not—were an absolute necessity to rectify the horrible conditions which the business regime brought into existence. Business was tried and found wanting. It did not sufficiently promote the ends of human life; it was at odds with philanthropy; it produced hatred and resentment and sullen anger; Chartism in one generation and socialism in the next were its indictment, and whatever the value of their remedies, as indictments they have never yet been quashed.

Mexico and Colorado

It is a far cry from the north of England a century ago to Mexico and Colorado in the spring of 1914, but the fruits of business, the bitter fruits of business when least restrained, when most itself, are here as they are there.

If unhappily intervention of the United States in Mexico should prove after all to be necessary—as I hope it will not be—it should

be upon even broader grounds than those described in the defeated Lodge amendment. Not because the flag was insulted, not even because American lives and property had been destroyed, but in expiation and remorse because of the sad consequences of the fact that American business men, together with business men of the civilized nations, controlling the industries of Mexico, have acted consistently upon so-called business principles, and so acting have created or perpetuated the conditions of illiteracy, peonage, landlessness, low standards of living, and general helplessness which prevail in that distracted country. If the railways, mines, oil wells and plantations of Mexico, in which American investments are said to be far greater than Mexican investments, had been managed with a view to the social welfare of Mexicans, instead of with a view to their exploitation for the profit of investors, we and the English and the Germans and the Canadians might have easier national consciences than we are now entitled to. I am not advocating intervention. On this we may very well follow the evidently conservative intentions of the national administration. If, however, intervention takes place, it will have to be justified not by its causes but by its results; by the policies followed after intervention has become a fact. It is not surprising that a newspaper supposed to reflect financial interests took quick alarm when a neighboring journal suggested editorially that President Wilson's obvious sympathy with the Constitutionalists under Carranza and Villa was probably prompted by his approval of the land policy which they have inherited from Madero, a land policy not to be distinguished from that of the noble Gracchi in Rome, that of the anti-patroon rioters in New York, that of Gladstone in Ireland, and that to which Lloyd George seems to be tending in England—a policy of moderate holdings by cultivators, instead of absentee ownership of vast estates cultivated by serfs.

The more salient issues in Colorado are really not obscure, though the responsibility for particular acts of violence of course awaits investigation. What is clear is that the corporations engaged in the steel mills and the mines have overworked their employees, as their competitors elsewhere have overworked theirs; that the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week have been prevalent there as they have been prevalent in Alabama and Pennsylvania; that exploitable immigrant labor has been utilized because it was cheap and because it was exploitable; that Unionism has been bitterly and persistently fought by the companies. Without organization on their part there can of course be no collective bargaining, no industrial democracy. There are excellent welfare features in these industries, especially in the steel plants of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The wages are said to be as high as among their competitors, but the overworked miner and mill worker without a union is not and cannot be an industrial citizen. Even politically he is scarcely a citizen. He is in no position to co-operate in securing

political or industrial justice. Deprived of the instruments of rational progress he resorts to the cruder and now happily unlawful weapons of earlier stages of civilization. Business—crude, unsocialized business—has created him. Business must accept responsibility for his acts, and the business men who have actually shaped the business policies on the ground could not if they would evade their own share of that responsibility. The independent companies, in accepting freely their share, as they have done in a recent statement declaring that this is not a Rockefeller war, have shown, I think, a better sense of proportion, a sounder spirit of fair judgment, than have the irresponsible organizers of the Free Silence Demonstration. The miner and mill worker have their own individual responsibility, of course. No fear that society will not enforce it to the utmost. But here we are seeking the deeper truth of a social responsibility which will never be tried in the courts, but only in the enlightened conscience of mankind. Of this social responsibility the business investor—the Rockefellers and others—must bear the chief burden.

Business, then, is the management of affairs for profit. Exploitation is a word which has implications which many of us dislike, but there is no more accurate phrase that I can find to express what business is than to say that it is the exploitation of competitors, employees and consumers for personal gain. The activities put forth from this motive have been largely beneficent, but it is equally true that they have often been disastrous. Social control of business, therefore, is essential: through direct government regulation—which must not become destruction—through taxation, through legislation to protect the weak, and through administrative machinery to facilitate the course of industrial justice, machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes, for the investigation of grievances, for the maintenance of uniform standards of protection.

If the government is to exercise this control and create this administrative machinery, obviously government must be stronger than business, must command the services in the interests of the social welfare of the ablest men, and if government enters into business enterprises and business relations, it must set a high standard of fairness, as well as of efficiency, in all its dealings with competitors, employers and the public. When the liquor business is regarded chiefly as a source of revenue, when railways are exploited as a means of keeping down a post office deficit, questions arise as to whether the necessity for such lofty standards is realized.

To appeal to justice is good, but it is not enough. Not theology only, but social economy, makes Portia's confession that in the course of justice none of us should see salvation. The total annihilation of injustice might leave us bankrupt of progress, prosperity, and good will. The appeal of the future, as of all the past, is for a genuine philanthropy of which justice is a part, for a passionate concern that

our neighbor shall have from us not just dealing only, but the electric touch of human sympathy and understanding, the partnership of man with man which keeps us above the brutes and below the gods on the more congenial levels of our common humanity.

PRESENT ASPECTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RURAL LIFE

Clarence Poe, Editor of The Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C.

As I understand the subject assigned, I am expected to tell you how far we have come in the study of our colossal rural problem and what its leaders feel is the fundamental thing to stress just now in working toward its solution.

The movement for the improvement of rural conditions in America has had three stages, or perhaps I should say three phases. In its beginning our whole thought was concentrated on the problem of improved farm methods—more scientific and economical processes of managing the soil and of producing farm crops and farm animals. While this movement has always existed in a more or less definite form, perhaps we might say that it really assumed organized and formidable proportions in this country fifty years ago when the national government provided for the establishment of agricultural colleges and experiment stations all over the United States. And through all the years since, with the development of farmers' institutes, farm demonstration work, agricultural bulletins, books and newspapers, and a score of other agencies, this movement—this necessary and elementary movement for *scientific farm production* has been gathering force and volume.

Then about thirty years or more ago, with the development of the Granger movement in the West, and the later development of the Farmers' Alliance in the West and in the South, the movement for the improvement of rural conditions assumed a new phase—the *political phase*—and a great body of farmers believed that the agricultural millennium would be ushered in by a new era in government. Whatever may be thought as to the wisdom or unwisdom of some of the demands of the farmers at that time, there can be no doubt of the far-reaching and abiding influence of their protests against railroad discriminations, against the control of Congress by powerful manufacturing and financial interests, and against a banking system designed exclusively for the promotion of urban interests and industries. A hundred years ago Adam Smith observed in his *Wealth of Nations* that since the downfall of the Roman Empire the policy of great nations "has been more favorable to arts, manufactures and com-

merce, the industry of town, than to the agriculture, the industry of the country"; and this is true to this day.

Nevertheless, while we all recognize the basic and fundamental importance of better farm methods, and also the importance of equal legislation, we have come now upon a third stage of progress—*the commercial-social phase*—in which we recognize that neither scientific production nor equal legislation is a complete remedy, but only a necessary part of a complete remedy; each a *sine qua non*, but not a panacea. The outward and visible signs of this commercial-social phase have been the organization of the Farmer's Educational and Co-operative Union in most of the states of the Union—our organization feeling its way at least toward business co-operation here as it has been worked out in Denmark and Ireland; the work of the Country Life Commission in 1908, and the establishment only last year of a Rural Organization Service in the United States Department of Agriculture.

Each of these organizations has helped in waking us up to two all-important truths. The first of these truths is that no matter how abundantly our lands produce, the farmers will not prosper adequately unless the business and marketing side of farming also has proper attention. In other words, the farmer, like the manufacturer, must not only use modern and scientific methods of production, but modern and scientific methods of buying and selling. The farmer must not only get the profits due him as a laborer and as a skilled laborer, but he must also get profits as a business man. And both because the farmer is isolated from the centers of trade and because farming is conducted by a multitude of independent small operators, better farm business must inevitably mean co-operative farm business.

Farmer's Needs Social as Well as Material

The second and final great truth, a truth which we are now only just beginning to realize, is that our rural problem includes all the things we have been considering, but also includes a great deal more. Let me state it this way:

The rural problem, in its last analysis, is nothing more nor less than the problem of developing a satisfying country life—and such a life must respond both to the social and material wants of man. It must be both financially and socially satisfying.

And to emphasize and illustrate this point let me quote a startlingly significant statement made by Dr. Thomas N. Carver, head of the Rural Organization Service, in an address in Chicago only last month. To some it will come with the suddenness of a firebell at night. He started out by saying that most people seem to assume that all that is necessary is for the farmer to produce wisely and buy and sell to advantage; that the rural problem is solved as soon as the farmer has a satisfying income. But Dr. Carver declared that this is only half the problem, and then he made this telling statement:

> Paradoxical as it may seem, it is a matter of actual observation that the sections of the country where the land is richest, where crops have been most abundant, where land has reached to the highest price and the farmers attain to the highest degree of prosperity, are the very sections from which the farm owners are retiring from the farms most rapidly and leaving them to tenants.

Why are they leaving? Why does Iowa, the richest agricultural state, show a steadily declining agricultural population? As I see it, there can be but one answer. It is that country life has not yet been adequately organized in recognition of the fact that man is "a social animal"—a truth which Sir Horace Plunkett remarks is as old as Aristotle, but which is really as old as Adam, of whom the Almighty said it was not good for him to live and work alone.

Thus we have the social instinct as old as the race itself, and bred to greater imperiousness through long centuries of family, tribal and feudal life. Instinctively we feel that we should work with our fellows in industrial relations as well as enjoy with them our hours of recreation. "In all his politics, in all his economics, in all his movements," says a distinguished thinker, "man is feeling his way to his inevitable destiny of harmonious life."

There you have, in my opinion, the phrase which chiefly explains the alarming drift to the cities. For the masses of workers it is not so much the lure of gold, for there is direr poverty in our cities than the country has ever known; but man, "instinctively a social animal", is indeed ever "feeling his way to his inevitable destiny of harmonious life," that is to say, toward a life which fully improves upon all the rich possibilities of co-operative action with his fellows, industrial, civic, and social; and he goes to the city because we have not yet provided for the development of these relations in our country districts.

So it is that the chief task of the rural reformer to-day is the creation of the Rural Community. Mr. George W. Russell, in the *Irish Homestead* (whom I am tempted to call the greatest of rural sociologists) reminds us of our elemental weakness when he says that while we have had people living here and there in rural sections heretofore, we have not had rural communities, the word community signifying a group of people with common interests working together as one body in their aspirations, hopes, ideals, ambitions. A mere collection of dwelling houses does not make a community; it becomes a real community only when it passes through the experience of Kipling's *Ship That Found Itself* and there develops among the people a common feeling of loyalty, pride, and identity of interest. This is what the organization of the town quickly develops, and what the lack of organization of the country has prevented from developing there. In the town there are ample agencies and organizations through which the townsman may work for better streets and better lights and better schools, and for parks and playgrounds and public buildings, and country clubs

and pretty suburbs, and to get more progressive people to come for neighbors with him. But it is a sad fact that while we have had people living here and there in country sections, we have not had country communities—we have not had this unity of interest, this community consciousness.

Rural Life Lacks Means of Expression

And why have we not had them? Partly, of course, because of the individualistic character of farm life—a characteristic which co-operation in buying and selling, and in farm work, will steadily overcome. But in an even larger measure, my friends, I believe the failure to develop the rural community has been due to a failure to provide the machinery for its development and expression.

It is an indictment, and a true indictment, of the leaders of our race which Mr. George W. Russell draws up when he says that great minds from Solon and Aristotle in ancient Greece, to Alexander Hamilton in our own country, have given much thought to the organization of cities and states, to the problems of municipalities and commonwealths, but have "treated the rural problem as purely economic as if agriculture were a business only and not a life." The result he finds exemplified in the contrast between facilities for progress in his own city of Dublin and the absence of such facilities in the surrounding rural sections:—

> If Dublin or another city wants an art gallery or public baths, or recreation grounds, there is a machinery which can be set in motion, there are corporations and urban councils which can be approached. If public opinion is evident—and it is easy to organize public opinion in a town—the city representatives will consider the scheme, and if they approve and it is within their power as a corporation or council, they are able to levy taxes to finance the art gallery, public bath-houses, recreation grounds, public gardens or whatever else. Now let us go to a country district where there is no organization. It may be obvious to one or two people that the place is perishing and the humanity is decaying, lacking some centre of life. They want a village hall, but how is it to be obtained? They begin talking about it to this person and that. They ask these people to talk to their friends, and the ripples go out weakening and widening for months, perhaps for years.

And so nothing is done. In other words, the civic impulse, the social instinct, can find machinery for expression in the city but cannot in the country; and so, as Mr. Russell says: "The difficulty of moving the countryman, which has become traditional, is not due to the fact that he lives in the country, but to the fact that he lives in an unorganized society."

There, as I see it, is the whole situation in a nut-shell. Country people are in heart and mind just as progressive as city people, but have not the facilities for expressing the spirit of progress. The power-

belt of organization has not been attached to the throbbing dynamo of rural aspiration.

Consider this fact, ladies and gentlemen, that the country community is the only social unit known to our civilization without machinery for self-expression and development. There is the Nation, with its government and its flag and its definite boundaries, and we are all ready to fight for it, sing of it, die for it. There is the State, too, with its government, its history, its flag—and each of us is passionately devoted to his State. There likewise is the County, with its definite boundaries, its history, its government, by means of which its people can express themselves—and there is all over the country a more or less definite feeling of county pride among all classes. And then for the townsman, there is the Town or City with its definite boundaries, its local government, its varied local organizations, its ample machinery for proper self-expression.

But for the country community there is no organic means of expression whatever. There is, of course, that shadowy and futile geographical division known as the township—but it is laid off utterly without regard to human consideration and serves no purpose save as a means of defining voting boundaries and limiting the spheres of constables and sheriffs' deputies—a mere ghostly phantom of a social entity that we need not consider at all. Here then are Nation, State, County, and Town, each with machinery for self-expression and development and only the country community shackled, gagged, helpless.

The Remedies

In its last analysis, our question is, What can we do to set it free? And my answer is that for the development of the rural community there must be—

(1) Community Organization.
(2) Community Self-knowledge.
(3) Community Centers.
(4) Community Homogeneousness.
(5) Community Rivalry.

First of all, there must be *community organization.* If Solon and Aristotle and Hamilton ignored the rural problem, as Mr. Russell reminds us, there has been one colossal mind that did not. Thomas Jefferson a hundred years ago saw just the situation I have described —saw that county, state, and nation were organized and that the town was organized, but that there was no organization in the rural communities; and time after time he declared that as long as he had breath in his body he would fight for two things—education and provision for organized rural communities—"the subdivision of the counties into wards", as he put it. His idea was to organize all over America rural communities of about six miles square into forceful,

capable rural democracy-republics—corresponding in size somewhat to our present school districts—and it is now our duty to work out in some fashion the realization of his early dream. If we can't do it through government, as yet, we can do it through other means.

Foremost in effecting this result we must have the local organization of the farmers, themselves, a Farmers' Union, a Grange, or other farmers' club, a practical, wide-awake business organization. In learning the value of co-operation in making, marketing and financing farm crops, our farmers will learn the value of co-operation in a hundred brightening and socially uplifting ways, and in the long run this by-product of business co-operation may prove its more valuable result. God helps them that help themselves; and while other agencies may and should help, and the farmers should welcome their help, it is our farmers, themselves, individually and through their organizations, who must chiefly work out all our problems of rural betterment. The local farmers' club must be the foundation of community organization.

But the work must not stop with the foundation. There are as good results to be had from the organization of the women as the men, and everywhere there is a farmers' club we should seek to have a club of farm women—such clubs as are already doing notable work in Catawba County, North Carolina, perhaps the most progressive rural county in the South. We must get everybody we can into our regular farmers' organization and farm women's organization. But there are many who will not join either, and the advocates of community organization and rural betterment must go out into the highways and hedges and lure these into the forward movement.

But how can this be done? The best way I know is to organize, say in each school district, a Community League, like those now being organized in one or more southern states, to supplement the work of the local farmers' organization—or to work where the farmers have failed to organize. The Community League embraces the teachers, preachers, doctors, merchants, and others who will not attend the farmers' club; and the idea is to have general public meetings—much like the New England town meetings, in fact, held quarterly or as often as needed, to consider all the issues affecting the common life of the people. In such community leagues thus far started there have been committees on the following subjects:

(1) **Committee on Social Life**—To encourage good roads and all forms of useful recreation, local fairs, baseball and other games; school and neighborhood picnics, Christmas, Easter, July Fourth and Thanksgiving celebrations; corn shuckings; quiltings, debates, musicals, reading circles, etc.

(2) **Committee on Educational Work**—This committee would be expected to look after (a) Improving the school; (b) Extension work, lectures, library development, getting books, bulletins, and papers into all homes, etc.; (c) Boys' and girls' industrial clubs..

(3) **Committee on Farm Production**—Soil fertility, scientific and

progressive crop growing and stock raising; improved tools and machinery and co-operation in their use.

(4) Committee on Marketing and Credits—(a) Marketing crops and produce. (b) Co-operative buying. (c) Rural credits and thrift.

(5) Committee on Moral Conditions and Improvement—To combat all agencies of dissipation, or immorality, develop Church and Sunday School interests, and enlist these in the efforts for community development.

(6) Committee on Health Conditions and Improvement—To study conditions and adopt means for promoting the health of the community.

(7) Committee on Woman's Work—To look after home equipment, to work out plans for household management, home industries, recreation for the farm woman, and so on.

Now think what it means to any community to have three to seven people especially designated to look after and investigate road improvement; another recreation, another marketing conditions, another sanitary conditions, and the whole community summoned three or four times a year to hear reports and consider plans for progress in each respect. Wherever that happens we can go forward. With the local Farmers' Union or other farmers' club and the Community League, we shall go about as far toward Community Organization as we can until Jefferson's dream is realized.

Then in the second place there must be *community self-knowledge*, which means as a prerequisite that there must be community surveys. It is the first duty of the Community League after organization to make such a survey, covering roads, wealth, occupations, agricultural conditions, schools, churches, social life, sanitary and health conditions. The North Carolina State Board of Health, which is lending its aid to the formation of such community leagues, will, I am sure, gladly send copies of some survey forms just issued under its auspices.

The Social Center

Thirdly, there must be *community centers*. The development of such centers must be a growth, of course, but if we only have the ideal and realize keenly enough the value of that ideal, it will come. The consolidated school with high school features—with its school farm, its cooking and sewing room, its library and museum—should be the central feature, and about its beautiful lawns and grounds should be grouped the neighborhood churches, lodge halls, fair grounds, the athletic grounds, the homes of preacher, doctor, school principal, etc. And to this center all the people of the neighborhood should come, not only for school and church and Sunday school occasions, but for public speakings, meetings of Union or Grange, and the United Farm Women, for picnics, ball games, debates, musicals, lectures, local fairs, moving picture shows, corn club or canning club meetings, etc. There comes to my memory how the long twilight of an English summer evening when on such a community playground I saw a survival of the practice which obtained in Goldsmith's "sweet smiling village" of another era:

"And all the village train, from labor free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree . . . .
The young contending as the old surveyed."

The rural community of the future must group itself around such social centers—centers of educational, religious, social and intellectual life. Where such agencies are scattered it is hard to get as intense a community spirit, or give it a sense of its boundaries or delimitation. That is one great handicap now, namely, that the whole rural community is in a twilight zone, and nobody knows where one such community begins and another ends. Jefferson's plan would have given the rural community boundaries and a name, and it is difficult to have a community consciousness without both these attributes. I have often wondered how it would be in our cities if there were two or three towns converging together and no citizen knew to which his allegiance belonged or with which city group he ought to work. I am reminded that on the farm where I was reared our school was two miles to the north, the church and postoffice two miles west, and the voting place two miles south. Even our rural free mail delivery with all its advantages has the disadvantage that with the abolition of the country postoffice many a country community has lost its identity. The social center of every country neighborhood should have a distinctive and pleasing name and give this name to the whole community.

In the fourth place there should be *community homogeneousness.* This is not a matter of concern to people in the North, but it is to us in the South. We simply cannot adequately develop rural co-operation or rural community life where a population, sparse at best, is divided between two races who are utterly separate socially. Now it is chiefly because I know the one hope of rural betterment lies in the development of the community spirit that I am continually insisting that here in the South we must develop homogeneous white and colored communities—that where negroes cease to become hired laborers or renters and become independent landowners working for themselves, they shall buy land in communities to themselves. This will be best for both races. Consider this fact, that the two races cannot mingle in any of the agencies of a richer community life we have just been considering—the church, the school, the Sunday school, the farmers' or farm women's club, the co-operative society, the library, debates, musicals, corn club, canning club, athletic sports, etc., and you will see that it is inevitable, therefore, that in two school districts each with fifty negro families and fifty white families neither schools nor churches nor social life can be half as good for either race as if the hundred families of each race were grouped together. It must be the policy of all our states and peoples to encourage landowners of each race to settle in communities to themselves.

The Stimulation of Rural Ambition

Fifth and lastly, there must be *community rivalry.* What stirs the civic spirit in our towns like generous rivalry with neighboring towns—rivalry exhibited in everything, chambers of commerce, baseball teams, population figures, postoffice receipts, motto slogans?

So I believe in our country districts we shall add this incentive of generous rivalry as soon as we get a sense of community boundaries and community organization. Beside having each community working to distinguish itself in each line of activity, I believe we should have in every county a county fair or such an organization which should award some form of trophy or pennant or certificate of honor to the school district or community distinguishing itself in any of a dozen forms of civic achievement. Why should there not be an award to the school district in each county reporting:

> The best roads in the county; the best schools, or school grounds; the prettiest schoolhouse and the most progressive farming; the greatest proportion of painted houses; the most purebred livestock and poultry; the most labor-saving, money-making farm machinery; the strongest and most active Local Farmers' Union; the biggest percentage of boys enrolled in the Corn Club; the biggest percentage of girls enrolled in the Tomato Club; the biggest percentage of women enrolled in United Farm Women; the most active churches and Sunday schools; the best neighborhood baseball team; the best school and Sunday school libraries; the highest average number of good books and newspapers read in each home; the best farmers' institute and women's institute; the prettiest lawns and flower-yards; the greatest percentage of homes with telephones; the best average water-supply for our homes; the greatest spirit of co-operation in buying and selling; the greatest spirit of co-operation in using farm machinery and in using purebred sires; the best sanitary conditions; the largest percentage of farmers making exhibits at county fairs; or the greatest freedom from centers of drink, vice, and immorality.

Such, all too inadequately sketched, is my vision of the country community of the future—and I have of course assumed that it will have as its basis a people of the sturdy virtues and that strong religious faith that have always characterized those who live nearest to nature and to nature's God, and that there will also be the two other fundamental prerequisites of education and home-ownership, without which no enduring civilization can be built up. It is on these hard foundations that Denmark has built her new rural civilization, as everybody there assured me, and so it must be here. The importance of education I need not argue; and as for home-ownership, I would only remind you of Dr. Carver's declaration that next to war, pestilence and famine, nothing is so ruinous to a rural commonwealth as absentee landlordism. When Goldsmith could say of what had been his "sweet smiling" rural "village" or community—

"One only master grasps the whole domain"—

the doom of that hauntingly beautiful bit of English life was forever sealed.

But when we have the prerequisites of education and home-ownership, the development of such facilities for rural organization as I have pointed out should insure sooner or later the rural community, and with it a new and brighter era of our civilization.

The Culture of Family Life
General Session, May 13, 10:45 A. M.

MR. LIES: The theme for the morning's discussion is the Culture of Family Life. One of the outstanding facts coming from the experience of social and religious workers and teachers seems to be that the family, at least in the city, is being played upon from many different sides to its loss, that disintegrating influences of various sorts are operating upon that social institution. Authorities seem to differ from their various standpoints as to what the unit of society is, whether the individual, the neighborhood, or the family. Yet I think we would all agree that the family at least is a great center for the culture of many different traits in the individual; that it is a center for the engendering of the ideals of efficiency in life; that if it is in danger from the outside our social life as a whole is also in serious danger.

Three little books have been published within the past year of great interest and importance in connection with a discussion of this kind, one by Dr. Devine, one by Professor John M. Gillette, and one by Professor Dealey, all of handbook size. They should be in the library of every social worker. Professor Dealey, in the first paragraph of his excellent chapter on the family, asserts that throughout western civilization problems with regard to the family are coming to the front. "For the past three centuries men have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of economic, religious and cultural institutions, but up to recent years have neglected that most fundamental of all institutions, the family."

It seemed to us in the commttee consideration as to the program for this Conference that a discussion of the family as an institution, of the disintegrating forces that are playing upon it, tending to pull it apart, would be of great importance; that from various standpoints we might well consider how we may retrace our social steps,—how we may get the best of these disintegrating forces and do the things that integrate the family, re-establish it again as a great center for culture, for efficiency, for health, for general well-being. We have a great opportunity in hearing from leaders, in the various speakers,—the first Mr. Porter R. Lee, of the New York School of Philanthropy, who will treat the subject from the charity worker's standpoint. What does he see as he goes into the family? What are his conclusions as to the way out, to save it from disintegrating forces?

THE CULTURE OF FAMILY LIFE

Porter R. Lee, New York School of Philanthropy, New York City.

In our present movement towards a better society four tendencies are discernible which from the point of view of the charity worker are of first importance in the culture of the family. The first is the movement for the prevention of human misery through legislation and

education. Second, is the tendency to deal with certain contingencies and needs of men on an insurance or community service basis, open to all members of the community on the same terms, rather than on the basis of relief. The third tendency is the development of generous and varied schemes of relief for those whose powers are not equal to the demands of self-maintenance and welfare. The fourth tendency is the development of comprehensive standards and sound methods of social treatment into which such relief schemes should be incorporated. The interest of the charity worker—and by him I mean all case workers—in the first and second of these tendencies and in the importance of the family as a fundamental social institution, I must ask you to take for granted. It is certain less discussed implications of the third and fourth tendencies that I wish to examine.

The program of every agency for the culture of family life looks forward to a family responsible for its own culture—a family establishing its own ideals, meeting its own emergencies, developing its own powers, resting solidly upon its own resources, receiving constant stimulus, suggestion, service and enjoyment from co-operative contacts with other families and with the organized activities of the community. It is when a family's powers are not equal to its own needs that it becomes the client of the charity worker; and his task is to develop those powers as rapidly and as completely as possible. This task calls for an understanding of some of the distinctive responsibilities of the family.

The Twofold Responsibility of Family Life

As I see it, these responsibilities are two: responsibility for self-maintenance, for earning an income, and responsibility for transmuting income into welfare, for keeping well, for educating children, for living in wholesome surroundings, for ideals, for useful contacts with neighborhood and community.

Not every family faces the responsibility for self-maintenance. Some escape it through inherited wealth. Others are maintained by relief. It is characteristic of the third tendency of which I spoke that it is developing increasing generosity in old forms of relief, and almost as rapidly is evolving entirely new forms of relief. Widows' pensions, school lunches in some places and free or reduced price milk for babies are illustrations of the latter. This is at bottom a wholesome tendency. "Our use of relief has been most sparing and timid," wrote Mr. Devine ten years ago. This development—which has resulted, for example, in striking increases in the *per capita* relief given by many relief agencies, although such relief giving is still deplorably inadequate—will give us, rightly handled, a necessary physical basis for the culture of the family, which older ideals of relief did not achieve.

I am not here to recount the classic dangers of relief giving. I want rather, if I can, to identify some possible results of our newer relief programs with those ancient dangers. Relief, I take it, is the

gratuitous provision of commodities or services for a family which society, at that particular time, commonly expects its members to provide for themselves. The label which a service bears does not alter either its nature or its consequences. Relief, whether it is an uncommercial school lunch, a quart of modified milk, a charitable allowance or an outfit of clothes to make possible a sojourn in a mountain sanitarium is *relief*, and nothing else. Properly handled, the dangers of relief may be minimized and its great possibilities made to yield one hundred per cent. In so far as relief is a danger to the culture of the family life, the danger arises from our assumption that it can be substituted for self-maintenance in the family economy with little bad effect, provided only it be in ample amount.

Relief as a Substitute for Earned Income

This ignores the fact that relief is only a substitute for something else; and we have the authority of the advertisers, at any rate, for believing that no substitute is as good as the real thing. It is to assume that in losing a wage-earner, a family has lost only a wage-earner. It is to credit the discharge of this fundamental responsibility for self-maintenance with none of the results in character, service and stability, which are the flower of family culture; whereas the story of any family income is a story of preparation, sacrifice, planning, ambition and ideals. These are incidents which may follow also from other family experiences than the earning of an income; but they do not follow from the mere receiving of relief.

The development of minimum standards in the various phases of human life is a noteworthy contribution to social progress. For large numbers of families such minimum standards of health, education and diet, for example, must be supported by relief in some form. But to regard the standard and ignore the family is to make relief nothing but a problem in mathematics. Minimum standard food cost multiplied by number of units in the family equals the normal family budget for this item. Some such process, doubtless, the normal family may follow in expending its own income. We would be better off if more of us did. But there is a difference between the deliberations of a family upon its own budget and somebody's else mathematical calculation.

Some such conditions as these are inherent in the problem of relief. They do not appear upon the surface; but they do lie at the bottom; and analysis and search will reveal them. The solution which they suggest is clear, if one will analyze and search; but it is not easy. Clearly if the loss of the power of self-maintenance is an irreparable loss of a definite responsibility whose discharge is vital to family integrity, then the promise of the family life is in what it has left and not in what relief would substitute. Not in liberal relief, important as that is, but in our second phase of family responsibility,

the transmutation of income into welfare, lies the success of a rehabilitation program. Here emerges the delicate and complicated task of social treatment, for social treatment is the direction of family resources and co-operative services into the channels of family welfare.

Social Treatment and Family Responsibility

The transmutation of income into welfare involves the whole range of qualities which are at the basis of family life. It is in our budgetary choices, as Professor Patten defines them, that we show our strength and weakness, our ideals or the lack of them, the essential and the non-essential from our point of view. How we spend our money—what we get in health, in education, in adornment, in pleasure, in material possessions, in spiritual development for what we spend—is a sure index to the quality of the stuff we are made of. We satisfy these fundamental human wants by seizing our opportunities and by utilizing the knowledge which the past has bequeathed us. In a normal family this involves contacts with agencies, officials, experts and knowledge whose separate and unrelated services, secured at our own initiative, are standardized and co-ordinated by the control which we exercise over our needs and their satisfaction—a crude and incomplete control sometimes, judged by its results, but sufficient nevertheless. This transmutation of income into welfare proceeds almost automatically with normal families. Charity workers are concerned with its operation in families who cannot control the process. It is in making this transmutation sure in such families that social treatment finds its largest significance.

Relation of the Social Specialists

The development of specialists in social treatment is a long step in the direction of efficiency. It signifies the splitting up of the problem into units, upon each of which we can concentrate, developing an intimate understanding and a resourcefuless in action which would not be possible otherwise. Any community which has added to the almoner of ancient lineage the nurse, the charity organization secretary, the visiting housekeeper, the truant officer, the probation officer, the medical social service worker and others, not to mention many different varieties of some of these, has seen the tremendously increased possibilities of modern social treatment as compared with its non-specialized predecessor. If this specialization is to continue its contribution to the culture of the family life, it must avoid what may easily be a fatal handicap.

As the number of case-workers has increased the pressure of our treatment upon the families we are trying to help has become almost appalling. The head of a large relief society recently prepared a hypothetical case which was true to type in which 57 agencies had

participated. A family in the neighborhood of a New York settlement was recently receiving at one time the ministrations of thirteen persons, representing as many different kinds of social work. The evil possibilities of this in sheer waste of effort are obvious. Far more insidious, however, is the inevitably bad effect upon the family whom in the name of social service we thus abuse.

Too commonly case-workers go to a home independently of each other. The coming of a baby, the health of a child, a tubercular bread-winner, the training of a boy, the need of relief—any one of these may be the reason for our errand. With our attention riveted upon the one need that takes us there, we formulate our plans for its correction, inviting, demanding or forcing the co-operation of the entire family. When several such plans are presented simultaneously to a family, indifference, confusion or antagonism on the part of the bewildered father and mother are the only logical results.

Increasingly we are striving to correlate our efforts in this matter; but the evil grows, nevertheless. We have the story, quoted by Miss Byington in her pamphlet as an argument for the confidential exchange of information, of a mother advised by one nurse to give her baby one kind of treatment and by another nurse to give another kind of treatment. The two nurses were each ignorant of the presence of the other in the situation. The tragic result of the baby's death was unwittingly achieved in the name of efficiency.

Should Retain Responsibility for Self-Maintenance

If the family's responsibility for its own welfare is fundamental we need to change radically our method of approach in the matter of social treatment. Since families in need of relief cannot discharge their first responsibility for self-maintenance we have an increased obligation to put or leave in their hands this second responsibility. A case-worker's services ordinarly should contribute to a family's own efforts in this direction and should not dominate them. To dominate is to ask response and not responsibility. Our purpose cannot fairly be to achieve the success of our plans; but must be to leave the family fit to formulate and work out its own.

Let us admit frankly that the process of unifying and correlating the services rendered to needy families through different and necessary forms of case-work is not simple. A good deal of honest experimenting may be required before we can determine what is necessary and what unnecessary in our ministrations. Certain steps, however, I believe we can make.

First of all, for the protection both of the poor and of earnest case-work, we need a steady facing of facts—all the facts. A social worker in New York City recently argued impressively for pensions to widowed mothers on the ground that the mother's place is in the

home looking after the children. He deplored the social neglect which forced her to earn a living while her children need her care, the care for which there is no substitute. Perhaps he forgot another occasion some weeks earlier when he had argued with equal emphasis for the right of a New York school teacher to continue her teaching against the decision of the Board of Education even though she had a child of her own. Such inconsistency is not uncommon; but facts would dissolve it. Too many programs begin with a respectable body of facts; and then proceed to wall them in with blindness and dogma which prevent forever the addition of other facts—although in these days new facts are discovered almost daily. The difference between a static program and a dynamic program is largely in an attitude towards facts.

In the second place consider a family situation in which the interests of an individual member seem to conflict with the interests of the family as a whole. If there is such a conflict in human interests within the family, it is likely to express itself in a similar conflict between those agencies for social treatment whose efforts are based upon those interests. To keep a promising boy at school after the legal working age, to provide costly treatment for a sick girl, to force a well-to-do relative to support his kinsfolk, to punish a deserting husband, to withdraw wage-earners from unwholesome work—may each represent to some specialist the supreme duty of organized social work in one family where each of these needs is apparent. It may not be possible to meet them all at once, and it may be that some cannot be met at all without sacrificing other important factors in the family welfare. It is just as true in the economy of the family as it is in the economy of society at large that the interests of the individual—for his own good or for society's—must be adjusted to the interests of the whole. The recognition of this by specialists is necessary if we are to avoid danger in social treatment. Here evidently clear thinking and honest discussion are called for. This conflict can only be avoided if we are willing to study the whole problem of family responsibility. Prejudice in favor of one's own specialty must be abandoned and the matter decided in each individual case disinterestedly by the agencies concerned, on the basis of all the facts obtainable.

Need of Correlation in Case Work

As a final consideration, I urge the importance of correlation in case-work; not merely in those cases where there is a difference in emphasis, but in all cases without exception where the services of more than one agency are necessary. However unrelated our efforts may be, no such unrelatedness exists in the human needs we are trying to meet. sickness, ignorance, unemployment and waywardness in children have a way of appearing like a horribly harmonious and coherent combination

to an overtaxed mother. The unity which characterizes them ought to give to us case-workers, intent upon our special missions, an important cue. However sharply distinct our separate functions may seem to us, our successive and unco-ordinated suggestions must be very bewildering to the family who receives them. I doubt if even an intelligent mother can always tell a school nurse from a visiting nurse or an infant mortality nurse or any one of the three from a relief agent or a probation officer or a visiting dietitian. Surely it is too much to expect her to take the separate items of a welfare program which we severally present to her and piece them together, either to her satisfaction or to ours. It might be possible sometimes if she were let alone, but always for her is the embarrassing factor of the hydraheaded authority to whom instead of to herself she is responsible.

Two considerations at least offer relief from this cross-purpose work. In the first place the use of an exchange of information is one basic condition for efficient case-work. The lack of such an exchange, which safeguards both the sensibilities of the poor and the efficiency of case-work is evidence of nothing less than criminal neglect.

Again in the development of our specialties we have acquired an extent of common ground which is much wider than we realize. In method, in accumulated information, in point of view, in objective, we are covering to a large extent the same things. When we recognize this, the possibilities of better understanding and co-operative work increases enormously.

In addition I wish to suggest—at some risk of being misunderstood—that we have too many subdivisions of case-work. I do not believe that the miseries of any family require the services of fifty-seven different social experts and very few families require even thirteen. Either the equipment of our case-workers is not broad enough, or as a whole our work is badly organized. Moreover, in no other field of organized effort is expertness so easily assumed as in social work. In my judgment this question merits serious consideration by those agencies which sense these dangers to the splendid promise of social treatment for the welfare of the needy.

The culture of family life from the point of view of the charity worker is not a problem of meeting certain needs. It is a problem in the development of family powers and responsibility which will meet those needs without the charity worker.

MR. LIES: It is important that a subject of this sort, the Culture of Family Life, should be considered from the religious worker's standpoint. We had Bishop Gailor of Memphis on the program originally, but he was unable to be here and we have a substitute in the Dean of the Cathedral. Dr. Morris has asked me to say definitely that he is a substitute. Rev. James Craik Morris, of Memphis, will speak on The Culture of Family Life from the Religious Standpoint.

THE CULTURE OF FAMILY LIFE FROM THE RELIGIOUS STANDPOINT

Rev. James Craik Morris, Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral, Memphis, Tennessee.

I begin with a passage from *Social Forces*, a book by a member of this Conference, Dr. Edward T. Devine. "The family is so near to us, so familiar, so much a matter of course, that it is difficult to appreciate its real importance. We are so fully committed to the appreciation of our own individual homes, and attach so much meaning to the terms which describe relationships within the home, that it is hard to realize that the family is an institution, of interest as such to sociologists, an object of attack by iconoclasts, of study by historians, and, let us also believe, of design by an omniscient mind not ours, exercising through the ages a power not our own, making for righteousness and for social welfare."

It is to the last of these considerations, to the consideration of the family and the culture of the family life from the point of view of religion, of the value of the home as a Divine institution for the development of personal worth and character, that I am to address myself briefly in this paper. The supreme revelation made to the world by Jesus Christ was the Fatherhood of God and its corollary, the brotherhood of man; and the society He established He designed to include the whole of mankind, with mutual love as the vital principle and personal service as the true expression of its life. According to His teaching, the Divine method has not been to condescend to men as outcasts, deprived of likeness to the Father, but to regard us as sons made in the image of God, to consecrate us by the influence of a Divine companionship in His family, and so gradually to unfold in us that eternal spiritual capacity which can make us actual sharers of His nature. And if this is the Divine method on the one hand, so on the other does man's response find expression in what we call worship, wherein, after the analogy of the human family, we meet as brothers in our Father's house, for fellowship with Him and with one another. We have our conversation with Him in common, we learn of Him in common, and we partake of a meal at a common table, because we are all alike the children of "Our Father which art in Heaven."

A practical consequence of such a conception of fellowship with God and with one's brethren is, or, if it is not, ought to be, that it removes the individual into a larger and broader sphere than that of his ordinary life, and bids him see himself as a responsible member of a great and universal commonwealth. And I think that the progress of the race in its largest aspect needs most of all just this expression of spiritual solidarity, this breathing of the pure air of quickened sympathy and love, wherein we voice our highest aspirations for man-

kind, and are inspired to fulfill those larger duties to which we have been called of God.

And again, another practical consequence of such a relationship is, that in so far as this love and confidence and fellowship is real and abiding, the children of the family will of their own choice endeavor to cultivate the virtues and to possess for themselves the character which they have learned to see and know in the virtue and character of the great Father of the race, revealed to them, as we Christians believe, in the Person of Jesus Christ. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."

This, as I understand it, is the underlying principle of the ethics of the Bible, and if perhaps I have seemed thus far to wander from the theme assigned to me, that is to say, the culture of the family life, I beg you to remember that we are here considering that culture solely from the standpoint of religion; and the point I am trying to make first of all, is that the Divine method for the production of character and goodness—and the production of character and goodness is the reason and end of religion—the Divine method is grounded not upon force, or expression, and, let me say, not even upon measures of prevention, but it is grounded rather upon the positive and sweetly compelling influence of loving kindness and Fatherly care, of stimulation through personal example, of the interchange of confidence and the implanting of high ideals, issuing at last in a perfectness of character, from which radiate into every relationship of life those forces which make for justice, honor, mercy, truthfulness, and mutual helpfulness and service, which are the structure of morality and the source of nearly all the real contentment among men.

Religious Ideal the Normal Basis

And now, again from the standpoint of religion (and I want to lift the subject to the very highest plane I can), my second point is, that this conception of an universal family, a family of which God is the Father, the Church the nourishing Mother, and all we are brethren, that this conception is the norm, the ideal, of what each particular family is intended to be in this world, and its function or work is the function of those families to which you and I are privileged to belong as fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters.

"Man," as Westcott says, "is made by fellowship and for fellowship. The family and not the individual is the unit of mankind. This fact is the foundation of human life to which we must look for the broad lines of its harmonious structure." The personal life, as religion conceives it, needs to be developed, extended and consummated in a social or corporate life. Individual personality acts on society and contributes to its welfare and completeness; while, conversely, the community enriches, moulds and develops personal character, and provides

due scope for its capacity of service. Thus there emerges an ideal of those social groups in which the individual finds his appropriate discipline and training, and of these groups the most ancient, the most universal, and the most essential, is the family. The family, from the moral standpoint of view, is the divinely ordained extension or completion of the individual, and to be born into a family is to be brought at once into a definite state of life and to enter into the discipline, privileges and duties of a school of character.

The nurture and love and care of father and mother for their little ones is so familiar to our experience that it requires an act of imagination to realize that here, amidst the accustomed associations of the family, is always and everywhere going forward that cultivation of the spiritual life which results in the formation of habits of righteousness, in the enthusiasm of loyalty and devotion to duty, in reverence and courage and chivalry and the power of self-surrender, which are the chief glory of the home, and the foundation of all usefulness and happiness and consecrated service in the great world of men.

And so we can approach our subject from either side. If the Church is the ideal and type of the home, in actual experience the home is the seed and germ of the Church; and the family into which children are begotten through love, and are trained in the discipline, self-sacrifice and service of love, is in truth the perfect sphere in which is illustrated, in little as it were, that larger unity which underlies the conception of the great Catholic Society, the Church of God, the Family and Sanctuary of God, in which and by which He designs to bring all men into fellowship with one another through a recovered fellowship with Himself.

Brothers and sisters grow up in dependence upon one another, and then comes a measure of independence and they go their several ways; but the fraternity of the family asserts itself under new conditions, and the brotherhood which begins in the home goes out to embrace larger and larger circles until it includes mankind.

Sons and daughters know no happiness to be compared with the companionship of the father and mother who nourished them and guided them and poured upon them with lavish hands the blessings of their home. And then the old order changes, and the simple life of childhood gives place to the unguessed cares and duties of the man and the woman. Yet out of the experience of such a childhood they have already learned their lesson of childlike trust in the God whose love is ever with them, because all the time the Divine Father has been using the experience of human fatherhood for the revealing of Himself.

Outlook Encouraging

I know how many things there are that might be said to discourage. I know that the ease and prevalence of divorce in this country is

disintegrating the life of thousands of our families. I know, chiefly by some years of intimate experience as Chaplain of one of our Memphis institutions, how easily a home can be made by degraded parents as great a curse as it ought to be a blessing to the children; I know that economic fear, hard times, the high price of food and rent, press so hard upon some that involuntary celibacy seems to be their only course; I know that the percentage of families which own the houses in which they live is exceedingly small; I know that there are houses still in Memphis one block from Main street, where father, mother and children live and work and cook and sleep in one room. I know that very often girls are forced to go to work at the very age when their developing bodies ought to be shielded from physical and mental strain. I know that there is a marked and serious tendency to family disintegration even among the well-to-do. But, for all that, and in spite of such an array of statistics as are so earnestly marshalled by Dr. Rauschenbusch, I remain, as regards the average family in the average American community, a cheerful optimist. The heart of the people is still sound, and these disturbing symptoms of decay, where they exist, we may well be glad to note if they do but point us to the root of the evil and inform our minds and quicken our zeal to apply a remedy.

That the best thought of the best manhood and womanhood of our time is trying to understand conditions as they really are, and trying too, to restore to health the diseased fragments of our social fabric, there could be no better witness than the gathering of such a conference as this, testifying as it does to the enromous growth of the study of social science, and to the application of that science in an amazing variety of forms of social service.

And, ladies and gentlemen, what task could be more fruitful, could call more confidently for the consecration of your best powers, than the task of promoting the culture of the family life, the removal, by every means that can be devised, helped by an enlightened public conscience and the authority of the state, of such conditions as hinder the family's normal and healthy development, and so to free and set forward the most telling force for social righteousness and happiness that we know!

When Col. William Gorgas, whom we in Tennessee are proud to claim as a Tennesseean, undertook to make clean and healthy the zone of the Panama Canal, his method was to trace to their sources in the hills the streams which were the breeding places of the microbes of disease; and at these sources he put calcium chloride, which dissolved itself and mingled with the waters as they flowed into the valley and became great lakes. Thus was that part of the world made fit for men to dwell in and to work in. And this, it occurs to me, is a figure of our life. There are in all of us secret springs of good and evil. Our life is like a river flowing from uninvestigated sources; and in the divine providence of arrangement it is the function of the

family to sweeten these streams at their tiny sources, that when they become a river the river may be clean and wholesome and pure, and its waters may enrich the world.

MR. LIES: What can recreation do toward the upbuilding and conservation of family life? Those of us who heard Mr. Bellamy give that splendid talk the other evening will be glad to hear him again this morning. Mr. Bellamy, Head Resident of Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE CULTURE OF THE FAMILY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF RECREATION

Mr. George A. Bellamy, Head Resident of Hiram House, Cleveland, O.

In the early history of the country, there were three factors which were largely influential in its making—the church, the school and the home. The impetus which our civilization gained from these three great forces still carries us forward, although the institutions themselves are failing to battle as successfully with the present problems as they did in their early days. With the rapid migration into the cities, with the swift and irresistible changes of industrial conditions from the home industries, where the bread-winner was his own boss, working with all the members of his family, to the colossal trusts employing thousands of men, women and children; with the conversion of politics into a business for private gain, transferring the seat of discussion from the school house, the town hall, the family hearth-stone, to the headquarters of the ward boss; with the great social upheavals which have rent asunder the conditions of home; these three great agencies in shaping the policies of our institutions and defining our liberties, were divorced from the problem of life. The school and the church systematized and built up great machines, which failed to take into account the devastations and wrongs from which society was suffering, and only in the last decade have they in any aggressive way begun to relate themselves to the problems of the life of our day. They were void of the spirit of the pioneer, who met with new conditions in new ways, adapted himself to perilious environment, and with quickness and alertness sensed dangers and conquered them.

As these currents of revolutionary conditions swept along with irresistible force, the family was unable to stay the strain of diversified interests which separated it and broke up its common life. In early days it was a unit. It all went forth together, seeking its simple forms of enjoyment—went to church together, the children with their older brothers and sisters were taught in the same school room, played in the same school yard; in the home, the family had common interests and common understandings, because of the common associations. The regularity of meals with their general discussions, the family prayers,

the story-telling around the hearth, the home industries—all helped to strengthen the family ties.

Attraction of Home Lost

Today these conditions are all changed. While the home has a relatively larger influence than the school and the church, yet it, too, is losing ground. Congestion, the three to six-story tenements, the two to five houses in one yard, the two to eight families in one house, the absence of play places, the highly organized commercial recreation, the changed industrial conditions—all have split up the home, broken up its interests. We find age groups, sex groups, groups of kindred feeling. The little children play by themselves, the young boys have their games, the young men and young women find different centers for their leisure. The men go to the saloon, the mothers—the front door step seems to be about what is left for them. Some one has said that "civilization is an organization of grown-ups with the child left out". It may be as truly said that recreation is an organization of children, young people and men, with the mother left out. The progress of culture in the family cannot come when the interests of the different ages clash, when there is no unity or understanding. It will come when the family, through the use of its leisure time, unites in common enjoyments.

This is the problem which concerns us. How can we take into account these revolutionary conditions and give to the family the ideals which will mean permanent progress to civilization? How can we meet the greatly multiplied social demands and social desires, and still retain the unity of the home? Our suggestion is that the city furnish opportunity for communities to promote under proper leadership their own recreation. Let the city turn over to the community one of its school houses for free use under proper restrictions, and hire a wide-awake man to organize the recreation affairs of the community for its improvement. Let there be community committees for old and young, working out and paying the current costs for the recreation which they themselves wish. Milwaukee furnishes moving pictures for one cent per person. Let them have their dances, their pool tables, their skating rinks, their swimming pools, their gymnasia, their round-table discussions, their literary clubs, their Camp Fire Girls, their Boy Scouts, their sewing, their cooking, their competitive games, their music, their labor meetings, their mothers' clubs, all organized by committees made up from the groups in the neighborhood.

Recreation By the People

It is far better for the city to throw the responsibility of self-support and self-improvement upon the people themselves than to hire at great expense orchestras, singers, speakers, and others to entertain the community. We need a recreation by the people, not for the

people. Rome bought at a high price her recreation for her people and rotted away while she did it. Hiram House has a Boys' Band of 48 pieces, 20 on the waiting list. The boys pay ten cents per week for their instruction. They furnish their own instruments, their own uniforms. Is it not better to develop music in these young children, letting them pay as far as possible for their privileges, than for a city to hire the best music in the United States for these young children to hear?

An Italian father in old working clothes stepped into my office. As our conversation advanced, he remarked "I no lika America. It's alla mon, alla mon, alla mon. In Italy everytinga fine. But in America, it is alla money, money." I said, "Do you like good music?" At a nod of his head, I said, "Come into this room". We stepped into the reception room and opened the Victrola. I played a record of Tetrazzini's, and instantly he said "Tetrazzini". Next I placed a Caruso record on the Victrola, and he said "Caruso", and began repeating the words of *Il Trovatore*. I played the Royal March of Italy, and he said "The Royal March of Italy". He knew nearly all the records of good music that were played.

It reminded me of the story of a friend of mine who works in a music store. He said that an old Italian, who at noon time had come from the sewer, his shoes covered with mud, his clothes showing his work, asked for a record. The clerk, thinking he would make fun of him, placed a $7.50 record upon the Victrola. The old man listened keenly with the greatest attention and when it was finished, he asked "How much". The clerk replied with a chuckle in his voice, "$7.50". The old fellow said with eagerness, "I take it".

Latent Cultural Resources

Think of such resources in the communities that we call our slums. Think of the latent powers wasted in the districts where we say with a sneer our immigrants live. Think of what a city could do if it furnished opportunity to stimulate and develop all such resources. It is far better than taxing the people and paying for expensive entertainments, to have even a lower standard of music and lectures, providing the people themselves, through their own energies and activities, are developing within themselves this culture that comes from self-improvement. We must capture these splendid resources, not waste them. An occasional treat given by some great lecturer or some symphony orchestra will help to stimulate the standards, but in the long run the people will gain more from their own self-expression than from the contact with outsiders. The children enjoy being on committees, and so do adults.

In the Junior Juvenile Court at Hiram House, young boys act as probation officers, working to keep their own associates from wrong doing. The punishment which this Juvenile Court inflicts upon its

offenders is even more effective sometimes than the punishment of the court in authority. One form of punishment for a child brought in for swearing is to require him to write 200 times the sentence "It is foolish to swear". Any one who doubts the efficacy of such procedure, would soon learn it by trying.

The most successful clubs I have ever seen are those where the committees have been composed of the children. It may be in the miniature city where they elect their own city officials, where they do city business; it may be in their own club that finally grows into a young men's club, strong, virile, enthusiastic over the ideals of citizenship, the problems of the city, problems which they have discussed for years and which have given them vital concern in the welfare of the city.

One evening, James R. Garfield, the son of the martyred President, came over to lecture to one of these clubs. He began at 8:15 and talked until 9:15. For two hours there followed the most searching and eager questions on the part of the young men to whom he had been speaking. At 11:45 as we were going down stairs, Mr. Garfield said "Remarkable! the spirit of this young group. I tell you such a thing as this will save the city!"

This is only a simple illustration of what the city can do when it stimulates children, its young men and girls, its men and women, to utilize all their leisure time by throwing open to the community for proper use all the facilities in the parks, playgrounds, schools, municipal buildings and other facilities which private organizations might loan.

Requirements for Community Self-Expression

There are two things that a neighborhood needs for such self-expression. First, physical facilities to use in expressing their hopes and their aspirations. When we open our eyes we will find ourselves already equipped with such facilities. We have our club houses, namely, the school buildings, scattered all over the city. By some changes and planning they can be converted into attractive neighborhood centers. It is not difficult to take an old type of school room and make it useful for neighborhood work. We used to thing this could not be done. Milwaukee has a very good plan of putting the old-style desks on casters, which, when lowered permit the desks to be pushed out into the halls without much labor, leaving the room free for general usage.

The second essential for making this plan a success is the leadership of a man who lives in the neighborhood. Social centers and wider use of schools will never succeed if managed by people coming down for a few hours in the evening from some other neighborhood, unacquainted with the community problems, unfamiliar with the history of the races of the community. If leadership is to be given to our immigrants, it must be intelligent, sympathetic leadership, by some-

body who knows the leaders in the community and who is able to select such persons for committees. With the right selection of the people of resources who are able to give inspiration to their neighbors, these committees can work wonders in stimulating action.

Without elaboration, owing to the brevity of time, permit me to suggest a few points of advantage in this plan of community recreation.

1. Here is a chance for the whole family to go forth again, as it did in the days of old, leaving the home at the same hour, returning at the same hour, spending their time oftentimes together. If they do not spend it together, at least they remain in the same building where there will be a sense of comradeship, of fellowship.

2. This plan keeps the younger members of the community in their own neighborhood. Young girls and young boys ought not to be attracted to communities where they are not acquainted. The presence of brothers, sisters and friends, the effect of public opinion, makes them far less daring in their conduct. They will not think of taking the risk in actions, in speech, that they would if in a strange community.

3. If the people pay for the entertainments, dances, or other forms of recreation, and the pay must necessarily be small, there will be no raiding of the public treasury for something the people do not want.

4. There will not be a wasteful expenditure of money in useless experiment.

5. This plan does not aim to get culture for the people from somebody outside who little realizes the hopes and yearnings of the community.

6. It leaves freedom for individual growth and the development of individual taste.

7. These neighborhood organizations develop neighborhood consciousness, the lack of which is one of the great causes of neighborhood deterioration.

8. Discipline by commitees of the community is always better than the policing by outsiders.

9. It permits active recreation on the part of individuals rather than passive.

10. It enables the community to compete successfully with commercial recreation. Commercial recreation, as it has been organized, means dissipation and a lowering of the standards of all the members of the family.

These suggestions are not given by way of finality, but as starting points which may lead to the best and most comprehensive culture of all the members of the family, which will, ultimately, come through their self-expression during their leisure hours.

MR. LIES: The wise superintendent of a correctional institution must have many opportunities of tracing back the causes of trouble in families that lead young people to leave home and eventually to get into

the difficulty that lands them in an institution. Mrs. Martha P. Falconer is such a wise superintendent,—Mrs. Falconer of Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania.

THE CULTURE OF FAMILY LIFE VERSUS REFORMATORY TREATMENT.

Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Superintendent, Sleighton Farm, Darling, Pa.

One evening this winter I was permitted to look into the faces of a large group of women who live in one of our poorer communities in Philadelphia, and to meet them. Over six hundred women had come to this meeting when it was stormy, bitterly cold and the traffic had been stopped, many of them bringing little children, showing the effort they made to come to a meeting which they thought might be helpful to them. As I looked into their faces, so careworn and tired, it seemed to me I could see why many of the girls had been committed to Sleighton Farm from that community, why these girls would get from their mothers so little to guard them, at the very time when the joy of living comes to the girl and she is thinking of dancing and of other opportunities for self-expression. Could we talk of dancing to these tired, anxious women, who are forced to live in unsanitary houses with dark rooms, unkept streets, and always the economic pressure so great and the steadiness of work uncertain—but no uncertainty about the rent coming due, nor the hunger of the children? As long as we force families to live under such conditions we have no right to expect much of family life.

I have before me another group—in industrial centers in the mining regions where the breadwinner and older boys, too, often lose their lives and the family has been paid $200 or $300 because his death has been due to carelessness, and where the struggle for existence is great. Some other way and means must be found of keeping the family together. In many communities no effort is made in this direction. There is so much indifference about keeping children in school, and poverty and hunger stare the family in the face. They think there is nothing to do but for their children to go to work as soon as they are old enough and often before the legal age for working children.

I see the other end, where the girls in Pennsylvania have been allowed to work long before they should because of the indifference in many communities outside of the larger cities. I have in mind another group in the agricultural communities where there is plenty of fresh air, sunshine, room for expansion, thrift, work, but also of sordidness, dullness and monotony. The Pennsylvania Dutch girls sent to me are of great interest. In an effort to break the dull monotony of life the girl has stolen away from home to go to the forbidden town, where she has heard there is music and fun, and she gets it in the

village saloon, perhaps, under influences not the best. Her longing for pleasures makes her drift away from home, and before long she is sent to us.

What are we doing to reach a community like that? Here the rural church might be a help, and the teacher in the school, if they dared, and cared to speak. But the struggle for their salary is great, and the people often are unwilling to spend more money on the church and the school. The church ought to try to teach people that they have something to do for the young people more than to conduct the evening service followed by the long buggy ride home often so fatal to the girl. The ministers have a duty. As long as the ministers will admit the young girl and boy, and marry them without any questions, bringing in from the minister's family witnesses in order to comply with the law, and then send them forth to start a family, we are a long way from the ideal marriage. I have talked with many mothers and realize that while there is no lack of parental affection, there is a great lack of intelligence.

Dearth of Training For Family Responsibilities

What are we doing to train our young people to meet their family responsibilities? In some communities the schoolhouse is used as a social center. We are teaching the girls something of home life—but that is in so few places. We have in Philadelphia a paper that publishes at irregular intervals editorials against the paternalism of the public schools, as instanced by the social centers and the other modern activities of the school. I presume the writer has in mind his own home and those in which he has visited, where there is an intelligent mother who has leisure for her children. But I have in mind the hundreds and thousands of homes where the mothers and fathers have not the leisure, and have not had the training to make any sort of family life possible. Our children are tumbled out of the school at fourteen into the mills and factories, and then we expect them to know how to take care of family life. The ministers, I think, have a duty which they ought to perform in trying to stand for a higher standard, and expecting more of the young people who come to them, unknown, without their parents' consent or their presence, to be married. We must not alone be satisfied with working out schemes to compensate mothers in order to keep families together, but we must also in as many communities as possible work out plans for raising the standards of motherhood. It is important, not alone to pension the mothers, but to make it impossible for feeble-minded women to go out into the world and bear children.

A girl committed to our school a few months ago from a mining town in the central part of the state, was the oldest of a large family, neglected, untaught. She had had a hard life working in the mills. We found she had been leading a blind man around for fifty cents a

day. She had gone about in different towns and told me the blind man sometimes got two and three dollars a day. I remembered a story of a blind man, told me some years ago by a friend. It was at the time when my friend had read in the papers that the beggars were going to be driven from the streets of Philadelphia. It was a false alarm, and the plan did not succeed, but she felt if we did succeed the beggars would be coming to her town, and she set about getting ready for them. A few days afterwards she was touched on the arm by a well dressed blind man, led by a boy of fourteen, also well dressed. He told a pathetic story of having only eleven or seventeen cents (it is always eleven or seventeen cents they have—no more, no less). She asked him where he lived and some other questions, and as she was talking to him a prominent citizen came along and said, "Don't bother that man, don't trouble him, he's all right. I have just given him some money—he's blind." She replied, "He has already told me three lies, and I intend to have him taken over to my office and searched by a policeman." Then the man told a different story—that he belonged in a distant city and wanted only enough money to get home. She told him, "If you belong in that city we will send you there and it won't cost you a cent, but to beg on the streets of our town you cannot." He was loath to go to the office and begged to be allowed to go home. She telephoned to his city, however, and meanwhile had him searched, and $188 was found on the man's person. It was found also that he had come from that city and was receiving a pension, was also receiving help from the county commissioners, and his wife helped out by keeping a boarding house.

When my girl told me her story I remembered this, and learned later that it was the same man. What was the matter with the people of this city that they allowed a girl to support herself by leading a blind man about through the country begging?

If every girl had an intelligent mother there would be much less work for reformatories, since there are so many broken homes and mothers who have not the intelligence to train their children. As long as we allow girls to grow up in such neglect, can we expect them to have any ideals of family life?

MR. LIES: We have one more speaker. There are some aspects of the culture of family life which the settlement worker can best treat. Miss Harriet Vittum has agreed to do this for us. Miss Vittum is head resident of the Northwestern University Settlement, in Chicago.

CULTURE OF FAMILY LIFE FROM THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT STANDPOINT.

Harriet E. Vittum. Head Resident, Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, Ill.

Perhaps the greatest claim the settlement can make to its part in the *culture of family life* is that the settlement is a part of the neighborhood, its residents live there. If the street crossings are bad the residents in the settlement suffer the same as other people living on the street; if the streets are dirty, it is the same for the settlement residents as for the others. All the inconveniences of the neighborhood life are shared, and it makes them a part of the neighborhood life and gives them community standing that other social workers coming in and going out can never have. The very home itself means so much to the neighborhood. Here I think the settlement has a great opportunity. Most settlements are in old types of buildings, and it is a great thing to take an old building and make it into a clean, wholesome and attractive home; the cleanliness must appeal to the neighborhood and be in some way worth imitating; the little gardens must inspire somebody in the neighborhood to have a garden too; the window boxes on the settlement perhaps inspire somebody to start a flower box. Tho whole material condition of the settlement house must be an inspiration to the people who live in the same kind of a house, but who have not before found time to fix it up, to make it clean and orderly, to have a garden.

Perhaps the manners of the settlement workers may have some influence on the culture of family life. Here a responsibility is placed upon the people who live in settlements—we scarcely realize how great. It means a lot to the children of the neighborhood, perhaps to the older people, too, to be greeted as they go into the settlement with a friendly "Good morning!" or as they go out "Good night!"—to have someone say, "If you please," and "Thank you" when the occasion demands, and it is thus the gentle manners of the folk in the settlement may be reflected through the children into the home life of the community. The home amusements in the settlements which the children find there will interest those who know them. The settlement should not be an institution, but should be carried on as a real home. The music the children hear at the settlement will stimulate the desire for good music. I remember a Polish woman in a settlement who once heard a person in another part of the building playing Chopin's Funeral March. She knew it and loved it, perhaps even better than the man who was playing it. It was a tradition with her, and she remained standing absolutely still until the end, and then said rather gaspingly, "Can't it be played over again? Never have I heard it so since I came from Poland." The way we play, the way

we live, the things we do, are going to stimulate our neighbors to think and struggle and improve along the same lines. Our class work is after all only an adjunct.

Primary Lessons in Culture

From an educational standpoint it is more or less deficient, but perhaps the serious purpose goes to bring about another kind of education. In sewing classes, for instance, it is not the stitches learned so much as the incidental lessons learned along with the stitches. A girl finds she cannot sew well unless her hands are clean, but in order to keep her hands clean she must have a towel, and she is taught to make one for herself. Then it must be kept clean, and she learns to wash and iron it. Then she must have a bag in which to carry it, and so, step by step, she has learned not only to take stitches, but all the other lessons that go to make for neatness and orderly living. In the cooking classes the girl learns why she should buy a certain kind of food, and at the same time she learns that as necessary as the right kind of food is the fact that the dishes must be kept clean and how the kitchen utensils must be left when she goes away, how to take care of the stove. She learns it is just as necessary to have clean dishes and clean stoves and clean floors as to have the right kind of food. So with all class and club work, it leads ever to higher culture than just that learned in the curriculum of the classes.

The mothers' clubs not only furnish a good time, but the members learn to work together for the good of the neighborhood. A mothers' club in the Polish district in Boston was organized for pleasure, but developed into one for neighborly assistance; when there was sickness it appointed members to go into the home to help. As that club grew in usefulness it grew in size, and hundreds of mothers came to know their importance not only to their own homes, but to their neighbors. Through the men's clubs which come together perhaps only for profit, and through the girls' clubs and the boys' clubs, we must stimulate to civic services and responsibilities, must teach the relationship of the home to the community.

A group of boys came from the juvenile court to report every Saturday night to the probation officer at a settlement. They were uneasy as they waited for their turns and created a good deal of disturbance. They had come from the poorest of homes where there was no comfort, no leisure, no pleasure, no privacy, let alone any culture. They were pronounced almost hopeless. They would come single-file, lockstep into the house, refuse to take their hats off and say "Good evening" or to sit upon the chairs, but used the chairs rather as implements of warfare. And always there was a procession of people coming into the front door to complain of things being thrown at them out of the windows by these same boys. People said it was not worth while to have them coming to the settlement. But there was one man in the

settlement who said "I don't think those boys are any worse than I was when I stole apples out of the neighbors' orchards and had such fun doing it, and I am going to make them my friends." He and two friends of his met with those boys every Saturday night. They did not try to organize them, but just got acquainted and so gradually that we did not know when it began, the change came.

The Metamorphosis of Juvenile Court Charges.

Later they were organized into a club. They had been admonished to be quiet because of the debating club in the next room and they said if that was something that could not be disturbed then it was worth being, so they organized themselves into a "Social, Literary and Athletic Club." Their very first debate was this: Since the new park is building a gymnasium, the settlement does not need one. The first boy stammered and stuttered, put his hands into his pockets and took them out, and finally in a burst of courage said, "What do you want to know for?" His opponent, after several unhappy efforts, blurted out "Leave it how it is." He won. The judges were all representatives of other clubs in the house who wanted a gymnasium.

Their second debate was on the subject "Washington Was a Greater Man than Lincoln." The first boy said Washington was a greater man than Lincoln because he was the father of his country and he never told a lie. This brought great applause. His opponent, fired with an ambition to win, said that Lincoln was a greater man than Washington because he never had "no" education and what education he got he got on the floor in front of the fire and he was the saviour of his country. It sounded as though he had won, but the affirmative came back and said Washington was a greater man than Lincoln because he was the father of his country, he never told a lie, and if he had not made this country, Lincoln would never have had one to save. He won, not only the debate, but also vigorous applause from his friends.

In the Summer they dropped the social and literary features of the Club and turned their attention toward athletics. They won from other settlement clubs in the city and in time they came to be an entity in the neighborhood, developed respect for themselces, felt the responsibility of representing the settlement in athletics and felt themselves a part of the great movement.

One of these boys was of a family of ten who lived in a tiny cottage, hardly big enough to hold them, but there was great hospitality. The father was a periodical drunkard and many a time the family had called upon the settlement to "call a wagon" and send him away. John and the others of this family were always much humiliated by these performances.

Stanley, another member, was a great bully who worked steadily, took his money home regularly but could not get on with the drunken

father who stopped every Saturday night to dispose of his wages and then went home to "beat" the family. Stanley was too much of a man to watch his father beat his mother and too much of a bully not to fight, so when the father was through with the family he had to reckon with Stanley who always won in these battles. John saw the situation and said to Stanley "If you stay in that house you will never amount to nothing. Come and live with us." Where they packed him away no one ever knew, but he lived in that home for over a year. He grew into his manhood, found himself, and went back home not only able to control himself but able to control his father. The family has moved steadily from a rear basement to a front, from a front basement to a first front rear, and so on until they now occupy a very comfortable flat on a good street.

Frank was another member of the Club. Frank was a good boy but when invited to drink had not the courage to say "No." His mother moved to Wisconsin where she found employment and Frank, the only other member of the family, was destined for the tenement boarding house. But John said to him "If you go to live among strangers it won't do you no good. Come and live at our house." And he did. He stayed there for several years. He worked in a laundry, was careless about going out into the cold with damp clothing; two years ago in the Fall he became ill and was finally taken to his mother in Wisconsin. He died there from tuberculosis and his last message was sent to the settlement. "Tell them," he said to his sister, "how I died and tell Mr. ——— (the man who had first held out a helping hand to him) to be careful not to take cold the way I did."

The next Spring the Boys' Club gave a dance and raised enough money with which to buy a little stone to mark Frank's grave. They went up to the little Wisconsin town on July Fourth and placed the stone where they wanted it. It was inscribed "Frank ———, born 1889. Died 1912. He was a member of our Club."

The boys of that organization through just a friendly hand held out to them when everybody else thought they were worthless, changed them from wrecks into citizens about whose citizenship we need not worry.

THE CULTURE OF FAMILY LIFE FROM AN EDUCATIONAL STANDPOINT

Frank L. McVey, President, University of North Dakota, University, N. D.

For many years the National Conference of Charities and Correction has devoted a section of its program to the consideration of the family in its various aspects. This year the emphasis has been placed upon the cultural family life and my part in the program is to discuss

it from the educational standpoint. In the brief space of a twenty-minute paper, I shall contrast the family of pioneer days with the industrial family of to-day in the hope of arriving at the part education may play in the present day family life; and I am further limiting myself in assuming that cultural life relates and holds in its content the development of family idealism.

No emphasis need be placed upon the importance of the family in the community nor upon its relation to national life. Suffice it to say that the community depends upon the integrity of the family life for its best expression and family life must continue on the highest plane if we are to have the fundamental of national growth.

There have, however, been many influences working against family life. This is true not only of Europe, but of America as well. Industrial conditions in this land have been changed markedly in one hundred years; the population has moved westward, it has acquired lands and secured control of national resources, until the contrasts between the pioneer family of the first part of the past century and the industrial family at the beginning of the twentieth century are marked indeed. There seems also to be present in these first years of the new century an erotic viewpoint which involves the basis of the family. The loose discussion concerning sex and sex problems has broken down much of the reserve that placed a kind of a guardian protection round about the family. With this larger freedom of thought has come also a lack of discipline markedly in contrast to the earlier days, with a resultant loosening of family ties and family organization that makes it more a collection of individuals than a real social unit. In some instances the conditions have been too much for the family. In the pioneer and agricultural periods of our national life there was co-operative work, co-operative play, and sometimes even co-operative defense. In those days nature furnished variation in life and brought to the girl and boy a rich heritage of color, of motion, and of association; but now the family has no co-operative work except in the occasional drudgery of dish-washing and sweeping. In many instances there is no co-operative play and no co-operative amusement. Despite the movement toward larger state activity, our every-day life seems distinctly more self-contained and individual than at any time in our history.

With all of this change in conditions, which is familiar to any observer, a new philosophy of the family,—a philosophy of materialism, has made its appearance. In this philosophy is emphasized the fact that more income is the medium through which happiness may be secured. Envy of other people's possessions, while probably not any more prevalent than in previous decades, nevertheless has become more marked in its emphasis upon the point of view of the family. The idealism, crude as it may have been, that prevailed in the days of the pioneer family, has largely passed. Then the call of the nation and the in-

fluence of the broad West brought something to the individual that is missing at the present time. Meantime, religion also has undergone a change. Somehow it has lost something of its force and it no longer moulds in an emphatic way as it used to, except here and there through custom. All of this means, as a consequence, a distinct change in family life and in family culture, a sort of flattening out of the idealism of the smaller group and a breaking down of its economic capacity as a unit.

The Restoration of Idealism

Can idealism be restored and can a new outlook be developed in the family group? The answer to this question depends largely upon the degree of our optimism, upon our judgment of the forces at work and upon our appreciation of the difficulties with which the family of to-day has to contend.

The fact that education has been given a place on this program would indicate that in the minds of the makers of the program it is a factor in the cultural life in the family. We have been told that knowledge is power, but it has never been clear just what bearing this has upon the relation of the family to the community. Without doubt elements of culture life are missing in the family at the present time. It seems to lack the power of moulding character, teaching by discipline, and of instilling high ideals. This query, then, becomes the crux of the whole thing: Can the school bring new elements into the family life?

In the past the school has made its contribution to the family through the medium of the children, the parents were almost wholly overlooked as factors in the problem since the school had already dealt with them. We have been told again and again by observers of American life that our education of children lacks the element of discipline and obedience. Some of our theories of education have ignored these and emphasized interest and affection as offsetting influences. Yet, in reality, life requires both discipline and obedience, and in so far as the schools have moved away from these the lack of them has had a marked influence upon the power of the family to control. If, then a new point of view could be brought into the public school system, and a larger emphasis placed upon both obedience and discipline, it ought in the course of time to create an influence that would be distinctly helpful.

The countries of Europe have the example of their monarchical system and the influence of their military training in maintaing reverence, obedience and discipline. In America, however, the freedom of democracy, the emphasis upon equality, and the lack of discipline, all tend toward the removal of a respect for authority. But the problem is not alone confined to the child. Parents to exact obedience and to carry out discipline must be wise, must be patient, and must be in

possession of some idealism. The emphasis of the materialistic philosophy breaks down the influence of religion, minimizes the value of idealism, and sets up in its place the notion that wealth brings happiness, gives power, and makes for standing in the community. There is much in the point, but it is the ethical concept that brings happiness and gives the balance that permits the broadening of the cultural element in the family life.

Inspiring Example of Denmark

Possibly the history of education in Denmark has some suggestions that might well be followed out in the United States. Here and there we have caught something of the point of view and have attempted to establish social centers in which the intellectual life of the adult may be stimulated and directed. Most of the attempts are sporadic and lack continuity of purpose. After the events of 1848, and the coming on of the wars with Prussia in the 60's, Denmark entered upon a period of extreme poverty, and then came the good Bishop Grundtvig, emphasizing the need of inspiration in the lives of the people of Denmark. There were three phases to the suggestion: (1) that the individual derived most benefit from instruction between the ages of 18 and 25; (2) that history and religion fill the mind with inspiring ideals; and (3) that the individual should have special training in the practical matters which aid him to improve his living conditions.

To these ends there were established in convenient places throughout the kingdom a large number of people's high schools. These high schools were not for the pupils of the public schools, but for the men and women who might wish to come in contact with larger things and get a glimpse of literature and know something of the history of their land. The effect of these schools upon Denmark can hardly be estimated. Without doubt they have done much to make the peasantry of that country the most enlightened and intelligent in Europe. Is there no hope in such a suggestion for the people of America? Is there any possibility that such schools, having in mind the teaching of idealism as well as knowledge of a calling, could be established in America, and through them an influence brought to bear upon family life that would be uplifting and helpful? I am of the opinion that such would be the case, and that a plan of that kind would do much toward raising the character of the family, and infusing new elements into it that are now missing. This movement in education for better training of adults with a larger emphasis upon discipline and obedience in the public schools, would without question begin to bear fruit in the lives of the children. No movement of such a character could be made effective in a year or two, but a start could be made. Perhaps teachers need more definite training along the line of the social purpose of the school. Few grasp at first the all-important part the school plays in

community life. Add to such enlargement of the teacher's vision the establishment of a system of people's schools, and in time the emphasis of life would be changed from the materialistic influence now so prevalent to a higher concept of family life. Meantime there would be brought into the communities where such schools were established a definite idealism that would ultimately raise the standard of culture in the family.

The point of view of this paper is not especially new, yet I do not know that it has yet been fully grasped either by those interested in the field of charities and correction or by those who are engaged in the work of education. Unless there is some definite movement that will bring into our present culture, with its many points of view, a new purpose and a new emphasis, the family will continue to lose its hold upon the young people, and as a consequence be less of a factor in the mantenance of better social conditions, and what is more important, there is no other social institution to take its place.

The Improvement of Rural Life
Section, May 14, 9:00 A. M.

THE TRANSIENT LABOR PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

Prof. John Lee Coulter, Expert Special Agent in charge Department of Agriculture, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

For several years I have been thinking of the rural life problems in the South. I have been trying to first know the conditions. Second, I have asked myself whether these conditions are satisfactory or unsatisfactory. If unsatisfactory, I have tried to settle in my own mind what the trouble was,—or rather where the weak spots were. Having found the weak spots, if any, I have tried to suggest steps which might be taken to relieve and improve the conditions.

I do not know where there is any one weak spot which can be said to be the weakest spot in our southern farming system. Thinking of the whole country life situation, several unsatisfactory ways of doing things have occurred to me. Among these the most unsatisfactory of all is the constant shifting of farmers from one place to another. This I think proper to refer to as the transient farm labor situation in the South. I have frequently said that the teacher moves too often from school to school. This is especially true with reference to the country schools. The teacher who does not stay long enough in any one community to understand that community and to understand the children and their needs—their lives and their activities—cannot hope to efficiently serve the people. I have frequently said, too, that no business man could hope to succeed without maintaining himself at the same stand and in the same line of business for a number of years. Unless he does this he cannot hope to be thoroughly familiar with the

problems which confront him constantly. Laborers shifting from one job to another not only lose the time between jobs and lose the pay which they otherwise would receive, but they enter upon each new task less efficient than they would be if they stayed year after year at the same kind of work, working in the same place.

Factors a Farmer Should Understand

If there is any basis of truth in the above statements in the case of teachers, business men, and laborers, then the inefficiency of shifting from place to place has many faults which we must not overlook when we come to the consideration of the farm population. The farmer must operate the same farm several years before he thoroughly understands that farm. Of course if the farmer is to be under strict supervision personally, he does not have to thoroughly understand his farm. But a farmer who is not familiar with the farm and farm operation cannot hope to get the best results until he has lived several years on the same farm and has become thoroughly acquainted with the conditions of nature which confront him. Some of the factors with which he must familiarize himself are stated below as illustrations:

Soil.—The farmer must stay long enough on his farm to become thoroughly acquainted with the soil. Students of agriculture and trained farmers also know that the soil in one farm may be and very likely is different in many respects from the soil five miles away. Often the soil on adjoining farms differs very greatly, and soils of the same farm differ from field to field. It is true that the soil may all be clay, or loam, etc., but variations in texture and general make-up of the soil are sufficient to require variations in methods of cultivating, in character of seed, in methods of plowing, etc. So I say, unless a farmer remains on the same farm for several years he cannot become familiar with the soil he must cultivate, and therefore cannot expect to secure the best results.

Rainfall. The amount of water may not be as important as the character of the soil. It is not alone the amount of water which is important, but also the form in which the moisture becomes available. Cold winters, resulting in the preservation of large quantities of moisture in the soil, deposits of snow, recurrent rains, or moisture artificially applied are illustrations. A section of the country may have a rainfall of 50 inches, but this might be at a season of the year most unsatisfactory for the kind of farming best adapted to the country or best liked by the farmer. Both the amount of moisture, time of precipitation, and method of utilizing the same should be studied. The farmer must know how to deal with the soil after the rain falls as well as before, and be prepared to adapt himself to the varying needs and conditions.

Topography. Someone will say that the rainfall will vary but little within a radius of a few miles. This may, however, be far from

the truth, for we must consider the topography, the drainage facilities and method of retaining the moisture, the likelihood of soil erosion, etc. Differences in rainfall on varying lands may carry away different amounts of fertilizer. The prevailing winds depend more or less upon topography, and so we might state other reasons why a farmer should become acquainted with all phases of the land in his farm.

Temperature. The temperature question must be constantly kept uppermost in the mind of the farmer. He must adapt himself to the peculiar needs of his farm. Here must arise questions dealing with the relationship existing between topography and temperature, prevailing winds and temperature, etc.

But it was not my purpose to present in detail the problems which confront farmers. I wish to bring to your attention some of the reasons why the farmer should remain in the same place for several years. The fact in a nutshell is that the farmer cannot hope to become efficient and prosperous and thoroughly successful unless he remains year after year in the same place.

Now the fact which has pressed itself most upon my mind, and the reason I have taken this subject for discussion, is that among the southern farmers there is a constant shifting from place to place. This must inevitably result in a low yield of crops, inefficiency, and a very low level of prosperity. What I have said is especially true of the farmers in the South. It is more so than with farmers in other parts of the country, and I believe it is one of the causes of the low value of lands and low production all along the line.

Statistics of Transient Tenants

But to conclude this brief paper, I shall cite some figures showing the actual conditions at the present time. Before bringing in these figures I want to point out other objections to changing from farm to farm. I believe that this constant changing is the greatest cause of illiteracy and poor educational facilities. It is possibly more responsible for the illiteracy in the country districts of the South than any other one factor. Children find themselves each year in a new schoolhouse, with new teachers, new surroundings, new books year after year. They are never able to pass from one grade or class to another. Those who move from place to place, being largely tenants, are not interested in the schoolhouses, and thus we have inexpensive and poorly-equipped schools. Moving as they do from place to place they do not take any interest in the roads, and are likely to find the roads constantly in an unsatisfactory condition. This makes it difficult for the children to get to school. It also makes it very expensive to haul the crops from the farm to the market place. It makes it difficult to get from one field to another; and roads are not free from obstructions. As tenants do not own their homes or the buildings in which they live, they are care-

less and try to get all they can from the place, leaving the place likely in a more run-down condition (if this is possible) than they found it in. Buildings and soil likewise deteriorate. Moving from place to place, disease is carried and spread about. So we might say with one objection after another. But a few facts must be shown as to the extent of this moving.

In the North as a whole 12 out of each 100 farmers move each year. In the South as a whole 22 out of each 100 move each year. Thus nearly twice as many farmers move each year in the southern states as in the northern states. In the states of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma more than 27 out of each 100 reported that they had lived on the farm where visited less than one year. At the same time less than six farmers had moved in a year in the whole group of New England States. Thus considering these two groups, practically five times as many moved in the southwest as in the northeast.

Let us now refer to the farmers who had lived many years in the same place. In New England 52 farmers out of each 100 reported that they had occupied the same farm 10 years, or longer; while in the group of states just mentioned less than 19 out of each 100 had lived on the same farm for 10 years or more. What has been said of New England is true to a greater or less extent for the entire North. And what was said with reference to the southwest group of states was true with slight variations for the whole South.

This shifting, of course, was made largely by the tenant system. It should be noted in passing that the white tenants move as frequently as the negro tenants. I cannot, of course, in the few minutes allotted to me try to present in detail what changes in the system are necessary. I will only name some of the changes which it seems to me must be worked out in the coming years. The first of these is, that every effort should be made to get rid of the tenant system and establish resident farm ownership. But we cannot hope to entirely eliminate the tenant system, and there is no special reason why we should completely eliminate it. The second step must therefore be to provide for a system of long leases or tenant contracts in place of the present one-year leasing system. We must leave it for further study and investigation before trying to present in detail just how these two steps are to be taken in the various states.

THE RURAL NEGRO AND THE SOUTH

Dr. Booker T. Washington, Tuskeegee, Ala.

Of the nine million Negroes, or nearly that number, in the South, about seven million are in the rural districts. They are on the farms, the plantation, and in the small town. It is worth while to consider

these numbers. Here is a population that is three times as large as that of Denmark. It includes eighty per cent. of the whole Negro population in the South, the great bulk of the Negro population in America, in fact. Of this seven million it is safe to say that 2,200,000 persons are actually working, either as hired hands, tenant farmers, croppers, or renters and independent owners, upon the land. This number includes women and children, for, on the farm and the plantation, the unit of labor is not the individual but the family, and in the South today Negro women still do a large part of the work in the fields.

Now, despite all that has been said about the efficiency or inefficiency of Negro farm labor, and putting aside all theories and all purely academic notions about the matter, people who live in the cotton growing states know that a very large part of the business of those states is based on the Negro and the mule. In some other parts of the world where land is scarce and labor is plenty, business in the agricultural districts is based on land; but in the South, where, when a planter wants to borrow money, he finds his credit at the bank is usually determined by the number of reliable Negro tenants he can control, business is based on labor. In other words, the value of the land and of all that goes with it and depends upon it, is determined very largely, more largely, perhaps, than is true of any other part of the country, by the character and quantity of the labor supply.

Negroes Occupy Forty Per Cent. of Land

This, then, defines the problem of the rural Negro in his relation to the South. The two million and more Negroes who are employed in agriculture in the southern states have in their hands, either as renters or as owners, forty per cent. of the tillable land. Something like 100,000,000 of the 150,000,000 acres of improved land is cultivated by Negro labor, and of every eleven bales of cotton produced in the South, seven are raised by Negroes.

The Negro is here and he is likely to remain. First, because after something like three hundred years he has adapted himself to the country and the people; because experience has taught him that, on the whole, the vast majority of the Negroes are more at home and better off in the agricultural regions of the South than they are likely to be in any other part of the world; and finally because the southern white man does not want him to go away. You may say what you please about segregation of the races, but when there is work to be done about the plantation, when it comes time to plant and pick the cotton, the white man does not want the Negro so far away that he cannot reach him by the sound of his voice.

These seven million black people occupying this vast territory, representing so large a part of the working force, and having so large

a share of the one great primary industry in their hands, constitute a very interesting and very serious problem, and one which deserves the thoughtful consideration and study, not only of the South, but of the whole country. The southern people, in particular, are bound to be concerned in the fortunes and progress of a people with whom their own progress and prosperity are so intimately bound up.

Country's Success Depends on Efficiency of Negro Labor

At the present time Negroes in the rural districts represent, in some respects, the best portion of the Negro race. They are for the most part a vigorous, wholesome, simple-minded people. They are, as yet, almost untouched by the vices of city life, and still maintain on the whole, their confidence in the good will of the white people by whom they are surrounded.

These seven million people represent, therefore, tremendous possibilities for good and for evil, to themselves and the community in which they live. From an economic view alone, this large actual and potential labor force represents a vast store of undeveloped wealth. A gold mine of productive energy, in fact. Imported to this country at an enormous cost in suffering and in money; trained and disciplined during two hundred and fifty years of slavery, and now waiting to be developed, under the influences of free institutions, the Negro is one of the great natural resources of this southern community. This being so, the prosperity of the South is very largely bound up with the latent possibilities of the Negro. Just in proportion as he becomes an efficient farmer and a dependable laborer, just to that extent will the whole country move forward and prosperity be multiplied.

How is it possible to make the Negro farmer more efficient and the Negro laborer more dependable? I can perhaps best tell how to succeed with Negro labor by using some illustrations that have come under my observation which show how not to succeed.

Some years ago, when I was in Mississippi, a planter asked me to visit his plantation. I found he had a large number of colored tenants, but I was surprised at the small acreage assigned to each family. In one case I remember there was one family that numbered three or four strong, sturdy hands, which was allowed to rent only about ten acres of land. When I asked the owner of the plantation why he did not let this family have more land he replied that the soil was so productive that, if he allowed them to rent more, they would soon be making such a profit that they would be able to buy land of their own and he would lose them as renters. This is one way to make the Negro inefficient as a laborer.

If Negro labor is to become more efficient, every effort should be made to encourage rather than to discourage the Negro in his ambition to go forward, to buy land and plant himself permanently on the soil. In the long run the planter will not suffer from the existence in his

neighborhood of Negro farmers who offer an example of thrift and industry to their neighbors. For example, Macon County, in which I live, was the only one of the Black Belt counties of Alabama which showed an increase of Negro population in the decade from 1900 to 1910. The reason was that a special effort had been made in that county to improve the public schools and this brought into the county a large number of progressive farmers who were anxious to own homes in the neighborhood of a good school. It not only did that, but it greatly increased the demand for tenant farms and so brought to the land what it needed, namely labor, efficient and dependable labor.

Wrong and Right Ways to Treat Negro Laborer

Let me give another illustration of how not to succeed with Negro labor. In one of the cotton-raising counties of Alabama a colored tenant brought six bales of cotton and delivered them to the merchant from whom he had been renting and who had been furnishing him "advances". The colored farmer had kept pretty good account of his purchases and of the rent due. When he entered the store he told the merchant that he thought he had made enough cotton to settle all he owed. After looking over his books the merchant agreed with him that the six bales would "bring him out clear." But before the colored man left the store the merchant learned that he had not brought in all the cotton he had grown, having two more bales at home. Immediately he called the farmer aside and told him that he was sorry he had made a mistake in the accounts, but in going over his books again he had found enough charges that had been omitted to exactly cover the two bales the Negro tenant had left at home. Of course this Negro tenant was not long in putting an account of how he had been treated on the "grapevine telegraph", and soon every Negro in the neighborhood knew about it. Through such practices in not a few sections of the South, Negro tenants have been thoroughly convinced that no matter how much they economize or how hard they work they are going to come out in debt at the end of the year, and they have become so discouraged and hopeless that they try to do only enough work to "make a showing" in order to get their "advances". If they work little they get nothing at the end of the year, they say, and if they work hard they get the same, nothing.

Just as there are ways of dealing with the Negro which tend in the long run to demoralize him and make his labor of little value, so there are ways which tend to discipline, educate and make the Negro a better laborer. In order to be specific I shall venture to illustrate by referring to an instance with which I am personally acquainted.

G. W. McLeod, who owns a large tract of land in Macon County, Alabama, is a good example of the white planter who treats his tenants

well. Mr. McLeod believes in having a good school in the community, so he gave an acre of ground upon which the school house was built and $100 in addition to help put up the $700 school house. He deeded the land to a set of colored trustees. Mr. McLeod also offers annual prizes for the best kept stock, best kept house, best cared for children, best attendance at Sunday school and church. The man or woman guilty of taking intoxicating liquors or engaging in family quarrels is not eligible to prizes and must go at the end of the year.

Mr. McLeod by this method of dealing with his tenants has little if any trouble in finding profitable tenants for his lands. Not only does he find that this policy pays in cash, but he has the satisfaction of seeing around him people who are prosperous and contented, who are every year making progress, who are growing in intelligence, ambition and the knowledge of all those things which make life worth living.

Why the Negro Leaves the Farm

From direct investigation I find that many valuable colored laborers leave the farm for the reason that they seldom see or handle cash. The Negro laborer likes to put his hands on real money as often as possible. In the city, while he is not so well off in the long run, as I have said, he is usually paid off in cash every Saturday night. In the country he seldom gets cash oftener than once a month, or once a year. Not a few of the best colored laborers leave the farms because of the poor houses furnished by the owners. The condition of some of the one-room cabins is miserable almost beyond description. In the towns and cities, while he may have a harder time in other respects, the colored man can usually find a reasonably comfortable house with two or three rooms.

No matter how ignorant a colored man may be himself, he almost always wants his children to have education. A very large number of colored laborers leave the farm because they cannot get an education for their children. In a large section of the farming district of the South, Negro schools run only from two to five months in the year. In many cases children have to walk miles to reach these schools. The school houses are, in most cases, wretched little hovels with no light or warmth or comfort of any kind. The teacher receives perhaps not more than $18 or $25 a month, and as every school superintendent knows, poor pay means a poor teacher.

In saying this, I do not overlook the fact that conditions are changing for the better in all parts of the South. White people are manifesting more interest each year in the training of colored people, and what is equally important, colored people are beginning to learn to use their education in sensible ways; they are learning that it is no disgrace for an educated person to work on the farm. They are learning that education which does not somehow touch life is not educa-

tion at all. More and more we are all learning that the school is not simply a place where boys and girls learn to read and cipher; but a place where they learn to live. We are all learning that education which does not somehow or other improve the farm and the home, which does not make a return to the community in some form or others, has no justification for its existence.

That is why the movement for the improvement of rural life which has taken such hold upon the South in recent years has gone hand in hand with the movement for better schools. More and more we are beginning to learn that progress in agriculture is dependent in the last analysis on the progress of the man behind the plow. The rural Negro is just now beginning to share in this improvement; he is just now beginning to feel the influence of the upward impulse in the life of the rural South.

Let us suppose that, as a result of this movement, the Negro should be able to increase his efficiency as a farmer and a farm laborer twenty-five per cent. Suppose that where he is now raising a third of a bale he should be able to raise a half or two-thirds of a bale per acre; suppose that he should double his yield of corn, sweet potatoes and other crops in proportion. Such an increase would mean an increase of not less than one billion dollars annually to the agricultural wealth of the South. This is an indication of some of the possibilities of the Negro in his relation to the South.

Denmark, to which I referred at the beginning of my address, has become, within a period of fifty years, the most prosperous agricultural country in the world. In no country in the world is agriculture so thoroughly organized and so efficiently carried on as there. Denmark has brought this result about because sixty or seventy years ago a movement was started in that country to educate the common people, to educate especially the people who worked on the soil.

Recent Great Progress of the Negro

I believe with education of the right kind we can do as well in the South. The possibilities of the Negro farmer are indicated by the progress that he has made in fifty years. In 1863 there were in all the United States only a few farms owned by Negroes. They now operate in the South 890,140 farms which are 217,800 more than there were in this section in 1863. Negro farm laborers and Negro farmers in the South now cultivate approximately 100,000,000 acres of land, of which 42,500,000 acres are under the control of Negro farmers. The increase of Negro farm owners in the past fifty years compares favorably with the increase of white farm owners. The Negroes of this country now own 20,000,000, or 31,000 square miles of land. If all the land they own was placed in one body, its area would be greater than that of the state of South Carolina.

The Negro has made his greatest progress in agriculture during the past ten years. In that time the value of the domestic animals which they owned increased from $85,216,337 to $177,273,000, or 107 per cent; poultry from $3,788,792 to $5,113,756, or 35 per cent; land and buildings from $69,636,420 to $273,501,665, or 293 per cent. From 1900 to 1910 the total value of farm property owned by the colored farmers of the South increased from $177,404,688 to $492,898,218, or 177 per cent.

In view of all this it seems to me that it is part of wisdom to take hold of this problem in a broad, statesmanslike way. Instead of striving to keep the Negro down, we should devote the time and money and effort that is now used for the purpose of punishing the Negro for crimes,—committed in many instances because he has been neglected and allowed to grow up in ignorance, without ambition and without hope—and use it for the purpose of making the Negro a better and more useful citizen.

The Negro is not only capable of improvement but he is worth the effort. I have traveled in many parts of the old world and I have studied the condition and the prosperity of the working classes there. I am frank to say that I have never seen any part of the world where it seemed to me the masses of the Negro people would be better off than right here in these southern states. On the other hand, knowing the South as I do, I do not believe the Southern people will ever find a people who are able and willing to adapt themselves to the habits, traditions and the ambition of the southern people as the Negro has done.

The two races in the South have grown up here together. There exists between them an understanding that the world outside can not know. Our situation is in many respects unique. But with mutual good will and the co-operation of the best elements in both races I believe we shall be able to solve all our problems and at the same time give to the world an illustration of how two races, different in origin and color, can live together in peace, and prosper.

Family Rehabilitation
Section, May 15, 9:00 A. M.

LIMITATIONS OF FAMILY REHABILITATION DUE TO MENTAL CONDITIONS

Margaret F. Byington, Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Our ideals of family rehabilitation rest on the assumption that there are certain normal elements in the family life on which to base improvement, that we can discover which of these essential elements are lacking and can restore them. There is probably no more serious

handicap to the carrying out of such plans than the presence of a person suffering from mental defect, feeble-mindedness, insanity or epilepsy. When a defect is physical, we can attempt to stimulate character, to give industrial training and eventually enable the defective to return in large degree to his normal place in the family economy. The mental defective, on the other hand, has lost that very power of adaptation, of self-control which enables these others to overcome their conditions. Any plan of rehabilitation which assumes, therefore, that the mental defective can be relied on to perform his normal social and family responsibilities will be futile. When we couple with this the still more tragic fact that this handicap is hereditary, it becomes evident that the wise solution of the problem is the elimination of the mentally defective person from the family group before the task of rehabilitation is undertaken.

There are two difficulties in carrying out this solution. One of these is the failure in so many states of legislatures to provide institutional care or to give, what we have just secured in New York, the power to commit the feeble minded to institutions through the courts and to keep them there when once committed.

The other difficulty is one which, from the point of view of the case-worker, is perhaps the more serious. We at least know what we ought to do with the diagnosed case of feeble-mindedness, insanity or epilepsy, but how many of our efforts are balked, how many problems left unsolved, how much discouragement caused by the undiagnosed case of mental defect, the high grade moral defective or the other more subtle cases of nervous diseases which render futile our efforts? Two of our own cases illustrate this, one a widow whose mental defect we did not discover until the birth of an illegitimate child startled us into a more complete study of her case; the other a neurotic man unable to keep a job, who has been advised to leave his family by the doctors but will not do so because the only institution for his care is the almshouse hospital to which he will not go. Very slowly will public opinion come to approve forcible commitment of these persons.

We should, however, bend our efforts toward surer diagnosis so that we may not work blindly. In one or two of the large cities there are clinics from which we can secure searching diagnosis, but in the smaller cities and towns there is urgent need of better service. It might be possible to persuade some young physician in such towns to direct his special study along the line of mental diagnosis so that he might eventually give valuable aid in such cases. We cannot render effective service to families when such defects exist. We should cease our long continued efforts to persuade, cajole and compel response when there is a defect in the central power house which makes response impossible.

THE SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF FAMILY REHABILITATION, WITH REFERENCE TO RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND TRADITIONS

C. M. Hubbard, General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association.

The chief difficulty in dealing with our neighbors of foreign birth is that they do not understand our language and we do not understand theirs, thus making it difficult to enter into intimate friendly relations. Where many families of a certain nationality are to be dealt with, charity organization societies should make an effort to train a social worker who can speak the language. Another difficulty is that we are inclined to regard all foreigners as inferior. This has been the case in succession with the Irish, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Italians, the Russians, Poles and is now in force against the Roumanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians and other immigrants from south-eastern Europe. It has been found in every instance, however, that these people improved upon acquaintance.

Social workers may be inclined to judge a nationality by its worst types, which is eminently unfair, as illustrated by our own whites of pure Anglo-Saxon stock from the Virginia and Kentucky mountains, and other similar regions. One rather common fault among our foreign population seems to be in their unchivalrous attitude toward their women. Yet we find in one city a settlement located in an Italian district had to close its work at night for girls because young Italian women and girls were not permitted to go out at night unattended by men, as a result of which but few of their young women went astray. We find also that there seems to be strong affection among members of Italian families, in spite of the fact that in one Italian neighborhood it was reported that it was the regular practice for the men to beat their wives once a week.

Many of the foreigners have excellent qualities. The Polish and Hungarians and Jews are anxious for education. They are nearly all thrifty. Comparatively few of them apply for charity. Some of their faults are simply thrift carried to excess. It is reported that the men among the Poles and Hungarians are inclined to desert their families, in spite of the fact that their wives are good house-keepers and cleanly in their habits, but the wives are generally ready to receive them back again.

The work of rehabilitation among many of the foreigners needs to be conducted along broader lines than work with other families. Many of the faults to which they are addicted are due to environment in which they live and to lack of opportunity. The Hungarians would drink less perhaps if places other than saloons were open to them for recreation. They would desert their families less if our laws against wife and child abandonment were enforced. They would not live in un-

sanitary tenements if our laws did not permit unsanitary tenements to exist. They would not overcrowd their quarters if our health officers were vigilant.

We may do something with families individually, raising their standards up to that which is normal in their group, or perhaps somewhat above it, but real progress can be made only in enforcement of our laws, the establishment of recreation centers, parks, playgrounds, and social settlements, and the wider use of the public schools as social centers. We have invited the unfortunate and oppressed of all nations to enjoy the advantages and liberties of this glorious country, but have proved to be poor hosts.

THE SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF FAMILY REHABILITATION WORK AS TO MORALITY

R. M. Little, General Secretary, Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

There is as much virtue among the poor as among the rich, and more enduring morality among the great middle class of our people than either of the others. The families of the rich go to pieces because of the lack of morality, and likewise the homes of the poor. Family life cannot endure without this basic virtue, and, when immorality has attacked the home and is persisted in, the home nearly always perishes. In rehabilitation work, therefore, this principle must be carefully observed and everything possible be done to strengthen the moral qualities of our families and protect them from attack. Perhaps we would all agree that a home should be broken up when the mother has become immoral and promiscuous in her relations. Occasionally a good mother can maintain a home and keep her children with her when the father has become dissolute in his life, but usually he deserts his family and they are often the better for it. Not every home should be broken up when it is weak at this point. Poor people recover from moral lapses as well as others, and charity workers should deal charitably with this offense when it has not become persistent. At times we are all surprised by the tenacious virtue of the poor under the most trying circumstances.

I well remember the brave fight a poor widow made to maintain a home for herself and three children, working long, hard hours for their support and living in surroundings which subjected her to constant temptation. She wore her fingers to the quick at the wash-tub, but kept the children in school and inspired them with ambition and ideals. The last Sunday of her life she arose from a sick bed to send them spick-and-span to the Sunday School and was herself a corpse in the afternoon, but she would not sell her virtue. I also knew a young

woman of immigrant parentage who through earning power has come to a place of larger liberty and privilege in life, but her freedom from the drudgery of the home placed her amidst the temptations of the street and the moving picture shows. The excitement and thrill of the city life has been too much for her undisciplined moral nature. She has lost her virtue.

In a large city there is one community where it is the accepted practice for young women, who make a fairly good wage, with which they buy better clothes than they could have when supported by their parents, to go astray. They fall, not because of economic pressure, but through the influence of economic improvement. Their larger wage subjects them to larger temptations than they would feel if they were kept more closely in their own homes. It is often difficult for a poor family to restrain a young person who is making a good wage and keep her from the temptations of the city. It is common observation that most of the young men who patronize houses of prostitution are the boys who have too much money to spend and not enough work to do.

I wish to present these facts in opposition to the current idea that the virtue of poor young people is breaking down because of economic pressure. Occasionally, perhaps, it does, but I am quite sure that the virtue of the poor withstands the economic pressure as well as the indulgent life of the rich, and that the children of the poor are under as great temptation when they rise in the economic scale.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF FAMILY REHABILITATION WITH REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN CONDITIONS

James P. Kranz, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Memphis, Tenn.

One of the difficulties which we in the South work under is the attitude of the community toward the ideals of family rehabilitation. This is not due to southern conditions, as such, but due to the fact that the development of charity organizations with true ideals is new. Family rehabilitation consists of a careful analysis of the conditions now existing in the family and a study of the family's past in order to get a basis for constructing the new life of the family and then to plan the new life and guide the family in the efforts which it must make. This analysis of the past and present, and the planning and direction of the efforts which the family must make can only be done by the most carefully trained workers.

In the South and other communities where the intricacies of family rehabilitation are not understood, the expenditure of money for salaries of workers is always opposed. This opposition is based purely upon lack of information on the part of the community. There is no opposition to salaries of trained nurses, for every one understands the work

of the trained nurse, and when the real principles of family rehabilitation are understood and the work of the social visitor is as well understood as is that of the trained nurse today, there will be no objection to salaries for social visitors. Yet, today, this is one of the heaviest handicaps under which we, of the South, labor. This may be true to a greater or less extent of all parts of the country, but nowhere is this antagonism as serious as in the South.

There seems to be only one way out of it and that is to face the issue squarely. We cannot afford to cloud the issue by calling the work of our visitors service-relief or material service and class it under the general heading "relief." I think we ought to class it as service and demonstrate that the service of the trained social worker is just as much needed as that of the trained nurse and that trained service is the keystone of family rehabilitation.

C. O. S. Work Supplemented in the South

The scope of the work of a charity organization society in the South is necessarily broader than in any other section of the country. In most of the southern cities the charity organization societies vary from the orthodox plan and develop other kinds of work needed in their community. For instance, Houston has a well-defined child-helping department, Birmingham and Little Rock child welfare departments, and Memphis a complete medical department. This is due to the fact that an associated charities in the southern communities is expected to do all the phases of social work for which there is no other well developed agency and we, in Memphis, have proceeded to meet the expectations of the community and conduct departments of work not ordinarily conducted by charity organization societies.

At present, private agencies duplicate one another with large gaps in the program of work. With few exceptions, all of them limit their work to caring for dependents and no preventive work is done. Ninety-five per cent. of the money invested in charity in the South is expended on the care of dependents and less than five per cent. on the prevention of dependence.

Backward Conditions

The southern states, as a whole, are backward in social legislation. In Tennessee we have no wife desertion laws, no non-support laws, absolutely no legal way of getting at these offenders against family life. There is no state board of charities, no institution for the feeble-minded or epileptic, no provision by the state for care of dependent or neglected children, no adequate or anywhere nearly adequate care for tubercular patients. The state schools for delinquent boys and girls are overcrowded. So, also, the hospitals for the insane, resulting in some of the larger counties having their own county institutions.

While this is an outline of the conditions in Tennessee, excepting a few of the southern states as Virginia and Kentucky, with few variations it is true also of the other southern states.

The function of the associated charities in southern cities is exceedingly broad. It must carry on all the work of a regular organization and, in addition, do work for which in other cities there are specialized agencies, as children's aid societies, protective associations, clinics and dispensaries, child welfare work, fresh air work. It must also extend its influence and ultimately bring about co-operation between the various social agencies of the city and swing the emphasis from relief to prevention. In fact, it must assume the leadership in the development of a social program.

This is the work that we southern secretaries are confronted with and we are all handicapped by the communities' opposition to the paying of salaries for workers. We seem to be in the position of having more work to do and less workers to do it with than any other part of the country and, therefore, it is difficult for us to maintain the highest standards of case work.

It might be argued that the organization should restrict its work to family rehabilitation solely and in spite of the breadth of our work, that is what we are doing, but we not only do case work—we are compelled to create the instruments needed to do good case work.

You can readily see that this backwardness in the development of social institutions in the South makes our work much more difficult.

Low Whites

The low white element bulks largely in the number of applicants to charitable institutions. Perhaps no city in the South has as large a percentage as Memphis. We are in the heart of the cotton belt and near to the mountains and we get both the mountain whites and the plantation whites of seven states. In northern and eastern cities the bulk of the applicants are immigrants and their near descendants. They represent a people who have come from countries where they lived on a lower standard to one in which they must live on a higher standard. Every tendency on the part of the immigrant is upward and the function of the social worker is to help him become adjusted, prevent exploitation and show him what the American standard is.

We, of the South, face an entirely different problem. The bulk of our applicants are of the purest Anglo-Saxon stock, but a degenerating element. This class of people are going from a higher to a lower standard. They are going down and every tendency is downward. We have the double problem of arresting this downward tendency in the people we work with and then doing all that is done in the North and East.

The characteristics of the low whites are physical weakness, ignorance, inefficiency, suspicion, superstitution, stubbornness and pride. The

first two—ignorance and physical weakness—are, no doubt, basic to the others. You can readily see that this class have a combination of traits of character that makes our work difficult. Fifty per cent of the low white families applying to the Memphis Associated Charities in the past eighteen months have been in need of medical treatment. It is, no doubt, due to ignorance that their method of living is unsanitary and that diseases—malaria, hookworm, tuberculosis and typhoid—prevail in their communities. Ignorance and physical weakness are the two chief handicaps of these people. Mentally, they are unfit for anything but manual labor, and physically they are unfit for manual labor, and then when you find the exception who is physically fit, his pride rebels against manual labor.

Proposed Remedies

In considering a solution we must go back to the rural life of these people. No doubt their present condition is due to environment largely. The barren, dilapidated homes of the poor whites of the rural South, the limited educational facilities, the servitude of the women and the neglect of the children, the utter lack of facilities and media for exchange of ideas and the close intermarriage of families, no doubt, all have played their part in creating the product that now confronts us.

The solution of the low white problem of the South will come only through the segregation of the mentally unfit and then education in a broad sense, including all lines necessary to develop an all-around, wholesome living. No southern city can solve the problem by breaking up the families of the low whites that come to them, but rather they must extend their work to the rural communities. We, in Memphis, are planning a circuit rider social worker to the small towns around us, and then from these small towns we expect to go to the hamlets and cross-roads. This is really rural social service and in that work—rural social service,—lies the solution.

We have briefly outlined some of the problems of the southern secretaries, but we have left out one large item—the work with negroes. This is done because that subject has been presented and discussed in detail at another meeting of this Conference.

It must be evident that the scope of the society doing family rehabilitation work in the South must be broader than elsewhere. We must build up our own organization, tenaciously hold fast to our standards in the face of opposition, must educate the community as to the standards of human service, swing the emphasis from relief to prevention. We must socialize our city and rural territory and must make the struggle for social legislation and proper state institutions. All this we must do, and we must do it single-handed. Surely this task is a tremendous one. It is more than any one organization should be compelled to struggle with. Yet we must, for at present the future of social service in the South rests upon the charity organization groups.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF FAMILY REHABILITATION WORK FROM THE STANDPOINT OF COMMUNITY STANDARDS OF CHARITY

Francis H. McLean, General Secretary, National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, New York City.

It has been a matter of common observation in the field work that in places where there has been no real family rehabilitation, the method of presenting our message must and does vary considerably. One cannot make the fatal mistake of under-estimating the activities which have been carried on under the name of charity. For instance, take the city in which the King's Daughters were worried about how to deal with a young married couple of German extraction, with two children, the husband suffering from incipient tuberculosis. They had made sufficient investigation to determine that the parents of both husband and wife were in fairly good circumstances, that the wife had been supporting the family for a time but had lately refused to do so. They had offered sanitorium care, which had been refused, their plan having been enough elaborated to provide for the temporary care of the husband, pending admission, with his parents and the temporary care of the wife and two children with hers.

Now it is evident that it would be the height of folly to treat a group which had gone on so far and so intelligently as one would treat a group in another city where charity standards consisted of food once a week and eleven shovel-fulls of coal every fortnight. When the purely materialistic conception of charity is the only one extant, there is ample opportunity to begin with the veriest rudiments, to be emphatic and explicit regarding the actual crimes which have been committed under the mantle of charity. Sometimes these materialistic groups are stupidly obstinate, but their very narrowness has prevented their having really interested the people worth while. Therefore they steadily lose ground. Far different is it when a halfway group like the first one we described is not convinced that it is doing all that can be reasonably expected. Here is an awakening knowledge of family problems, action something more than materialistic, the semblance of completed work. Naturally there are very many thinking persons in a community inclined to accept at full face value the semblance for the reality, backed as it is by the assertions of people who are trying to achieve by the use of common sense and intelligence. On the other hand, be it said that if such a group as this once realizes how far it falls short of completed work, it becomes the staunchest possible friend to proper organization.

Now with the plainly different situations which exist as a result of these different charity standards in unorganized communities, I have been interested in reviewing what under any and all circumstances, with no work or half-way work, has the gospel of family rehabilitation offered

to any community. And I am inclined to believe that always it has strengthened standards by preaching the sanctity of human life and the necessity of *co-ordinated, co-operative, comprehensive plans.* I find myself more and more pressing to the very front the idea of complete investigations and records, on the ground that human life requires this of us, just as the co-ordinated, comprehensive plans which grow out of the other are required.

It seems to me that those two most important doctrines are the greatest contribution which the cause offers to the charity standards of a community as yet unorganized. At the same time, it is responsible for the acceptance of those doctrines, so far as the movement has lived up to them in older organized communities. I can tell you of instances all over the country, of remarkable friendly visiting service, of remarkable bits of good case work, of fine cumulative investigations. There is not one of the essentials of the work which cannot be beautifully illustrated from the experience of unorganized or pseudo-organized communities. But the fundamental transformation has been in that recognition of the life values involved and the broadest get-together programs, the drawing of real plans.

In describing wherein the movement has served to strengthen the charity standards of a community, no matter how advanced, by emphasizing values and comprehensive programs, I have at the same time plainly indicated its limitations in this direction. Do not drive away possible supporters who are genuinely interested in real advance, by overlookng the many angles which they may have seen and appreciated. It is not a sensing of family problems though often but crudely seen, or of the responsibility of persons outside the immediate family group, nor of the possible social reform implications; it is not these which are lacking in the unorganized field. I do not mean that there are not plenty of communities where all these things are lacking, but I do say that there is nothing to prevent a community going very much further along the road in its charitable efforts before reaching the point where there is need of the organized family rehabilitation work to prevent stagnation.

CHILDREN

Remarks by the Chairman of the Committee*

Mary Vida Clark, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City, Chairman.

The general subject selected for this session is "The Conservation of the Child." We shall dispense with a Committee Report, and leave it to our three speakers alone to develop the topic from three points of view. These three points of view may be taken perhaps to represent those three inalienable rights that our idealistic forefathers conceived to be the natural endowment of all—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The statement that governments were instituted to secure these rights gave us our first precedent for incorporating social programs in political platforms.

These so-called "natural rights" are in our sadder and wiser day recognized as the end and object of civilization and social reform, the hard won victory over the forces of evil here below, rather than a free gift from above. But even after a century they represent the essence of the whole social program of today.

If life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the rights of anyone at any time, they are the rights of the child, and unless children have enjoyed these rights there will be no adults or none capable of enjoying them.

That primary right of the child to life is only beginning to be recognized. We still kill off annually some 300,000 babies in their first year, notwithstanding the fact that if we really put into practice what we already know the infant death rate would be almost negligible. The right of the child to life includes its right to health: to be feeble in body or mind is to be only half-alive. The child has a right to life and to have it more abundantly. The movement for child hygiene is the recognition of the child's right to the protection and promotion of its health.

The child's right to liberty is as real as its right to life. Yet we still imprison thousands of children in mills and factories and mercantile establishments, reducing them to a kind of slavery.

If any human being has the right to the pursuit of happiness, even to the achievement of happiness, it is the child. Happiness cannot be pursued successfully under conditions of disease or excessive and unsuitable work.. It requires the development of the faculties of

*General Session, May 15, 2:30 P. M.

the child, its preparation for an increasingly larger and richer life. This is the function of the school.

By the prevention of death and disease in childhood and the promotion of life and health, by the prohibition of unsuitable and untimely labor, and by the adoption of right methods of education, we should find that most of our social problems would solve themselves, and we could in one generation raise up a people such as never has been before. It is time for the declaration of the independence of the child from the tyranny of death, disease, labor and ignorance.

The three speakers on the program will speak on these three aspects of the rights of the child and describe the three great movements that are combining for the conservation of the child.

TEN YEARS OF CHILD LABOR REFORM

A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C.

The meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Atlanta, Georgia, eleven years ago marked the beginning of a new era for social reform in the southern states. It has been a pleasure to me to trace to the discussions of that Conference, widely published in the press of the South, the beginnings of the accepted methods of dealing with the prisoners, the delinquent and dependent children, the defective classes generally, and with the toiling children. That same year, largely owing to the propaganda work of the late Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Alabama, the first child labor laws, defective enough in themselves, were passed by a number of southern states, and through the wide interest in the subject thus awakened, and the publication of the census figures of 1900, a score of states in the North or West either passed their first child labor laws, or amended those already in existence in the direction of greater restriction of child labor.

Mr. Murphy's address at the Atlanta Conference on "Child Labor, A National Problem," was a most effective appeal for the treatment of the question on broad, national lines, not leaving to the sporadic influences of disassociated groups in different states the handling of the problem, but urging the adoption of a common standard and the coordination of widely scattered groups. The following year, 1904, the National Child Labor Committee was organized, largely through the efforts of Mr. Murphy, Mr. Homer Folks becoming Temporary Chairman and Mr. Murphy, Secretary. The noteworthy group of people who had already shown their interest in child labor reform in all parts of the nation, were selected as the charter members of the new national organization, which may claim to be a daughter of this Conference. Dr. Felix Adler was elected Chairman of the Committee and has held

that position until now. Samuel McCune Lindsay was its first General Secretary, with Owen R. Lovejoy and the speaker the first Assistant Secretaries. Dr. Lindsay resigned his position to become Director of the New York School of Philanthropy, becoming Vice-Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Lovejoy becoming General Secretary and your speaker to-night the Secretary for the Southern States.

The Committee has recently celebrated in New Orleans its tenth anniversary; and two facts stand out pre-eminent in connection with a decade of earnest effort in behalf of the working children. The first is that largely through the work and influence of the Committee, which has been the clearing house for information as well as the center of militant activity, the child labor laws of all the states of the Union have been approaching the standard set in the Uniform Child Labor Law which was adopted by the American Bar Association. The central organization established offices in the South, first at Charlotte, then at Atlanta, later in Washington; in the West at Cincinnati, and in New England at Boston, these two having been later given up and the work being turned over to the state committees which represent the National Committee locally.

More Progress in Decade than in Preceding Century

Every state in the Union has now some measure of legislative protection for the working children, and for the employment of children in factories all have reached the 14-year age limit, one or two having gone beyond it, except the two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, in the South; New Mexico and Nevada in the West and Vermont in the East—40 out of the 48. So on the legislative side the work of child labor reform has progressed farther in the last decade than in the century preceding. The sore spot remaining,—since New Mexico and Nevada have few children in employment, and Vermont's compulsory education law prohibits the employment of children during the whole school term,—are the five southern states mentioned: the two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, where children as young as 12 years of age may still be employed for an 11-hour day, and in one of them, Georgia, where 10-year-old children, under the exception made against the children of dependent parents, may be so employed.*

The other fact is that the agencies of reform, whether local or general, have only begun the task of law enforcement. In only a few states is adequate provision made through ample appropriations and the employment of a sufficient number of inspectors for the enforcement of the law; and in the cotton manufacturing states of the South

* On August 12, 1914, the Georgia legislature enacted a fourteen-year law, with an exemption for dependent children between 12 and 14 years of age.

before named not only are the laws below the proper standard, not only are these laws practically unenforced, but a very large number of helpless children are concerned in this failure of the states to provide for their protection against exploitation and the loss of their childhood, itself. It was after long and patient consideration of these facts, coupled with the recognition of the truth that there is always need of haste in devising aid for children, since they so soon pass beyond the reach of all effort in the direction of child welfare, that the National Committee unanimously came to the conclusion: we must ask the aid of the Federal Government unless we wish to face the cruel situation that hundreds of thousands of children in this nation of ours in successive eras of three or four years each, a long and critical period in the life of the individual child, must pass through the mill or the department store, the mine or the demoralizing street trades, before child labor is abolished.

Government Inquiries Fostered

The National Child Labor Committee had sought the aid of the Federal Government on two occasions: first, for the investigation of the facts relating to the employment of women and children. Under Mr. Roosevelt's second administration Congress appropriated $300,000 for such an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Labor, resulting in a series of nineteen volumes furnishing an exhaustive source of ammunition to those who are fighting in behalf of the children's right. With the success of this effort in view and with a broad appreciation of the fact that there are many problems of childhood which need to be investigated by a governmental agency, the National Child Labor Committee threw itself with all its resources into the task of creating the Federal Children's Bureau, now so successfully engaged in doing the work assigned it, namely, to "investigate and report upon all matters relating to children and child life in the Republic." The Committee feels that this organ of the Federal Government still demands protection at its hands, and the recent increase of appropriation in the House of Representatives from $25,000 to $165,000, the amount asked for by Miss Lathrop, was largely due to the interest which the eight thousand members of the Committee had originally taken in the creation of the Bureau which they retained for its establishment upon a sound basis. We hope to see a million dollar bureau before many years pass.

The National Committee endorsed, at its first presentation to Congress, the Beveridge Child Labor Bill, which prohibited the common carriers of the country from transporting across state lines products of child labor under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. The Beveridge bill received scant attention from the Congress of that period. But there has been a marvelous change in the attitude of the federal Congress toward rights of children as the older members of that body, whose acquaintance with the problems which state

legislatures were discussing related to a period several decades ago, have passed from this earthly scene, or from political life and have been succeeded by a new generation more alive to the demands of social justice. A new federal child labor bill, therefore, has been introduced in Congress, has been favorably reported by the Committee on Labor, and has received powerful support from leading members both of the House and the Senate. It is my purpose in the remainder of my time to indicate more fully the need for a federal law, and the effects which will follow its enactment.

Need of Federal Child Labor Law

The 48 states of the Union, while we have said they have been approaching the standard of legislation set by the Uniform Child Labor Law, are only beginning to learn the necessity of taxing themselves and appropriating public funds for the enforcement of the law. Factory inspection has not been regarded as an important branch of governmental activity, and too often political hacks have been rewarded—in a few instances for their activities in opposition to child labor reform, with the high and sacred position of protecting childhood against commercial exploitation. A law is not a law until it is enforced, and the hypocrisy of the situation is a bad thing for the cause of citizenship. The people who are aroused through appeals, which helpless childhood always makes, to see that a law is put upon the statute books, too often fail in their zeal when it comes to the less spectacular, every-day duty of aiding in the enforcement of the law which has been enacted.

So that the sad fact remains today that child labor is almost as great a national evil as it was when Edgar Gardner Murphy described it eleven years ago to the members of this Conference. Forty-eight states must of necessity have forty-eight standards of law enforcement, to say nothing of legislation, and one great obstacle in the advance of child labor reform along both lines is the effect of a low standard state in its influence upon surrounding states. The manufacturers of Massachusetts complain that the 8-hour day for children puts them at a disadvantage with their competitors in the other New England states, which still allow a 9- or 10-hour day for the employment of children between the ages of 14 and 16 years. The glass manufacturers of New Jersey and Ohio long resisted the passage of the law prohibiting the employmnt of boys under 16 at night work in their establishments, because the glass manufacturers of Pennsylvania have continued to be more powerful with the legislature of that state than the friends of the children. Cotton manufacturers of Tennessee have complained that they were at a disadvantage in adhering to the 14-year age limit because of the competition from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, not only in the manufacture of goods but for their labor force since too often parents are perfectly willing to move

across state lines in order to put their younger children into employment. The cotton manufacturers of Texas, at the last meeting of the Legislature, complained that the 8-hour day for children under 16 would put them at a disadvantage as compared with their competitors in the other cotton manufacturing states of the South. The cotton manufacturers of Mississippi recently forced a lowering of the excellent standard which had been adopted two years before, an 8-hour day for boys under 18 and for girls under 16, on the same plea.

In vain do we protest that child labor is an economic error and that industry itself is benefited through the elimination of immature children from employment, while the state derives an advantage from the consequent raising of the wage scale through such elimination. The fact remains that the plea is always made, and subtly to the patriotism of the state itself, that its own manufacturers be not put at a disadvantage as compared to the manufacturers of the surrounding states. The cause of child labor reform has been set back at least ten years, perhaps a score of years, by this argument, whether we call it sound or unsound. Therefore, what we need is what the first child labor reformers of England proposed, more than a century ago, namely, "parliamentary aid to establish a general system of laws for the wise, humane and equal government of all such works." For "parliamentary" insert "congressional", and you have the logic for the federal child labor law. Such a law would recognize the fact that the children of the states are the children of the nation, just as under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution adult citizens of a state are the adult citizens of the nation. The nation is as vitally concerned in the protection of its children as are states. In a democracy, no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself. The illiteracy of the voters of South Carolina is felt in national legislation that affects Massachusetts and California as well. It would be a poor nation indeed that should be found unable to intervene in behalf of its future citizens and protect them from physical and moral degeneracy and from all the vices of an empty mind. And while the Republic is Peace, the time has not yet come when the nations shall war no more,—

"When the war drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

The nation needs to say that every child in the Republic shall have an equal chance for full development, physically, mentally and morally,—

"So shall we bide sure guarded,
When the restless lightnings wake,
In the womb of the blotting war-cloud,
And the pallid Nations shake."

In the Name of Morality and Justice

There is another moral right that emerges in this idea of the national protection of children against injury. To me the greatest work of this National Conference during its forty-one years of history has been the education of the social conscience. May we not claim for some of us, at least, that we have arrived at such a state of social apprehension that we have a right to protest against the moral injury that comes to us from being partners in the abuse of childhood through the purchase of child-made goods? We have claimed the right to protection through federal law against the unwitting purchase and consumption of impure food products; against the consumption of animal food when such food has been prepared under unwholesome conditions. These laws are for the protection of our physical health. Have we not a right to demand that the same federal agency shall enact a law for the protection of our moral health?

Have not we, who happen to be the citizens of states where good child labor standards have been adopted, the legal as well as the moral right to protest against the exportation across our state lines of goods made by anti-social child labor? Can we not, each one of us, say for himself, "I do not want to wear hosiery made in the hosiery mills of Georgia, where ten-year-old children may work an 11-hour day; I do not wish to protect or adorn my person with cotton goods manufactured in Alabama where fourteen-year-old children are allowed to work at night in their production; I do not wish to buy tomatoes manufactured by the canneries of Maryland, which recently persuaded the Maryland legislature to allow them to employ ten-year-old children for unlimited hours in the canning of tomatoes; I do not wish to buy oysters and shrimps prepared by the hands of these same children, who are shipped to the Gulf Coast in the winter, with no chance of an education at either end of the line for them; I do not care to be warmed by coal mined by the labor of 14-year-old boys?"

Under our dual system of government, the citizens of Massachusetts, of New York, of Ohio, of Wisconsin, of Illinois, of Oklahoma, of California, to mention a few of our good, standard states, cannot protect themselves by a state law against the importation of such goods. We have been very careful for the indirect protection of our own and of foreign convicts against increased exploitation, and of our own free laborers against competition with them, by prohibiting the entry of convict-made goods into this country. And a bill has recently passed the House and is now pending in the Senate regulating the transportation across state lines of convict-made goods. I am in favor of such laws. I could wish that every man sentenced to prison might be released from the iniquities of the convict lease and contract systems, and be allowed to earn money for the support of his dependent family, or to be reserved as a fund to aid in his own rehabilitation when he becomes a free man again. I do not believe that the state

should profit by crime. Still more strongly do I not believe that any state in this Union should be allowed to profit by the exploitation of its children, and to force its child-made goods upon the citizens of other states.

Will of People Already Expressed

How far the people of the United States have already expressed their will through legislation concerning the employment of children is evident by a study of the Census figures by states. Out of the 91,972,-266 people in the Continental United States, 78,931,619 have already agreed to the 14-year age limit for the employment of children in factories, as against 13,040,547 who have not yet reached that standard in state legislation; that is, 86 per cent of the people of the United States have come to that degree of protection for the working children, a few million having gone beyond it. The figures for the 16-year age limit for mines are equally striking. Taking the 16 great coal mining states of the Union, thirty-seven million out of fifty million people in these states have said in their statutes that children under sixteen years of age should not be employed in mines. And as to night work for children, if we take the general statutes prohibiting night work in factories, including Pennsylvania, which has an exemption for factories with a continuous process of manufacture, we have 77,-657,354 people whose states have already enacted laws with the 16-year age limit for night work as against 14,314,912 whose states have not yet reached that standard; that is, 85 per cent of the population of the United States have already agreed in their state laws that children under sixteen years of age should not be employed in factories at night, as against 15 per cent whose states have not so decreed.

The movement for the eight-hour day for children has gained such remarkable headway since the first state enacted such a law that already a small majority of the people of the United States have provided in their state laws that children under sixteen should not be employed more than eight hours a day, 46,150,275 as against 45,585,133, 50.6 per cent as against 49.4 per cent. Now these are the standards of the Palmer-Owen Bill so far as the employment of children is concerned. An overwhelming majority of the people have spoken for the fourteen-year age limit, the sixteen-year age limit for employment in mines and for night work in factories, while a small majority, though enough to decide a presidential election, have decreed the eight-hour day as the proper limit for work for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

Federal Laws Effective

And, finally, we believe that a federal law will be effective. This Union of 48 states, whom we affectionately call Uncle Sam, is more powerful than any one of them. The federal law will supplement

the laws of nearly all the states of the Union, and will raise the standards of those now below normal. We have had too many instances of the effectiveness of federal laws to need more than one or two illustrations to prove this point. A good many of our states, and in all of the states localities within them, have enacted laws against the sale of intoxicating liquors. The federal law requires that a license tax shall be paid to the federal government by all those engaging in the liquor traffic. It has been the experience of every prohibition state and of every prohibition community that where the state or the community was lax in the enforcement of its prohibition statute, the offenders have been careful not to violate the federal law. They have paid their license tax to Uncle Sam in order to violate the laws of their own state, because the penitentiaries at Atlanta or Leavenworth yawn wide enough for the man who, manufacturing or selling liquor, either in violation of or in conformity with the laws of his state, neglects to observe the federal law on the same subject.

Not long ago a federal law was passed prohibiting the transportation of any women across state lines for immoral purposes, known as the Mann White Slave Act. The numerous and effective prosecutions under that law have made men with beastly inclinations, or with more beastly commercial appetites, very careful about crossing state lines and violating this particular act. They may be just as immoral as before, but their immoralities are confined to their own states, and they do not inflict upon other states their personal presence or their abominable business. And so it will happen that, when any private citizen can write a postal card to the Department of Justice and say that this sardine factory in Maine, or this glass factory in Pennsylvania, or this tomato cannery in Maryland, or this cotton factory in Georgia, or this hosiery mill in Tennessee, or this coal mine in Colorado, is employing children under the legal age and is offering its shipments in interstate commerce; and when it is known that upon the receipt of such a postal card the great Department of Justice of the United States will send an inspector to visit that factory, and the man responsible for one instance of such an abuse of childhood must face an indictment before a federal grand jury, with the alternative of a fine or a sentence to prison, then, and I fear not until then, child labor in America will stop. As a friend of mine in Georgia expressed it, "It will quit entirely." The states may be left to pick up the loose ends of the child labor business through protection of children in street trades, or dally with these, as the case may be. But with the enactment of that law we hope that some future representative of the National Child Labor Committee can stand before this National Conference and say that the Committee has reported to the American people that its work has been accomplished and has asked that it be discharged.

We believe that the humane and intelligent manufacturers of the country, even those now employing child labor, really a small percentage

of the whole number, should endorse such a proposition. None will then be at an advantage over his neighbor. No state will be penalized by losing its people, or unduly hampering its manufacturers, by the passage of an adequate law to protect its own children. And we solicit the approval of the American people and their hearty endorsement of this plan of federal action. We invite the citizens of this Republic, in the approaching Congressional elections for the House and Senate, to interrogate their candidates for office, asking how they stand on this question, and to cast their vote accordingly, to the end that the childhood of the nation may be protected in the emjoyment of the sacred rights of childhood, and that this beloved country of ours, so blessed by God in field and forest and mine and water course, so abundant in resources, so powerful in wealth and strength, may be rid of the reproach that may yet be cast upon it of devouring its own children, and may present again a serene front to civilization.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL

W. K. Tate, Professor of Rural Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

I have lived all my life "down South." We have had in the past some ideas in this section that have not harmonized completely with modern social movements. We have had an individualistic attitude towards affairs down this way. The social attitude is the one which is destined to prevail. For the past sixteen years I have lived in South Carolina. It is a state second to none in the United States, we think, with a splendid history, a great people, and magnificent resources. It is all this, but in our state, because of our individualism, we still have some things that ought not to exist. In South Carolina we have no adequate child labor law. A child of twelve years is permitted to work in the mills, and many children drop out of school and go to work shortly after they are twelve. We have no birth registration. You cannot tell how old a child really is. We have no vital statistics worth anything, and a law looking toward this end, passed by our last legislature, has not yet received the governor's signature. We have no compulsory school attendance law, although one has been passed by two successive legislatures. We have no annual school enumeration. We do not know what children we have in the state, how many are out of school, nor where they are. In other words, we have not come to the realization that our children are one of our great state assets. We love our children in the South as well as people in any other section of the country. The men and women in the South will

lay down their lives for their children, but it is for their own children —it is not just for children. We speak of our soil, and our climate, and our water power, and our minerals, and forests as assets. We have forgotten that our children and our people make up our greatest asset. We are just rising to that conception. The white wave on the map which indicates better conditions is spreading this way, and before ten more years, I believe Mr. McKelway's prediction will be a fact. We in the South have been hampered by conditions, but will ultimately take our place in this great social movement which regards the children as our greatest asset to be conserved.

Our schools are not yet what they ought to be. We have had educated people in the South since the beginning of our history. We have had people who have given their children the best possible education, but it was not *all* children they were concerned with. We have too many schools that run only three and four and five months. We have neglected our country schools in the march of progress. We have not put into those schools the things to make them vital. We have considered it is every man's business to teach his own child a trade. We have not looked upon the productive vocation of the individual as a great social asset. We have not considered the health of the individual boy and girl as the business of everybody, but left the matter to the boy's father and mother or friends.

It was a very interesting experience to me last year to go from the South, handicapped as we have been, and backward as we are in this respect, to the little republic of Switzerland, where democracy and its conception of social obligations have gone very much further than in America.

Contrast with Switzerland

I soon noticed in Berne that the best school buildings were in the poorest sections of the city. I had not seen that condition in my section. A prosperous residence section here will have a fine school building, but down in the poorer districts we usually find school quarters and equipment far from adequate. In Berne the finest school building in the town is near a cotton mill, in the poorest section. When I went into it I found those things which tend to conserve the health and welfare of the children. The building had just opened after the fall holiday, and the teacher was calling on the children to tell their vacation experience. One told of his experience at the holiday colony. The teacher told me they had suspected that this child might have incipient tuberculosis, so he had been sent to the country and had come back with renewed life and health. I found that at half past ten in the morning in the basement, in the milk kitchen, there was a free lunch provided for about one-third of the children—those unable to provide that simple lunch at home. In the newspaper I saw a notice by the school committee calling on citizens of the district

for contributions of clothing and shoes for the poor children of that school. In the afternoon, when the school closed, a group of children stayed for the guardian school. The parents of these children worked in the cotton mill and the authorities thought it would be better for them to spend their time in the school than in the streets, so they were kept.

The first thing was luncheon of brown bread and cheese. This they munched with great delight, then worked in their individual gardens, the produce of which went into their own homes, played a while, worked under the guidance of the teacher of manual training, studied the lessons for the next day and went home. In the morning they had a guardian school for little children whose mothers go out to work. Under the guidance of the school those things were being done for the conservation of the child. In the basement were shower baths for the children. Away out in the country I found shower baths. Swimming was compulsory and in Berne 98 per cent of the boys and girls had learned how to swim. They had medical inspection of the children. They have found that the best way to examine school children is when they are all together, that it saves the time of the doctor and the nurses to come when the children are all together rather than hunt them up in their separate homes. In necessary cases medicine was furnished. There is a free dental clinic and free spectacles are furnished in many towns in Switzerland. All these things tend to prepare children for efficiency. I found in that country a different state of affairs from that in the South—that every man's child was everybody's business. Everybody was concerned that every child grew up strong and healthy and efficient. On the health side the school has a very large part to play in the conservation of children. Instruction in health, in the care of the eyes and the teeth, medical inspection is a part of the school work and should be everywhere children are the concern the whole people.

When it came to intellectual training I found the Swiss as solicitous to preserve every capacity as they were to save the twigs of the trees they cut down. Nothing was so insignificant as to be neglected. I found a room especially devoted to the sub-normal child, with the best teacher in the whole building in charge. I visited one building in Zurich devoted to sub-normal children with the best teachers in charge. Distinctions between the normal and the sub-normal were not evident, because the children were on a plane of comparative mental equality and were perfectly happy. They were being prepared to make their own living, to render efficient service as a part of the great Swiss people.

In the courses of study they had provided for all the children, beginning with the kindergarten and ending with the university. The course of study had been mapped out to meet their peculiar needs. There was one relatively easy course of study of nine years for the compulsory period. After four years in this school the child of greater

ability or ambition had the privilege of entering the secondary school or of entering the preparatory school for the university. In those schools there were almost as many children in the ninth years of study as in the first year. Practically all were promoted every year. They do not have that tremendous loss in children dropped behind for the school was fitted to the pupil. There are hundreds of schools scattered through the city where boys and girls could be prepared for efficiency in trade. There was an apprenticeship system. There were schools for all trades for boys and girls. One afternoon in the week perhaps, or one day in the week, the child was given the privilege of going to that school. In the city of Berne there was an apprenticeship school in which the city itself assumed the role of master workman. Every ability is saved as one of the assets of the Swiss nation. Moral training is not neglected. It is a part of the conservation of citizenship.

All Interests of the Child Concern of the School

In this little democracy there is a school for everybody in which every man in accordance with his ability may prepare for a life of greater service to himself and to his fellow man. We are rising to the conception that there is nothing which concerns the child that ought not to be the concern of the school. If there is some other institution to do it, well and good; but if not, the school can perhaps more easily take it over than any other institution. The children are in school more than half of the time for five days in the week for nine or ten or twelve years. The teacher has an opportunity to conserve the health of the children, to develop their latent powers and abilities, to develop and correct moral ideals, that perhaps no person or other institution has. We are going to utilize the opportunity.

In the South, as in other sections of the United States, we have a tendency to neglect the country districts. I have been so much pleased that the rural note has been struck frequently during these sessions. The institutions here represented for the most part work in the city. A sparsely settled country community is more difficult to organize than is a district in New York or Chicago. The rural district has a difficult task, tremendous distance to cover, individualism to conquer. There is no philanthropist who is giving libraries to the country,—it is always to the city, to those more obtrusive and striking elements in our national life. There are no art galleries given to the country, but in the South eighty-five per cent of the people live in the country. The country is the basis of our national life and propsperity, the seed bed of our population. Most of you were raised in towns of less than twenty-five hundred inhabitants. The country is the recruiting ground for our cities, for our industries. We must not neglect it. Our illiteracy is three times as great in the country as in the city. We cannot neglect the great country school problem, without inviting national disaster. The country school is going to be the center about which all of these

things you stand for will revolve. The libraries must have a center there, the rural nurse must have her office there. The South is moving in the right direction as rapidly as is any other section of our country. We are looking forward to a school in the country district with at least three teachers, one a man who will be elected for a term of years and will live in the community with his home at the school house. Near it he will have a farm to use as a basis of agricultural demonstration. Nearby will be the church and parsonage, and the two elements will combine for the rejuvenation of rural life. The district nurse will have her headquarters in this consolidated school. The social activities of the country will center in the school. The teachers will remain throughout the year as centers of influence. I believe we are tending rapidly toward this ideal in the South. Anything this Conference can do to stimulate the movement to put into the country some of the things our city people enjoy to such a large measure will not only help people in the country, but stop that drift to the city which is having a disastrous effect on our national life and prosperity.

CHILD HYGIENE

Sherman C. Kingsley, Director Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago, Ill.

The emphasis placed on child welfare is one of our most hopeful signs. In an older day the community's interest and compassion (perhaps better its desire for security) was expressed largely in the jail and the almshouse. It required some very definite form of suffering or abnormality or conduct to arouse the people. But as time goes on we are moved to action, to express ourselves in some beneficent way through less and less gross forms of human misery or conduct.

The progress toward preventive and constructive programs has led us step by step in a logical manner, until we have at last really discovered the children, even the youngest of the children—the baby.

Experience has taught us that help rendered to a child is the most vital that can be given, and that the earlier in the existence of the individual intelligent guidance and help are extended, the more definite and distinct it is. There is large promise for that tomorrow in which the social forces of the day bend their energies definitely toward making health and living conditions right for babyhood and through childhood. I have just come from the annual meeting of the national tuberculosis body. A fact spoken of perhaps oftener than any other was this, "that it is now known that implantations of tuberculosis largely occur in childhood." This was reiterated by different speakers. A significant paper in connection with this series was that treating of a careful investigation of the after history of discharged patients from a leading

tuberculosis sanitarium. This covered the patients of a number of years and the study was made after a considerable period of absence from the institution. It was found that ninety per cent of those who had been treated finally died of tuberculosis. It was not a discouraging statement, for lengthened life and happiness had been given to most of these people. It was a great achievement compared with what would have happened to the same persons a comparatively few years ago before the sanitarium with its possibilities was offered. However, when one considers the expense, the long cessation from normal activities, the anxiety and the inconvenience, it suggests the far greater achievements that can be attained in working with the children along the constructive and preventive sides which are possible today and stopping the implantations of the disease which occur so largely in childhood.

Agencies of Child Hygiene

There are two great pieces of machinery which it seems to me must be mainly relied upon to affect the question of child hygiene in a large way. One of these is the work of infant welfare. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and many other cities have found a way of extending to the mother and her infant child the kind of help and advice which not only result in a most remarkable prevention of deaths, but which we have every reason to believe will give added vigor to babies who live and will help to stop the emergence from babyland of so many children of weakened resistance,—those whose chances for success have been greatly diminished in their period of individual helplessness.

When New York City, through measures which it knows how to install through its consultation stations, through the advice and help which are given by its ministering band of nurses, can reduce the mortality in that great city to 101 as compared with about 150 the country over; when the Infant Welfare Society of Chicago can plant stations in the most congested districts of the city, where all conditions are at their worst, and can reduce the mortality among babies with which it deals to about 30 to 1,000; when New Zealand, through its consultations for mothers and infants carried on throughout the country can bring the death-rate down to 51 per 1,000, there is reason to believe that we now know how to take the first big and important step in the new public health which is to be the program of the future. Knowledge of how this can be done can be afforded by these and other local agencies, as well as by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

Then the second step, that period when society in its organized capacity, brings the children consciously within its own control and direction over a most strategic and important series of years,—the period in the public school. Here is where medical inspection in

the schools has its chance. Starting as a measure to control and eradicate contagious diseases, the work speedily revealed the great possibilities now open to medical work in the public schools; for the child who attracted attention through a disease which was a danger to somebody else, also attracted to himself, to a body full of physical defects, handicaps which were making it impossible for him to receive into himself the beneficent thing which the public school system ought to give. Growing out of this measure of safety to the individual child and to the other persons who might get his contagious disease, the attention was centered on this great problem of taking down the hurdles and removing the handicaps between children and the goal which education has set for them,—success in school and preparation for usefulness.

Sidney Webb in his book, "The Prevention of Destitution," makes the following statement about children in the public schools and medical inspection in England:

> When we get the child to school, knowledge of its condition becomes forced upon the community. The first results of systematic medical inspection are bringing home to our minds what every teacher knows, namely, that a large proportion of the children are not in a fit state to have the public money spent on teaching them, because they are suffering to such an extent from neglect as to be unable to obtain full advantage of the instruction. What emerges from the cautious summaries of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for England and Wales (Scotland and Ireland being at least as bad) is that out of all the six million children in the elementary schools about 10 per cent suffer from serious defects in vision; from 3 to 5 per cent suffer from defective hearing; 1 to 3 per cent from suppurating ears; 8 per cent have adenoids or enlarged tonsils of sufficient degree to obstruct the nose or throat and to require surgical treatment; 20 to 40 per cent suffer from extensive and injurious decay of the teeth; 40 per cent have unclean heads; about 1 per cent suffer from ringworm; 1 per cent are affected with tuberculosis of readily recognizable form; and ½ to 2 per cent are afflicted with heart disease.

Criticism of Medical Inspection

Medical inspection in our own country has revealed that between half and two-thirds of the children are handicapped with physical defects serious enough to need attention, a large number of them with difficulties so serious that as shown by Sidney Webb, they negative the school experience. The medical inspection is up to the present time incomplete and superficial. That a thorough and discriminating examination would reveal a far greater number of difficulties, is certain. However, less than half the defects now discovered have been corrected. Campaigns for the strengthening and perfection of this work are needed in practically every community in the country. The

problem is a difficult one, especially in view of the attitude in certain quarters in the community that this work is an interference with personal liberties and an invasion of the rights of the home. The method, technique, the personality and fitness of physicians and nurses is something to which the community needs to address its most serious attention. There is no other time when organized society has the chance to render service that will enter into the efficiency of individuals as in this work of understanding the needs of the children as the procession marches through the school on its way to citizenship.

The tuberculosis clinic has also thrown new light on this question through its examination of children in tuberculous families. Here is one of the confirmations of the statement quoted earlier that implantations occur in childhood. In Chicago the effort is always made in these clinics to examine the children in families where there is tuberculosis. It has been found that something like 35 per cent of such children show signs of infection.

The Open Air School

The open air school which is spreading so rapidly in this country and all over the world is one of the efforts to respond to this need of childhood, to spend the money, the time and the attention at a time when it does most good and tells most heavily for the individual and in the constructive program in the fight to eradicate tuberculosis. It is an effort to get the school sensitive to the needs of individual children, conscious of individuality, and elastic enough in method to adjust the beneficent things which it has to do to the needs and possibilities of the children, so that those who need it most but have gotten least shall receive the attention they require.

I believe that one of the most fundamental things to be done in most of our states is to help back the National Children's Bureau in its effort to bring about birth registration and a scheme of vital statistics which will afford us the fundamentals of a national health bookkeeping.

Birth registration, to many, has an academic, coldly statistical sound. Nothing could be farther from the truth than that. The most wonderful story in the world concerns itself with guidance that led wise men to the birth place of a child. Birth registration is the guiding star of our day, leading to the places where newly-born citizens may be found. Those in the olden time who sought out the mother and her child were called Wise Men. It is a wise city and a wise nation that is interested in the nativity of its children.

There are good gifts today of which the mother and the child stand in need, and an increasing number of people are wise enough to make pilgrimages and bestow these gifts, which if given at the cradle, prevent blindness, save life, increase health and happiness, and which we believe will give to the state and the nation increasing generations of children and citizens worthy to take their part in the business of being

citizens of a great country. Birth registration has a new meaning in this day when human values are coming to fuller recognition, and when social servants are acquiring the wisdom, delicacy and skill for constructive service.

Infant Mortality and Child Hygiene
Section, May 11, 9:00 A. M.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF CHILD HYGIENE

Frances Sage Bradley, M. D., Atlanta, Ga.

A mountain woman came to the Child Welfare Exhibit of the National Conservation Exposition, bringing a little imbecile child and leaving two more at home equally defective, three out of a family of six. And her three nearest neighbors had each one child similarly afflicted. One of the first visitors to this same exhibit when transferred to Atlanta, was a family from the country consisting of father, mother and five children, three of whom were deficient mentally.

According to the report of Dr. Dressler of Nashville, made for the United States Bureau of Education, a special survey of Connecticut, Vermont, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Idaho and Massachusetts gave overwhelming evidence against the healthfulness of the country as compared with the city. The city child, in spite of poverty, foul air and cramped quarters, shows only a fraction of 1% lung trouble as compared with 3.7% in the country child. In matters of nutrition where the country child ought to have every advantage, the city child ranks 23.3% as against 31.2% in the country-bred child. Mental defects are much more numerous in the rural child, heart disease is twice as frequent, curvature of the spine 13%, against 3.5% in city, ear troubles five times, eye four, adenoids nearly three, tonsils nearly four times as frequent. The country child is fed from the day of its birth a taste of everything the mother eats,—to keep it from having colic! drinks tea and coffee or dirty milk. The milk from a home-kept cow, when subjected to the same test as that of the inspected dairy, shows an alarmingly higher bacterial count. The rural child is poorly fed, under-clothed or burdened with garments, which remain unchanged for weeks at a time. Bathing facilities are so inadequate that human courage fails before a standard of decent cleanliness. Houses are ill-ventilated, draughty or overheated. They offer no privacy, and the sanitary conveniences are unspeakable. Is it any wonder the enterprising boy and girl turn their faces toward the city?

If in the rural districts we can substitute common community activities for self-centered interests, kindliness for suspiciousness, helpfulness for indifference; if we can inspire a better spirit of co-operation

in agricultural pursuits, in civic betterment, in home-making and child-raising; in other words, if we can bring to these people a wholesome knowledge of hygiene in the best understanding of the word, it will mean to them a richer, fuller life, expressing itself in a generation of sound, healthy people.

Hygiene May be Attractive Subject for Children

We are failing to teach our children to know and love the world we live in, to relate the study of nature to that of human life. They know nothing of the lower, simpler forms of animal and vegetable life; of insects and parasites, of bacteria, beneficent or otherwise; nothing of the principles of protection or immunity from disease, or of the civic obligation of controlling and preventing it. Our girls know little of domestic science, and less of the joys and privileges of motherhood. Our common school boys are taught neither manual training, farming, nor the claims and responsibilities of fatherhood and citizenship. They drift down the stream of life, never knowing the active joy of steering and rowing. The youth, especially of our rural districts, need vital activities, diversion and recreation, athletic sports, the friendly rivalry of corn and canning clubs, the socializing agencies of community interest and spirit, as an inspiration to better citizenship.

Parents invariably respond to the interests of the child but they are in equal need of the guidance of a trained mind. A father showed, with great satisfaction, his little twelve-year-old boy, who had made more corn to the acre than he himself, but in his pride over the little fellow's achievement, he had entirely overlooked the tubercular infection which would soon rob him of his only son.

The teaching of hygiene to be of practical value, must relate the school to the home life, must train the city child for city life, the country child for country life. We in the south are continually bewailing our poor educational facilities, our meagre school equipment. We spend for educating our children in Georgia, $4.00 per year per capita, while Washington spends $32.00. Nearly one-third of Georgia's children are receiving no education, not for lack of money but because we do not appreciate our obligation to give the little fellows a fair chance. We recognize the fact that the boy taught cube root with blocks will never forget its formulae; that the girl who moulds, raises and bakes her own bread, will remember that cold retards and heat hastens the development of the yeast ferment, and that only by long, slow, thorough baking can she give her family well-cooked starch.

The model in three dimensions add a hundredfold to the value of the lesson, yet we have in every class room, models and incidents invaluable for the demonstration of the laws of hygiene, the physiological functions of the body, and the cause, course and prevention of the ills and accidents common to childhood. Johnnie's cold might

be made a practical lesson. Had he forgotten to put on his coat after getting over-heated at the ball game? Had his little brother with whom he slept a cold? Was he careful to use his own wash cloth, towel and toothbrush? A free discussion by the class, of familiar incidents and experiences occurring in their midst, would grip the attention of the class as no recitation could do. This would give the teacher an opportunity to explode a few old fallacies and teach some wholesome truths concerning this commonest of human ills; the cause, course, prevention and possible results of repeated colds; the treatment of tonsils, of adenoids, of tuberculosis; the importance of fresh air, and suggestions from each member of the class as to how fresh air sleeping might be accomplished in his or her own home.

Nature Study

An infected finger, while making a hero or heroine of the little victim, would furnish a living model for the daily study of infections; of the war being waged by the hurrying hordes of phagocytes in the hot, reddened, swollen, throbbing little member; of the care of infections and of the value and principle of a well sustained resistance. A case of a contagious disease in the class would be the cue for a study of so-called diseases of childhood; just what is going on in the body during the period of incubation; the obligation and means of protecting the rest of the class from Tom's measles or Jennie's whooping cough.

Even a headache would prove a fruitful source of valuable information. How many of the class came to school without any breakfast? How many without lunch? How many stopped at the corner grocery and bought cinnamon rolls and dill pickles? How many bags of cheap candy are tucked away in the desks? How many drink tea and coffee and how many milk? Then would follow a discussion of food values. The boys especially could throw light on the kind of food fit for a fellow in training. Suggest the relation of defective eyes to headache, and remember it is not enough to have the schoolroom properly lighted. Discuss the teeth proposition; their relation to indigestion and consequent headache. Find out how many of the children are giving their teeth daily attention, and how many go at least twice a year to the dentist.

First aid to the injured appeals to every child. Simple bandaging and dressing of cuts, burns, bruises and sprains might find an important place in the school room. A case of malaria, instead of spelling chills, fever and quinine, might mean to the class the draining of the swamp beyond the school, or sharpening the lines around the mill pond and covering its surface with oil; or burying the cans and bottles thrown out on the meadow; of repairing and replacing last year's screens. Warn the children against the spring in the ravine, and help them to find where and how it is contaminated. Show them how last year's typhoid was brought in surface water from an adjoining settlement.

Children might be given a specimen of the hookworm to handle, and it might be explained to them how easily contractd and cured, yet how devastating it is in its effects; how impossible it is to rid our section of this pest as long as the soil is polluted and little bare feet go unscrubbed. Secure from the boys suggestions as to the location of well and outhouses on a given place, the interior arrangement of barns, etc. Study with them the care of milk and other foodstuffs, by the farmer, the cold storage and retail merchant. Interest the girls in the care of food in the home, in the formation of cooking classes. Stimulate clean-up work and organize junior civic leagues. Keep in the schoolroom a live interest in all that concerns the health and happiness of this community at this particular time. The teacher of hygiene more than of any other subject, has the opportunity of holding the sustained interest of the class in their daily work, and of converting the heedless, thoughtless, aimless youngster into an observing, thoughtful, responsible little citizen.

Our children are already overburdened by home work. With one long session a day and all recitations to be prepared at home, they have no time for out-of-door recreation. With the wealth of material at hand, with doctors in every community ready to help, the teacher of average intelligence can bring to her class, by word of mouth, a more personal, practical message than is to be found in any text book. And I would suggest, at least for the grammar grades, that instead of taxing the child's memory by the preparation of formal recitations on the number of bones, or the origin and insertion of muscles, that the application of the principles of hygiene and sanitation be used rather to develop the originality, the observation and responsibility of the child in working out his own and community problems. Only elastic methods could meet the varied conditions, and the ideal work of the teacher and doctor would be the organization and inspiration of local activities and their guidance to the salvation of all concerned.

Adults Also Ignorant

But the teaching of hygiene cannot be limited to children. The clinic, the visiting nurse, the social worker, milk station and child welfare exhibit have done much to instruct the parents of delicate children. Better-babies contests have stimulated and inspired mothers of prize babies, and plans are now on foot to hold contests at stated periods, in some of our large cities, that mothers may have their babies scored from time to time, and judge of their progress. These activities, with variations, have spurred mothers to continued effort, and will undoubtedly result in fine babies being made finer. But between the sick baby of the clinic and the prize baby of the contest, is a great mass of mediocre childhood. These children we want made finer, for they are the bulk of our coming generation, and are in real need of help.

Especially is this true of the rural districts, where the good doctor is rare, the visiting nurse, the clinic, and milk station are unknown. These people love their children and want to be wise parents, but have not yet learned to relate to their children the same principles of inheritance, of environment, of selection and of up-grading which they apply to the raising of other crops. Neither do they appreciate the need of adequate legislation for the protection of children, compulsory education, and child labor laws, laws to enforce medical inspection of schools, pure food and vital statistics. In spite of our incomplete records, we know that our babies are dying faster in the country than in the city, and out of all proportion to their need; especially during the first month, the most perilous of the child's life. Lack of medical skill, poor nursing, unwise feeding, all contribute to this end. Add to this the underfed, overworked condition of the mother, the drudgery, monotony, dullness of her life, and it is not strange that her children come into the world handicapped in vigor and vitality.

A country woman was found poulticing her baby's tubercular glands with cow manure and breast milk, yet she was broken hearted when the little thing died. Another could not understand why her little bow-legged two-year-old did not walk, so she followed the advice of a neighbor, drove a nail through the shell of a live terrapin and rubbed the warm blood along the spine of her rachitic child.

These people come to the city totally untrained, morally, mentally and physically; not vicious, but ignorant, wholly unmoral, and go the way of least resistance. In Georgia the age of consent is ten years. A mother of four girls was physically unable to work and steadily refused an operation though it meant probable return of health and strength. She had left her husband on the farm to finish making the crop before following his family to the city. In an effort perhaps to keep the pace of the city she soon acquired a substitute. Neither of them, however, contributed to the support of the family. The oldest girl, 17, could not work for she had to take care of an illegitimate baby. The second girl, 15, was about ready to go to the Florence Crittenton Home. So the sole income of the family was from the wages of the little nine and eleven-year-old girls who worked in the mill, and from five men boarders who shared the two rooms with the woman and her four daughters.

Limited means, lack of common conveniences, need of training for the biggest job in life, make these women our most neglected asset, yet we expect them to produce our most valuable possession, the coming generation.

Effective Remedies

For the benefit of these mothers and fathers, I would suggest the holding of children's health conferences in connection with either the country school, church, or similar organization. Here parents might

bring their children to confer with, may I say, a *social pediatrist*, who would show them where they were succeeding and where failing; going with them into their social, industrial, economic condition in its bearing upon the child's development; pushing back if necessary into pre-natal influences in an effort to help them associate cause and effect. The doctor would convince parents that their child's soft bones and poor teeth are the result of faulty feeding; that its light weight and poor muscle development are due to malnutrition; that adenoids are responsible for its dull mentality, peculiar facial expression and hollow chest.

Through a personal demonstration, mothers might be convinced of the value to the child of breast feeding; and of many fundamental principles of right living, these facts being further impressed upon their minds by leaflets, pamphlets, etc., for home reading. Such literature can be secured through various philanthropic and educational agencies, and would prove a wholesome substitute for the reading matter found in many rural homes.

These are a deeply religious people, and the word conference appeals to them, as neither contest or clinic could do. The rural mother wants not prizes nor prescriptions, but helpful encouragement and instruction; and above all, recognition of the fact that she has done the best she could. The score-card and contest are stimulating and helpful to the few eligible for competition, but the conference reaches the great mass of children whom we want made into strong, vigorous men and women. Only an unusual mother would subject her child to an embarrassing comparison with better babies, however eager for the instruction of a helpful conference. Through the records kept at a series of conferences, definite data might be secured as to legal and national needs for increasing the efficiency of our American citizenship.

Extension of Conference and Exhibit Idea

This method was tried out at the National Conservation Exposition of Knoxville, Tenn., as a part of the Child Welfare Exhibit installed by Miss Lathrop, of the Federal Children's Bureau. The Conference was carefully worked out by Miss Ellen C. Babbitt, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and nearly one thousand children were examined and started on a better, more direct route to health and efficiency. Men and women from all classes brought their children to this conference; children of bankers, mechanics, university professors and common day laborers, people from the city and from the back-woods, all anxious to know where they stood as parents, and needing no inducement other than the natural incentive of parenthood.

Plans are now being considered in one of our large cities of adapting the conference to the public school system, on the premise, first, that the earlier a defect is discovered, the better the child's chance of recovery; second, that by taking the child at this early age, the parents

would be compelled to come with it, thus giving an opportunity for interesting and instructing the responsible ones, and third, that by bringing to the school room a sound, normal childhood, both school and child would be saved the later interruption incident to the correction of simple defects.

For rural use, such a conference ought to be supplemented by a stereopticon with slides on interesting and instructive subjects, especially those of local importance, as flies, mosquitoes, hook worm, typhoid, malaria, tuberculosis, etc.; also by models for the demonstration of the care of the baby, preparation of food for the infant and for the older child; wholesome cooking of the limited articles of diet within reach of the small farmer's wife; care of the sick; utensils for the relief of the housewife, in the sick room and kitchen. These and similar devices would form a nucleus or unit of public health instruction, simple, practicable and available, either for country school or church. Such an exhibit could be assembled at a cost not to exceed $150, and would be a revelation to those of isolated districts, who are surely entitled to a little of the gospel of good health and happiness.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION: Following this paper there was an informal discussion participated in by Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of Chicago, Mr. Alexander M. Wilson of Philadelphia, Mrs. K. H. Schulken and Mr. James P. Kranz of Memphis, Miss Mary E. Wadley of New York, Mr. C. H. Kernan of Tiffin, Ohio, Mr. Edwin D. Solenberger of Philadelphia, Mr. Ernest D. Easton of Newark, Mr. C. V. Williams of Columbus, Ohio, Mr. Philip P. Jacobs of New York, Dr. R. K. Flannagan of Richmond, Mr. U. B. Smith of Ottumwa, Iowa, and Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Washington.

The New Spirit in Preventive Work
Section, May 12, 9:00 A. M.

NEW METHODS IN RURAL WORK FOR CHILDREN

C. C. Carstens, Secretary and General Agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

It comes to a social worker with considerable shock to find that conditions are allowed to exist in the towns and rural parts of New England and other sections of this country without the community's realizing their menace to the youth who are growing up. For example, in one of the small towns of Massachusetts, well known for its Revolutionary heroes, and for its patriotic spirit, a man has recently been convicted for the abuse of a young girl who, it was well known to the community, had fifteen years previously been guilty of a similar offense toward the mother of this child. The community has known of his presence, has known of his actions, has advised young and old to keep out of his way but has never sought to get the convicting evidence until

finally an agent of the Massachusetts Society was apprised of the facts, came in from out of town, got the evidence and brought about the conviction. Another town, which has contributed men and women known in American politics and letters, is, at the present time, allowing defectives and delinquents, who could with a more vigorous policy be eliminated from the community, to menace its children's welfare.

The children's protective movement has until recently carried on its work very largely in the dense centers of population, but its service to the community is not complete until its work is extended into the country where conditions exist that are in many instances equally flagrant with those in the city.

In 1874 the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was organized, and during the next ten years many other societies with a similar name sprang into existence. To begin with, the function of these societies was thought of as the protection of children from the unusual physical cruelties to which they were subjected by either parents or other natural protectors.

Of the first one hundred instances that the Massachusetts Society dealt with after its organization in 1878, 30 instances were those of physical cruelty, 27 of baby farms, 14 of foundlings, 13 of children on the stage, 7 of children forced to beg, 7 of desertion, 3 of children employed with hurdy-gurdies, 2 of physical neglect and one of non-support. It was soon discovered, however, that children were exposed to other dangers than those of physical cruelty, namely, the effects of alcoholism, vice and crime, of pauperism and non-support, and the effort to combat these less obtrusive but more searing influences has gradually replaced or over-shadowed the earlier work. While instances of physical cruelty are still found, physical and medical neglect, unwholesome family conditions, vicious associations and practices, and what is generally known as improper guardianship, constitute the largest part of the day's work. A number of societies deal with the delinquent child as well as the neglected because of local circumstances, but it is the fundamental theory of the humane movement for children that as largely as possible the societies provide such protection for the children where they are unprotected as will make it impossible for them to become the wayward and delinquent children at a later stage, and leave delinquency to the juvenile courts to deal with directly.

Preventive Function Paramount

The work of these societies began with the function of the prosecution of the offender, due, at least in part, to its intimate association with work in the protection of animals. A number of the children's protective societies have, however, begun to realize that their function is mainly preventive, and not punitive, and that where punishment of the offender is sought, it is incidental. In the development of such plans, a children's protective society naturally comes

to think of itself as a social organization, even though it may still remain in close association with the courts and the police departments. In the cities it finds itself but one of many social organizations and is sooner or later driven to find its particular function in reference to all the rest. In the country, where it is usually the first and only organization for social work, it has thrust upon it social problems that do not come within its province in more highly organized centres, for the work of child protection in both city and country is found to be but one of the incidents in the service of the families that are brought to the society's notice. The same family that presents a problem of neglect is likely to bring one of tuberculosis also, of wife desertion, of serious delinquency on the part of the child or parent, of drunkenness on the part of the parent, of under-feeding and infant mortality or of vice and crime. In the city other agencies may be turned to, but in the country the agency that has assumed responsibility must, as far as it lies within its capabilities, direct the work that will remove all of these weaknesses. Such a situation makes the country work both pressing and taxing to the worker's strength, but interesting because of the pioneer tasks that are involved.

There are other difficulties. While it is never easy to obtain reliable information that may be used as evidence to convince a court of untoward conditions, this difficulty is very great in the country. Neighbors usually live so far apart that there is no one who knows what is going on, even if he were willing to testify. And where witnesses can be found who know the facts, the dangers which they incur by giving testimony are sometimes very real, for barns and houses have been set afire by those against whom testimony has been given, or by their henchmen.

The following instances located in rural parts of Massachusetts may help to make clear some of the work that a children's protective agency has to undertake in country districts.

Examples of Rural Tasks

I. Cruelty. The B—— family consisted of a father, one son of 16, 3 daughters, 14, 13 and 11. There was also in the household a paternal aunt by marriage and her 20-year-old stepdaughter. The son's education had been much neglected; he had to work hard; had been badly beaten; had run away, complained to the constable, the father was fined $15; the boy was sent back home, was kicked and cuffed and later horsewhipped. This last treatment came to the attention of a citizen of the town who notified the Massachusetts Society. There was convincing evidence. The father was willing to agree to allow someone interested in the boy to become his guardian, and an agent of the Boston Children's Aid Society was appointed guardian. By him the boy was placed in a good country home where he is earning his board while he goes to school and earns something more during his vacation.

The boy is unusually happy in his new home. His letters and the report of the visitor show that he is appreciating the chances of getting

schooling and of associating with those who offer him kindness instead of brutality.

The father was charged with assault; he was convicted and fined $20. So far no harm has come to the daughters, but the action of the court in both instances has not given him any impression of the seriousness of his offense.

II. Drunkenness. The A—— family live in the rural part of one of the suburbs of Boston. The family consists of father, who is a widower, and 5 children, a boy of 12, and 4 girls of 11, 10, 7 and 6. A paternal uncle is living in the household. He helps with the work but he is not a very good influence. They are new arrivals from a neighboring town where the father's reputation of intemperance and shiftlessness was best remembered. They have no housekeeper and doubtless could not afford to pay for the services of a good one as the father earns but $18 a week and that not very regularly.

The irregular school attendance of the 11-year-old daughter, who did most of the housework, including the washing, and who was suffering from pediculosis and whooping cough, brought the matter to our attention. It would have been possible to obtain the evidence for scattering the family group, but the response to the agent's visits was considerable, and under the guidance of a friendly visitor conditions are very much improved, and the family is being kept together.

III. Brutality. The S—— family consists of father, mother and 2 children of this marriage and a daughter of 12 of the mother's by a former husband. The mother's first marriage had been a very unhappy one, and in fact was illegal, because her first husband was already married when she married him. For two years after her second marriage everything went well. Her husband then became most abusive and disagreeable, the daughter of the previous marriage being the bone of contention. At one time he kicked her in the back, from which spinal trouble resulted, so that the child has been under medical care ever since. The father is profane, the mother is quick-tempered, and in one of these fits took up the bread knife and threatened to kill him. After this they separated and the children were scattered.

The Society's agent, after making a careful analysis of all the facts in the case, has brought them together, and under supervision things are going well. The 12-year-old daughter has not been returned to the family but is being cared for through a private society and is having suitable medical treatment.

IV. Defectiveness. The C—— family consists of the father, who has been in an insane hospital at two different times, and the mother, who is clearly feeble-minded. They had two children when they were first brought to the notice of the Massachusetts Society. These children were not in school because they gained nothing from the instruction and were an annoyance to the teachers and pupils. They were neglected at home and were mostly on the street. The father is a cobbler who earned a meagre living for his family. He seemed fond of his children.

After much hesitation the court was asked to remove them and they were later committed to the School for the Feeble-Minded. Since that time two other children have been born to the parents who are still too young to have their mentality determined.

Some Fundamental Deteriorating Influences

1. A careful analysis of these and the many other instances which have come to the attention of the Massachusetts Society goes to show that the most important single influence in the breaking up of home

standards is the excessive use of drink. If drunkenness could be eliminated from Massachusetts, it is reasonable to believe that there would be some immediate decrease in the work that needed to be done in child protection, and part of the agents of the Society could be turned to other tasks in prevention.

2. Another factor that looms large as fundamental in our work is defectiveness in parents and in children. The emphasis which has been placed upon careful physical and mental examinations is revealing to us the fact that much physical cruelty is inflicted by those who are either mentally unsound or defective, and those forms of cruelty which are better described as neglect are so frequently found among defectives that if it were possible to eliminate feeble-mindedness from our communities, another portion of the Society's work could soon be turned into other and more profitable channels.

3. A third fundamental has become equally apparent, namely, the lack of knowledge of the standards of home-making. It is very frequently the case that a neglected home consists of a drinking father and a shiftless mother, with children who are underfed, undisciplined and fast becoming delinquent. The classes in domestic and household arts in our grammar and high schools, and extension courses for teaching them to those who have gone beyond the school stages in their development, also ought to make less work in child protection necessary in the future.

4. One of the most serious tasks coming to a children's protective agency is the inculcation of the virtue of chastity and the stringent enforcement of the laws dealing with this subject. Here again, defect, either on the part of the injurer or of the injured one, looms large when we come to analyze all the factors involved, and the elimination of defect becomes an essential remedy. But defect is not found in all and probably not in the majority of cases. The conditions which lead to sex crimes are more complicated. Among the factors are found the presence of the basest instincts of the human male and the young girl's ignorance of the consequences of the sexual act. It must be recognized that many of the sex crimes in our communities are committed on young girls at a very tender age. Before they know the consequences of their acts, they have yielded to their sex impulses. It then becomes a question of only a short time before many of them are on the road to prostitution. The way to prevent such conditions is not a simple one, but when young girls of twelve to sixteen through ignorance have had their lives ruined, it must be either the parent's or the community's business, or the business of both, to prevent this by proper education. If this could be provided, much additional work of a children's protective society would be eliminated.

Preventive Tasks

In the reduction and elimination of drunkenness, in the protection of the feeble-minded and the elimination of defectiveness, in the establishment of compulsory courses in domestic arts in our school systems, and in the tactful teaching of sex hygiene, lies the solution for many of the problems of a children's protective society. There are doubtless other factors which have not yet been discovered, but which may in future be found to be equally or more fundamental. With these and other factors in individual family and community life, a children's protective agency is concerned, whether in city or country, and when they have been clearly apprehended, the task in the country becomes peculiarly promising, inviting and fruitful.

Not more than 25% of the complaints involving the protection of children coming to the Massachusetts Society require any form of court action, but when court action is needed the method of preparation of the case, the procedure in court and the results are in their essentials similar whether the case comes up in the country, small town or city; except that perhaps country courts are somewhat more conservative and less sensitive to the importance of the social aspects of a court case, and there are fewer private agencies ready to take responsibility for cases if private care is needed.

In the 75% of cases not involving court action, there is the greatest difference in methods and results. While on the one hand the large city has many more social agencies to fall back on than the town or country, its social needs are frequently so stupendous and its social agencies so complicated that satisfactory results do not come from their work in such measure as their number and size might promise. In the country and small town there is comparatively little to work with. The agent of a society working for the improvement of family standards becomes as a rule the first one to bring the principles of organized social work into the community. He becomes the center for the exchange of information and very soon the one who learns the social as well as the individual needs, and who can instil in the poor law officers, the school, the church, the women's clubs and the farmers' organizations, a new spirit.

Preventive Work in Berkshire County

As an illustration of what can be done, the development in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, in a region that contains among its beautiful hills and valleys an unusual number of decadent families and social wrecks, may be cited. With Pittsfield as its centre, a man and a woman agent have in town after town of that county awakened groups to an appreciation of the social problems and to the value of co-operation in the protection of children, and have given them first glimpses of preventive methods all through that region.

For instance, in one town of two hundred, when the three children of a widower were so sadly neglected that court action seemed necessary, 21 fellow citizens of his, to prevent court action, organized themselves into a Good-Will Club. Some of them took the children into their own homes for temporary care until they had gotten the man to make a new start. They are keeping him straight and promising friendly oversight, and have assessed themselves a certain amount for paying for temporary care and for the essential needs of any other instances that might come to our attention from that town.

In another town, where the overseer of the poor threatened the man of a family with prosecution if he would not leave Massachusetts, the judge and several other citizens were led to agree that since they knew all the facts they were in better position to give the necessary care and supervision than any strange community into which the family might flee. In another town, the minister of a country church, through whose enthusiasm and work a pageant was organized last year, has developed a group who, in conjunction with our agent, will give supervision to any children that seem to be neglected. In still another, a Thursday Club of young women have made themselves responsible for temporary relief and for oversight in cases where it is necessary. In another town, a civic league has been started, and in still another, an auxiliary to a Bible Class is assuming social responsibilities.

While in certain instances the form of organization is loose and crude, there are indications that all through the Housatonic Valley a new spirit is developing that will result in better things for many families and for the communities themselves.

From a town of about four hundred people in another county of Massachusetts, a number of complaints regarding neglected or defective children had reached the Society during the last few years. In connection with these cases, the agent came in contact with several men and women who were much distressed that such things were found in such a garden spot, out of which in the past had gone, for the service of the state and nation, men and women of note. One of the women visited became the natural leader in the town's regeneration. She has gotten the vision of the importance of proper recreation, of domestic training for the girls, of the elimination of road houses, and of the importance of tactful presentation, as opportunities present themselves, of the elements of sex hygiene. The minister of the town has joined hands with her in working with the boys. The community that previously sat by hopeless has received a new inspiration. Mothers are asking advice in regard to their sons and daughters. The Agricultural College is offering corn and potato growing prizes. The people are taking a greater interest in the grange, and many of the forces that were recently lagging are getting to be active and once more effective for the development of public opinion and a better standard of home life and of citizenship.

A children's protective society that is principally concerned with prosecution or with the delinquent, that conceives of its task as circumscribed by rules that have been laid down in the past, may have statistics of prosecutions and convictions, but it is not likely to get at the sources of the neglect or abuse and work for their elimination.

Rural Problem Requires Varying Methods

The tasks that lie before a rural children's protective worker are as varied as is the organization of the various centres into which he may go. At foundation, the preventive work of relief-giving societies, children's aid and protective agencies, medical social service, juvenile courts, is the same. If the children's protective worker is the first one to exemplify the principles of social work, he will be called upon to deal with problems involving all these tasks, and he must be well trained so as to be able to cope with them. With such training and experience in the simply organized centres of population, he quickly finds response, interest and enthusiasm which furnish part of the recompense for the taxing pioneer task.

In one center he may find that saving babies may be the most pressing problem; in another, the development of recreation, or development of good placing out, or the cleaning out of the Augean stables of a mixed almshouse population, or the development of a complete plan for the segregation of the defective, or the establishment of a confidential exchange. This list might be lengthened indefinitely.

At various times social workers of high standing in the charity organization and children's aid fields have stated that they believed the work of a charity organization society or a children's aid society would suffer discredit by a close relationship with the children's protective work. Whether this is true in the city or not (and I believe it is not true in any considerable measure) it is not true in the small city, town or country. One social agency can render all the services without the expected embarrassment. Such a combination has been undertaken in at least four different instances under the direction of the Massachusetts Society and we have yet to learn of substantial reasons for its discontinuance.

A children's protective society must conceive of itself as a social agency, allow and expect the police to do their part and utilize the various officials and local institutions as parts of a co-operative social undertaking. With this conception will come a better recognition of the principle that as our communities are particularly developed to protect helpless children, the state is for the first time getting a conception of a fundamental reason for its existence.

NEW METHODS IN PROTECTIVE WORK FOR CITY CHILDREN

Roy Smith Wallace, Secretary, Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, Philadelphia.

The new methods in protective work for children are determined by a new set of principles and by a new spirit. The old type of society was concerned with the child only and with cruelty only. In the words of Commodore Gerry, the pioneer in the anti-cruelty work for children, our kind of a society was "a hand affixed to the arm of the law" for the rescue of children from cruel home conditions. The unit of treatment was the child. The success of the society was measured by the number of children removed from intolerable parents and by the number of successful prosecutions of adults. Furthermore, the word "cruelty" at the outset was of very definite and restricted meaning. Cruelty meant physical cruelty. Societies concerned themselves only with cases in which there was gross physical cruelty, already sufficiently grave to warrant prosecution of the family in court.

The new type of society has new methods, new principles, new standards. In the first place, and most important, the new type of society deals with the family as the unit of treatment. It is a family rehabilitation society, not a child rescue society. It deals with its specific problem of cruelly treated and neglected children as a part of an all-round problem of family treatment. The proper place for this discussion which we are having this morning is not in a section devoted to children but in a section devoted to consideration of the problems of the family.

Viewed from this point of view, it becomes at once apparent that the new type of society must have co-operative relations with all other charitable agencies. We are no longer a special society working alone in a special field; we are one of many agencies useful in the rehabilitation of the family and it becomes our problem to recognize our special function, the special functions of other family-working agencies and to fit in with the joint plans made for family rehabilitation.

Courts Willing to Consider General Conditions

One further fundamental change in principle and point of view has been made which, combined with the change in the point of view involved in regarding ourselves as a family rehabilitation society rather than a merely child rescue society, serves to explain completely the change in method and field of work between the old and the new. The meaning of the word "cruelty" has been greatly enlarged, so that it now includes not merely physical cruelty, but more important, physical neglect, filth, immorality, "lack of good care", "improper guardianship." These last two words, of course, can be interpreted

by the courts to mean whatever the courts are willing to regard as suitable ground for public interference in family affairs. Our kind of society is now able to insist, and has the backing of the court in insisting, on a much higher standard of care for children than ever before. Medical and surgical care, for instance, often refused by parents for children greatly needing such care, the courts will now enforce, and so our societies deal actively with this kind of condition. Drunkenness, non-support, neglect,—all these have been included in the scope of work of the cruelty societies as increasingly the courts have taken cognizance of these subjects. Finally, a number of courts have begun to concern themselves with preventive treatment, dealing in a coercive way with families in which standards are so low that the children are judged likely to become delinquent. This represents a final and very important step for our courts to take, for it means that the courts are beginning to be willing to consider, not what they have uniquely for centuries considered; namely, untoward and definite *events* alone, but also dangerous *situations, conditions, environments,* etc.

The work of our kind of society, dependent as it is upon the attitude which the courts, representing the public, take upon just this question, of what constitutes adequate ground for the assertion of the public right over the parental right in the upbringing of children, has, therefore, greatly increased in its scope. The court work is always the core of the work of our kind of a society; as the courts are willing to enlarge this core, so the work of our society, projected therefrom, also enlarges.

This does not mean, however, that the court work is the most important part of the work of our societies. On the contrary, the non-prosecutable cases constitute by far the largest and the most important proportion of our work. The non-prosecutable cases are the real work of the new type of society. Our cases must always be those cases which could be court cases if the situation became sufficiently aggravated. It is our task, however, to become concerned with these conditions sufficiently early to prevent their ever becoming court cases. In other words, the function of our society is a disciplinary and a preventive function. It is our task continually to raise the standard of care insisted upon by the public, below which no family shall be allowed to bring up its children. We are a real disciplinary society, a "big stick" society, working with families as one unit of treatment, less drastic than the courts, more powerful and more disciplinary than the ordinary family-working society, such as an associated charities.

From this point of view, the number of prosecutions becomes not the measure of our success but the measure of our failure. When we have to remove a child through court action from a family it means that we have failed to bring the family up to a proper standard. If we are a properly organized society, using all the possible sources of co-operation,—the church, the police, the friendly visitors, the doctors,

the charitable agencies, etc.,—a necessary prosecution means that society itself has failed, that society itself has not at command the means of raising the particular family to standards justifying the retention of children under the family's control, and society has to take the last drastic step of removing children from their natural parents. The modern societies in their practice, as well as in their theory, in the attitude of their executives and of their staffs, as well as in their printed reports, regard the removal of children a confession of failure; necessary failure it may be, but nevertheless complete failure.

Family Rehabilitation Methods

The conception of our kind of a society as a family-working society means further, of course, that we must have all the well approved methods and standards of any good family-working society such as a charity organization society of the best type. This means complete investigations, accurate records, good case planning, indefatigable seeking of co-operation, all-round and thorough treatment of an all-round family problem; all this, worthy of great emphasis on each item to many audiences, is so obvious to this audience that I shall not amplify at all.

Another attitude, differing from past attitudes, the modern society has taken, namely: the willingness to turn over to the public all the various kinds of work which we are doing so soon as the public is ready to take up the work and do it well. In the past, some of our societies have been eager to hold on to "their own work." They have even stood in the way of progressive reform along the line of public treatment of delinquent and neglected children. The modern society is eager to turn over to the public all the work which the public is competent to do, either through the courts, the probation officers or other administrative bodies.

Finally, in common with all good family-working societies, we must seek to get interpretive statistics by which to understand social facts and conditions. From our records we must secure significant social facts; we must help in the preparation of social programs; we must take our part in the social propaganda for reconstructed social conditions.

The new type of society is already taking part in just this kind of work. It is interesting to notice the contrast in the kinds of laws worked for by the societies of thirty years ago and the societies of today, as mentioned in their annual reports. Twenty-five or thirty years ago our societies were still working for laws defining cruelty and the various conditions under which courts would be justified in removing children from parents. They were working for laws giving special powers to anti-cruelty societies, powers of arrest, of investigation, of custody of children. Today, in the reports of societies of the new type we find propaganda for public action concerning—and I take this

list from a half dozen of the more recent reports of three or four societies—feeblemindedness, feeble-minded women, defective delinquents, reform of judicial procedure, new courts, new court methods, industrial schools for women, sex education, playgrounds, anti-alcohol, housing, child labor, state-wide charitable programs. All these things are now the daily concern of the modern protective society.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION: The discussion was participated in by Mr. George L. Jones of Baltimore, Mr. Ira W. Jayne of Detroit, Dr. Hastings H. Hart of New York, Miss G. L. Button of Monmouth County, New Jersey, Dr. R. K. Flannagan of Richmond, Miss Katherine R. Williams of Milwaukee, Mr. William B. Buck of Philadelphia, Mr. W. W. Bradley of Minneapolis, Mr. Samuel C. Lawrence of Boston, Rev. J. L. Sutton of New Orleans, and Mrs. Alice D. Montgomery of Manchester, New Hampshire.

Standards of Efficiency in Child Care
Section, May 13, 9:00 A. M.

STANDARDS OF EFFICIENCY IN INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN

Charles H. Johnson, Superintendent Leake and Watts Orphan House, Yonkers, N. Y.

The present age has been creating standards in almost every line of human activity. In the business world the leading organizations are holding themselves rigidly to standards of efficiency in every department. This spirit of the age has not neglected the charitable societies. Men study the aims, the methods, the expenditures, the results of a charitable organization with as little emotion as they study those of a railroad or a box factory. This does not necessarily imply that the human touch in the mechanism is missing, as they probably are in the industries named. The human contact being a very vital part of the successful method, the observer in studying the institution or organization looks particularly to see that it is present and judges of the efficiency accordingly. The critical, scientific method is the one that should prevail. While the emotions should be engaged in all charitable work it is decidedly unsafe and unwise to inaugurate or carry it on in an emotional way. The clear white light of criticism and reason is needed in association with the softer hues of emotionalism.

It *is* not at all unkind or sacriligious (1) to question the efficiency of a charitable institution, (2) to demand that every such institution should set for itself certain standards whereby it may be judged and by following which it may attain to the highest degree of efficiency in its chosen field, and (3) to ask "What does this particular institution stand for?" "What is its educational, social, moral and economic value to the community?"

Results Compared with Purpose and Opportunity

Efficiency is the ratio between results and opportunity. That is why efficiency is always expressed as a fraction or as a percentage. By opportunity is meant what is theoretically possible of accomplishment under given conditions; by results, what is actually accomplished. We say that the efficiency of a certain machine is fifty per cent; that is, it produces only half as much as it should. Efficiency has been defined as the quality or power of producing desired or intended effects. The very first step in creating a standard of efficiency is to inquire and determine what are the desired or intended effects to be produced. In other words, what is the purpose or object for which this particular organization exists?

Harold Holmes in his "Test of Efficiency" says the first test of efficiency is to find out just what you want to do. You must have a fixed idea and know just what you want to accomplish. Harrington Emerson, in his discussion of the "Principles of Efficiency," states the same idea when he says that the first principle is a "clearly defined ideal". No institution should be without one and no successful institution has ever become such without one. The ideal should be an efficiency ideal and not a numerical ideal. Mr. Emerson says that often the latter works contrary to the former. It is the quality of an institution that counts. Bigness is not necessarily synonymous with goodness and numbers do not always indicate efficiency.

If the organization, for instance, is to care for children it must specialize among them and determine what classes and ages of children are to be selected, and how that particular group should be cared for. Having decided what the object is to be it is then necessary as the second step to create an organization adapted to the application of the principles of efficiency. In other words there should be an adequacy of means for the accomplishment of the desired results.

We take it for granted that the organization has selected as its beneficiaries dependent normal children. The first question then that arises is what is the special element in life that such a class of children need. Being dependent and not delinquent, their need seems not necessarily to be restraint or correction—hence they need no prison; being normal and not defective their need would not seem to be custodial care—hence they need neither hospital nor sanitarium; being normal and only dependent it would seem that their chief needs are a home and a school. What is the best method to satisfy these needs? At one time there seemed to be only one answer—create an institution; or, having created an institution, continue it. At the present time there are several answers. Institutional care is no longer the only method whereby the interests of the normal dependent child may be conserved. If, however, after a consideration of the needs of the community, the needs of the children, the costs, the disadvantages and the results, the opinion still prevails that the institutional method

is the wisest method to inaugurate or to continue, then with a confidence and firmness based on correct knowledge, the organization may go on to perfection.

The details of the efficiency ideal will include:

I. Standards of Efficiency for Material Equipment.

Institutional care of children is expensive care. It costs much to build an institution, it costs much to maintain it properly. Many organizations have started institutions with a small sum of money and then the institution has had to live at a poor, dying rate with incessant appeals for financial assistance. Deterioration sets in almost immediately when a building is finished. Cheap construction in children's institutions is money thrown away. The institution having set for its ideal efficiency, should provide an equipment which makes it possible for the workers to make efficiency a realization. This equipment does not mean architectural magnificence. Many an artistic exterior has hidden an inadequate interior. Sometimes locations are selected because of their beautiful views and outlooks. Some of those sites have been found to be absolutely useless when the institution tried to raise a little farm produce. Beautiful views and outlooks butter no parsnips. It is really more necessary that the nature of the soil and its possible fertility be inquired into than the outlook from the windows of the main building. If both beauty of situation and utility of ground can be combined an ideal situation has undoubtedly been chosen.

Architects or amateurs should not be too influential in the selection of plans for institutions. The advice and counsel of a superintendent or others who have actually lived and worked in an institution are sometimes far more valuable. It is not a question of Gothic, Renaissance or Colonial style. It is pre-eminently a question of adaptation of means to the desired end. The building may represent a fine type of the architecture of the period of the Tudors, but if every window is so high that no adult can look out without standing up, not a closet provided, and the children's apartments huge and barn-like, it is a failure from the point of view of efficiency. The principal part of the structure is not that in which the officials are to live. The structure being intended for the care of children, that should be particularly kept in mind.

II. Standards of Efficiency in the Selection of Beneficiaries

Are all the children in the 1,075 institutions for dependent children in the United States really in need of institution care? Why should such a costly system of benefits be bestowed upon those who do not need it? Is it not possible that institutions may by their ardent desire to assist the unfortunate child, rob it of its rightful heritage? That is not an efficient institution which distributes its largesses like the

ladies bountiful of old, upon any and every one within reach. The family has played a most important part in the development of the race, and social workers should conserve the interests of the family group. The mother, who is nature's best gift to the child, and the child who is nature's best gift to the mother should not be separated because the institution desires to have a good report to present its patrons. The separation should only be made when the child's welfare is at stake. Mothers should not be relieved of all their children; they should not have an only child taken from them, unless in exceptional circumstances. Children should not be placed in institutions for trivial reasons or to assist people to escape the economic and moral responsibilities of their own offspring.

As far as possible financial contributions should be made by parents for the care of their children, and the latter should be returned to their own households as soon as conditions permit such a return. The efficient institution scrutinizes carefully all those who seek its benefits so that the institution shall not be demoralizing the family group and its resources. The institution owes it also to its benefactors to see that their gifts are judiciously and worthily dispensed; always, in addition, bearing in mind the danger of enfeebling the sense of parental responsibility in a too great readiness to relieve fathers and mothers of their responsibility. Investigation and subsequent re-investigation are very properly parts of the methods to make the selection of beneficiaries efficient.

III. Standards of Efficiency in Methods

A great responsibility has been assumed by the institution. It has taken upon itself the place of parent, of teacher, of moral guide and creator of environment for young and receptive lives. Having assumed this burden it should see to it that those in its care receive the best that can be given to them. If the family has ceased to function in the life of the child then the institution must function as a wise, efficient and painstaking parent. What do parents wish for their children? The good parents wish for them a complete development in body, soul and spirit. The ideal of the parent may not always be realized, but it does not therefore follow that ideals should perish from the land. The institution should in its methods have the ideals of the wise and good parent.

The bodies of the children require much attention. Their food should be nourishing and varied. The institutional diet with its monotony and cheapness should be banished. "Failure to provide a nutritious dietary in sufficient quantity and variety is, I believe, one of the most common defects in institutional administration," says Dr. Reeder. Growing bodies need appropriate food, and there is a distinction between feeding and filling. To make the children's fare cheap and the officers' fare abundant is entirely contrary to the spirit of

efficiency. Play space, play equipment, physical exercises, fresh air in school room and house, physical examination, elimination of physical defects, everything that will make the body the efficient instrument of the soul, should be provided by the institution.

If the public school is not to function in the child's mental development, then the institution should provide an efficient substitute. The institution school has not always been a success. The teachers have often been poorly paid, have had many grades, or have often been such as could not secure positions in well arranged school systems. The school equipment has often been very poor. Desks, books and other materials have been insanitary, inadequate, and not conducive to good work on the part of the pupil or teacher. Very often there is an efficient public school a short distance from the institution, but the institution children are deprived of its privileges and have to be content with the slower pace of the institution curriculum and teaching force. An institution has recently been erected in a large city at great expense, in which the school rooms, where the children are to spend a large portion of their lives, are the gloomiest and poorest-adapted rooms in the whole building. They were an after-thought.

There remains yet much to be done to create standards of efficiency in institution schools. What a few institution schools have done indicates, however, what may be done in this field. With its control of its pupils, its possibilities of correlation of the various branches of school work with the work of the home and farm, its intimate knowledge of each of its wards, it may, with a sufficient expenditure of money, do a very efficient educational work. And the ideal here would be to break away from any educational lock-step, make provision for the individual capacities of the inmates, and prepare them as far as possible for that particular work for which they each may seem fitted. The institution school should pre-eminently be a "preparatory school". There should be provision for mental as well as physical tests, and each child should thus be considered as an individual and not as a case or unit. Col. Faulkner, of Minneapolis, who has had a long and successful experience in children's institutions, says in a letter to the Chairman of this Committee: "The Children's Laboratory where intelligent case work may be carried on to discover ailments and handicaps will soon be a part of the equipment necessary to an improved standard of efficiency."

The fact must be recognized that institutional life is not normal, and so the normal must be approximated. Children must be taught the use of money, encouraged to earn it, know something of the cost of their supplies, etc. Prof. Kirkpatrick, speaking on "Training Children in Financial Responsibility" at the recent International Congress on the Welfare of the Child, said that "every child should be given a small allowance as early as five years of age and should be free to spend it as he pleases. If a child never buys things for himself he will very effectually be kept in ignorance of the real value of money, so

if you wish that condition it is only necessary to let him have none to spend". In the recent Binet tests institution children are found almost invariably to have little or no knowledge of money denominations. The efficient institution here, as in other departments, must seek to develop the natural and get far away from the artificial. A too cloistered existence means that when the child is finally transplanted to the normal environment of the every-day world there is a fearful possibility of maladjustment and failure.

But after having provided for the physical, mental and social welfare of its charges there yet remains for the institution the question of moral development of the child. In what has already been provided there will always be an indirect moral training. It will be a by-product of its daily life. Whether there shall be direct moral instruction and how, remains with the authorities to decide. This, however, we all realize, namely, that there is a great danger in the massing of many individuals together at such an immature age. One immoral child in the group may inject much of its poison into many of its fellows before the danger has been detected. This we believe to be one of the chief dangers of institution life for children. The efficient institution must attempt to safeguard the moral life of its wards. As a text book in morals none better can be found than certain parts of the Holy Bible. But aside from such instruction the very best instruction will undoubtedly be the precepts and examples of those with whom the child comes in daily contact. To what extent numerous "prayer hours", presided over by various persons attached to the institution, function in the development of character and love of God, is not quite clear. Prayers to be of value must be otherwise than mechanical and monotonous, and in many institutions "prayers" is far from being a spiritual tonic. There is nothing more important in institutional life than the moral development of the pupils, and the less artificial, priggish and forced, and the more natural and unassuming, the better.

IV. Standards of Efficiency in Workers

After all has been said and done by the managers and the superintendent all will be set at naught if the employees are not in sympathy with the ideals of the institution. It has been the despair of institution officials to secure people whose association with children will be beneficial and will be in accord with such high ideals as the management may possess. Many superintendents have found that they have much more trouble with the employees than with the children. The low wages and often the very poor conveniences for the employees prevent a high class of individuals from seeking this work. And above all other tasks it is one that especially needs trained and capable men and women. In the letter before referred to, Col. Faulknr says: "In a few years people will wonder why children were trusted to the personal oversight and care of those not specially trained for such duties,

and the training schools for caretakers will be regarded as of even more importance than those for nurses." Sometimes the best class of helpers is found in unexpected places. Other things being equal, the college graduate would seem to make an ideal helper. But colleges cannot give common sense, kindliness of spirit or high moral ideals where these are not even latent in the individual. Sometimes the less educated person is found to be the more efficient because of a native endowment of gifts, or a sense of devotion to the cause.

There are certain tests which may be applied to determine the efficiency of the members of the staff. They are briefly ability, loyalty, reliability, and enthusiasm. Possessing these qualifications, whatever the academic training may have been, there is every possibility of success. In the Roman Catholic institutions the splendid devotion of the men and women who without hope of material recompense give their lives in unstinted service to God and their fellows, creates an asset which cannot be duplicated in institutions of other creeds. Whatever may be the equipment of buildings, however beautiful the environment, the whole will be ineffective if there be missing the personal touch of good and competent men and women. Their price is far above rubies. In the latter days men and women shall rise up and call them blessed. We may build houses but we cannot build a home. Home is the spiritual atmosphere found where love abides. Devoted and efficient employees make possible the "home" spirit.

V. Standards of Efficiency in Management

The institution has many departments, many employees, perhaps many children. But they should be a unit because at the head of all should stand one person—the superintendent. Division of authority is not conducive to efficiency. If a board of managers cannot trust the superintendent with the complete management of the institution and its every department, then they ought not to employ him at all. To quote an expression used by Mrs. Clay of Missouri: "Nothing can succeed which is of the 'seven heads and ten horns' variety. Anything with more than one head is a monstrosity". No superintendent can rise to efficiency if he be compelled to call on some committee whenever he wishes to purchase a paper of pins. At the other extreme, the absentee board of managers is no more effective. A due sense of responsibility joined with a due recognition of the proprieties, will help to create and preserve an equilibrium.

There must be efficiency methods in the office of the institution. Records carefully prepared and kept, accounts and finances cared for by trained persons, complete histories of each child and effective filing systems; reports from departments, conferences of teachers, cottage mothers or heads of departments; openness of mind and readiness to learn,—all help to create efficiency. "Co-operation", said a prominent railroad official last week at a railroad men's dinner, "is kindred

to efficiency in the successful operation of a railroad." It is equally true of an institution. If the machinery is to turn out capacity work there must be an elimination of friction. Often the whole institution machinery is jarred and thrown out of gear by the intrusion of personalities wholly foreign to the work of the institution.

Finally, we conclude this necessarily incomplete and hasty consideration of a big subject by a summary. The one comprehensive word covering efficiency in its fullest and broadest sense is "results"—final results. The efficient institution is always asking itself questions. It is conscientious. "Is this the best way to do this particular piece of work?" "Do the results justify these expenditures?" There is nothing mystical about efficiency. To quote the railroad official, just mentioned, "efficiency is nothing but common sense applied to every day affairs. The doing of a thing in a better, quicker, and more economical way than at present, the doing of a thing in the right way, the easy, the adept, the direct and natural way, rather than in the careless, slovenly, wrong and roundabout way."

Over the doors of every efficient children's institution may rightly be placed these words: "We have come that those who are committed to our care shall have life and have it more abundantly".

STANDARDS OF EFFICIENCY IN BOARDING-OUT CHILDREN

Edwin D. Solenberger, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The general distinctions between institutional care of children, free home placing, and boarding-out, are perhaps sufficiently indicated by other papers presented in this section. Some of the essential features of the boarding-out system should be separately considered.

When right standards are maintained, boarding-out combines for some children many of the merits of both institutional care and free placing. For others the boarding-out plan has some of the advantages of each of the other systems without certain admitted advantages. Some agencies use all three methods and secure good results from each according to the needs of the individual child.

The importance of right standards in boarding-out work is shown by the fact that it is now being done by state boards of charity, directors of the poor, probation officers of juvenile courts, orphanages, children's homes, humane societies, children's aid societies, and by private individuals who make a specialty of taking young infants from unmarried mothers.

Some of these agencies and institutions keep complete records of their boarding-out work, have trained agents devoting all their time and efforts to it, and use the best possible methods to safeguard their

wards and patrons. Others combine the work of trained agents with that of volunteer assistants, the latter working under the supervision of the former. Still others confine their activities mainly to volunteer service, sometimes with incomplete previous investigation of the homes, little physical or mental examination of wards, and in some cases inadequate after-supervision. It should be noted, however, that some volunteer work is well done and is often very useful, especially outside the large urban centers. Poor work may be and sometimes is done by paid agents. Whether the workers are volunteers or employed to give their whole time, the question of the standard and quality of the work is the important consideration. Boarding-out at its lowest estate is perhaps the kind done by private individuals who handle and dispose of illegitimate children for personal profit, but there is great variation in standard even in the work of some of the incorporated and accredited agencies.

Boarding-Out at Its Best

Boarding-out when properly standardized means placing one or two children each in carefully selected private families. While city and suburban homes are being successfully used, most agencies prefer to board children in the country or in small villages. In a few instances three or four children may be placed boarding in one home, usually to avoid the separation of children from the same family or for some other special reason. The boarding homes are secured by advertising, by canvassing, and by the recommendation of pastors, teachers, and others in the community who have learned of the work. In addition, relatives, friends and neighbors of those who have boarded children often suggest names to the agency.

In selecting these boarding homes careful attention is given to the personal qualifications of the caretakers, as well as to the house and its surroundings, and to the neighborhood in general. Those applying to take children to board are required to fill out an application blank covering many details such as the exact address, distance and direction of the home from the nearest railroad station (for the best homes are often found in the country); the age of the husband and wife, their experience in the care of children; health, age, sex and social condition of all members of the household; number and kind of hired help kept and where housed; distance of church and public or parochial school from the home; if in the country, size of farm, ownership of land, livestock, and house, and general financial condition.

Consideration is also given to the fitness of the caretakers with respect to the age, sex, color and religion of the child to be placed in their care. References are secured and the opinions of those who know the family are obtained. If these references be favorable, the home

is inspected by an agent who makes a written report concerning the character and personality of the man and wife.

Experienced Caretakers and Efficient Staff

Thus the boarding homes are secured by a process of selecting and sifting. Many of the caretakers have a number of years of experience in the care and training of children. On the waiting list, ready to take children to board on short notice are good, approved homes which constitute a most valuable asset for an agency in this work. A moderate amount for board is paid to the caretakers. Clothing is furnished for the children, medical and dental care is provided, and the right is reserved to remove children whenever it is deemed desirable for their welfare. The children live with their caretakers as members of their families, sharing in the social life of the community just as other children do. Since they are placed with families whose religious faith corresponds with that of their own parents, they attend church services and go to Sunday school with those with whom they live. Those of proper school age are sent to the public or parochial schools.

To do this work efficiently and on a scale sufficient to meet the needs of a large community, requires an adequate staff of trained, paid agents working under competent direction. While the investigation and careful selection of the boarding homes and the proper fitting of the children into them are essential to success, that is merely a good beginning. It is necessary to exercise careful and constant supervision after the children are placed. Agents make unannounced visits to the homes of the caretakers to look after the welfare of the children. They also visit the schools which the children attend and become familiar with the social life in the communities where the children are boarded. Detailed reports as to the children's progress in their studies, and statements as to the condition of their health and clothing are received direct from the teachers. Quarterly reports are secured from pastors in regard to the attendance of the children at church and Sunday school.

Boarding-Out Allows Independence of Action

The development of the boarding-out plan gives to a community a child-caring agency with ability to expand to meet increasing needs if the necessary resources be provided and maintenance every child must have, whether he be kept in a family or placed in an institution built and equipped for the purpose. By boarding children in individual private families the agency does not arbitrarily limit its capacity to the number of available beds nor is it hampered by quarantines or necessary restrictions as to age, sex, color, or religion. By adopting this method of providing care and training for its wards, it is possible for an agency to meet the needs of many different kinds of children.

In boarding-out children, experience shows that a distinction must

be made between those who require only temporary care and those who require permanent care during their natural years of dependency.

Among the children needing more or less temporary care are those having parents who can and should take them back again. Some of these come from homes temporarily broken up because of illness or accident or other incapacity of the bread-winner, or the death of one of the parents. In other cases, the children have been taken by order of the juvenile court or through the action of a society to protect children from cruelty, because of parental neglect or unfitness. In some cases neglectful parents under fear of permanently losing their children, mend their ways and reestablish their homes. Thus it happens that each year a certain number of children are returned from boarding homes to parents or relatives. Whenever it is necessary an agency should continue for a time its supervision over such children after they have been returned to their own homes. Another group of children, many of whom are eventually returned to their parents, are those committed by courts because of truancy or incorrigibility, which is often due to bad home and neighborhood influences. Sometimes the family moves to a better neighborhood and home conditions change so that the children, after care and training for a year or two in a boarding home, can be safely returned to their own home. Some children, after being boarded temporarily, are later put into an institution for special training which they are found to require.

For Temporarily or Permanently Unplaceable

Boarding-out also affords temporary care for certain classes of permanently dependent children until suitable free homes are found. For example, more boys than girls are received, but applications for adoptions are more often for girls, hence the boys may have to be boarded temporarily.

There is also the preference as to age in free placing that makes boarding-out necessary. For adoption, children under seven are usually preferred, while others want children old enough to be of some assistance, and they are likely to ask for those of eleven years or more. The Children's Committee of this Conference in 1899 said in reference to free placing, "The main difficulty is to find homes for children (that is, free homes) from seven to eleven years of age, and in large communities it will be found difficult to find desirable homes for all dependent children. This does not mean, however, that any effort should be spared to place as many children as possible in good homes."

Again, children should be placed with those holding the same religious faith as their parents—that is, the general division of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish should be followed to secure the religious training satisfactory to all concerned. Therefore, unless and until such free homes are found, it may be necessary to pay board in homes of their own faith for children of one or another religious group.

The physical condition of some children renders their immediate placement in free homes either impossible or undesirable. In the boarding home, the child can be built up, developed and watched and eventually placed in a free home of a higher grade as a result of its improved condition and appearance. The backward child and the border-line, high grade feeble-minded child need to be under observation before permanent disposition is made. For them, we must distinguish between the characteristics of backwardness from lack of educational opportunity or physical handicap, and characteristics of deficiency and hopeless retardation. Experience shows that this can be done in a boarding home. Later the children who advance normally in school can be offered for free homes, and the others can be sent to appropriate institutions.

Again, children who are untrained and unattractive when first received, may not be immediately placeable in suitable free homes and boarding-out may be used for them to good advantage. A child presenting moral difficulties due to neglect and bad habits can sometimes be boarded in a family where there are no other children. There he can be trained without the danger of moral contagion to others or at least the possibility is greatly lessened. Brothers and sisters can often be kept together, as one does not have to regard the rules as to age and sex as is necessary to a certain extent in institutions.

Weak, emaciated young infants of the nursing age, foundlings, waifs and strays, can be placed boarding with certified wet-nurses, if the Wasserman and other tests for both child and nurse be used as a precaution against infection. Such children, after they are in a normal condition and old enough to be given artificial feeding, can be offered for adoption. Pending that, they will be found to do well when placed to board in private families, preferably in the country.

Finally, boys and girls, eleven to thirteen years of age when received, if boarded can be kept in school. They are shielded from overwork and the possibility of exploitation by those who sometimes seek cheap labor in the person of a boy and girl nearing the legal working age whom they desire "to take to raise as an own child."

Standards Summarized

To sum up, the proper standard for boarding-out calls for—

The careful selection of the right kind of families to board the children.

Proper school and church facilities.

Medical and general physical care as needed.

Training by caretakers in habits of obedience, cleanliness, industry, thrift, and play.

The home, the caretakers, the school, the environs and the child

must be under the constant oversight of a carefully selected, trained visitor, who, in turn, should have the advice and guidance of a competent supervisor.

Children should be boarded out only so long as such care, tested by results, seems to be the best treatment for them that the community affords at that time. A free family home or a specialized institution should be sought as soon as a child's progress or lack or it in a boarding home indicates that some other kind of care is desirable.

While good boarding-out work costs less per capita than good institutional care, if all proper charges against both be included, nevertheless, this is not urged because it is the cheaper method. Boarding out should be used rather to secure the undoubted advantages of family life and individual care for children, when free homes are not available, and when their condition does not call for commitment to institutions.

Probably all will agree that in so far as boarding-out work is undertaken, it should be carefully safeguarded and standardized. The minimum essentials of a boarding-out system should be established by authority of the state through some appropriate channel. To maintain the standards of such work, agencies and institutions boarding-out children should be required to secure a license or certificate issued by authority of a state, thus guaranteeing that they are properly qualified and equipped to do the work. Only those so authorized should be permitted to engage in boarding-out children.

STANDARDS OF PLACING OUT IN FREE FAMILY HOMES

Wilfred S. Reynolds, Superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

Opposition to an established method or policy is often a logical reaction and serves to reveal points of weakness compelling repair and re-enforcement of tremendous value. The history of placing children in free family homes points clearly to periods of abnormal development and periods of inevitable reaction. A number of years ago child caring experts, notably of the eastern congested cities, determined that in the last analysis the family must be the retreat and natural refuge of every normal life; that when the parental home is denied it is a waste of time, as well as detrimental to the child, not to secure at once a foster family to supplant the loss. Because of social, industrial and economic condition, the small cities and countrysides in the East did not furnish a supply of "free homes" sufficient to meet the demand. The prosperous farms of the Middle West; the homes of thrifty, industrious pioneers on the broad praries presented a great temptation for indiscriminate distribution of children. In hundreds of counties in the western states, the court house steps were made receiving places for car-loads of chil-

dren in compliance with previous announcements inviting the farmers to come and select such lads and lassies as might most appeal to them.

Because of the great distance separating the children from the guardian organizations; because of little previous consideration of adaptation of the child to the home; because of questionable legal guardianship; because of impossible supervision, and because of the appealing cry of rehabilitated parental homes, the inevitable reaction came. Organizations found themselves unable to satisfactorily account for the lives entrusted to them; children who happened to enter homes of unprincipled foster parents had no protection; foster parents felt no responsibility to any legal protector of the child; and fathers and mothers crossed half the continent to find their children taken by questionable authority. Unfortunately but justly the system of child placing in this country was dealt a blow from which we in Illinois have scarcely recovered. Between forty and fifty children, wards of a New York organization placed in Illinois and adjoining states, are now the residue of a large number so placed in years past, and are being supervised by us. During the past year we have witnessed scenes of distress and heartaches, not because of unfit foster homes, but because of insecure guardianship leaving the foster child and family unprotected from unfit natural parents.

Mistakes of Placing in "Free Family Homes"

I do not wish to appear skeptical in regard to foster family care of children; nor to have been building an argument against the method, but rather to prevent some mistakes of history so clearly that those who may be just beginning will not repeat the blunders. The principle is fundamentally right; and out of the past will grow a strength not available to those of a generation ago.

It is well to have clearly in mind all that is implied in "free home care,"—what it means to the child and to the home. First of all, it means that the family takes into its membership, without compensation, a foreign child for whom to care, train and assume responsibility. It implies there must be a motive on the part of the family for assuming the care of the child. It likewise implies some quality in the child attractive to the family. In a large number of instances it means a preconceived attachment and affection for the child; likewise, it means, whether preconceived or not, a reciprocal attachment on the part of the child. In other instances it may mean a less deep-seated connection between the family and child, yet there must grow a wholesome, helpful friendship and interest which dmands the most intelligent selection of family and child by the authority responsible. It must now dawn upon us that successful free home placing cannot be a solution of all cases but implies careful selection and elimination.

It is very true that more and more we must meet social problems by applying measures of efficiency and look upon the particular condition

at hand with an analytic mind. In considering free home placement, it may be well to first apply the rule of elimination. Sometimes it is possible to greatly simplify a problem in this manner. There is in every community a large, constant group of children demanding attention and care. This group is always heterogeneous as to both individuality and environment. In the process of elimination, as those children ineligible to free family home care, I should designate the confirmed delinqunt. Girls and boys with confirmed habits and tendencies of delinquency who fail upon proper trial to respond to normal family life, should not be placed from home to home in a vain effort to prove home placing a panacea for all cases. Such attempts discredit the system and prevent the child from getting the special intensive treatment of which he is in need. The delinquent is a subject for psychopathic and industrial institutional treatment.

Problem of the Defective

The second group to be excluded from the free home care is the group composed of the abnormal, subnormal and defective classes. This is a large group and presents a most serious difficulty in the field of child placing. The obviously feeble-minded, idiotic, epileptic, diseased and crippled children are easily classified and there need be no question as to their care unless, as in some states, there are no proper institutions of ample capacity. It is in the case of the child developed perfectly in physique, with a beautiful, attractive countenance, for whom the best free home may open, but who in due time develops into a moral degenerate or manifests some other disappointing tendency,—it is to this class the child placing organizations have not given proper attention. There are two possible sources of precaution in all these cases:

1. Obtain a complete ancestral history, and
2. Apply the assistance of your best psychopathic clinics and if retardation is marked, take no chances on "free home placing".

In connection with this group it is with the young babies that the most difficulty lies. Organizations are too prone, because of the vast number of childless couples who desire to adopt babies, to place all babies in foster families without proper investigation as to the parental history. This is unjust to the family, to society and dangerous to our future life. Babies should be retained under the direct care of the organization until an exhaustive search is made as to the facts that will point to the probable physical and mental development of the infant before a permanent disposition is made.

The third group of children indicating by their own condition or partially by their ancestral history, a definite tendency toward physical deficiency and disease, most notably tuberculosis and venereal diseases, should not be given free family care. Treatment conducive

to arrest and improvement in their condition should be secured for all such cases.

Elimination Because of Environment

The foregoing eliminations are based upon the condition of the child, itself. There are further eliminations to be made upon the basis of environment, or conditions in no way a part of the child but greatly influencing him. Children taken by legal action from neglectful or unfit parents who may be able to contribute to their support should not be given into free homes. The same is true of children taken from parents who may *not* be able to contribute to their support but may rehabilitate their home life and some time in the future have a valid claim upon their children. Since it is the purpose in every free home placement to build up the closest relationship between the child and the foster family, the returning of the child to the natural parents at once destroys this fabric.

After these eliminations what have we remaining? It is quite clear there remain a group of comparatively normal children, in age from infancy to 16 years, who are dependent or neglected and to whom the parents have beyond any question forfeited their valid claim; and a group, in age from 10 to 16 years, who possess wayward tendencies but may be rescued from a confirmed delinquency. These children, and these only, have a just claim upon "free home care".

Having indicated the necessity for a most scrutinizing classification of all children and having eliminated definite types of cases, let us discuss standards with which to measure the free home and its supervision. It has been my observation, based upon actual statistics, that free homes applying for children divide themselves into three distinct groups. These groups are characterized by the difference in age of the children applied for and by the different motives of the applicants. The first, or largest, group apply for children from infancy to 6 years of age, because of a desire for parenthood, which for some reason has never been realized. The second group apply for children from 10 to 16 years of age, having clearly in mind the element of service to be rendered in reciprocation for the care given the child. The third and smallest group is composed of those families applying for children from 6 to 10 years of age. These families have in their motives a perfectly legitimate combination of desire for the presence and human relationship of the child and the element of service which may be expected later. In considering homes applying for children these three types should be kept in mind, as the investigation of the home can be made more intelligently if the age of the children desired and the motive underlying the application are known.

The subject of this paper makes it necessary for me to name certain requirements which should be observed in child placing. I believe no individual or organization, whether in public or private service, should be entrusted with the most wonderful possibility this

world has produced, the life of a child, unless such requirements as the following are carefully observd:

Placing-Out Standards

1. Determine whether or not the child entrusted to your care is fitted to live in a free family home.
2. Require a written application, recording certain important facts relating to the home, to be filled out and signed by every applicant desiring a child.
3. A personal visit to the home of the applicant, by a visitor employed by and responsible to the organization having the custody of the child.
4. A written report showing the result of the visitor's investigation, stating in no uncertain terms an approval or a rejection of the home.
5 The *selection* of a child best fitted to become a member of the applicant's family.
6. A visitor should accompany the child to its new home, and in a most impressive manner pave the way for the initial acquaintance between the child and family.
7. A visit to the child and family not less than sixty days after placement, and sooner if the case demands.
8. Visits of supervision should be as frequent as each case demands and in no case less frequent than once in six months, until legal adoption.
9. Each visit should be reported in writing, signed by the visitor and preserved in the records of the child.
10. The custody of the organization should be maintained supreme until legal adoption or legal age.
11. Legal adoption, as a rule, should not be consented to until six months after placement.
12. Territorially the placement of children in "free homes" should be restricted to distances within ready supervision of the organization legally responsible for the child. Transfer of custody from one individual or organization to another in a distant state should not be permitted.

The careful application of these requirements will prevent the downfall of free home placing. Nothing short of their application will insure investigation of free family homes that deserves to be called investigation. Their application will determine whether or not a childless couple possess the necessary qualifications of parenthood. It will discover whether or not a distracted wife is urging her request for a child in the vague hope of reforming an incapable husband. It will reveal in some instances the intense desire on the part of the husband for a bond that will deter an unfaithful wife, the child often being secrificed in the experiment. It will provide for the lapse of sufficient time to prove that a couple apparently possessing the quality and fitness,

have no latent disappointing tendencies manifesting themselves under trial. It will give opportunity for the young foster-parents to experience the difference between a nightly crying infant and their former dream of a cherub filling the home with joy and sunshine by day and acting as a grown-up at night. It will reveal the truth of the statement in the applicant's request that a little girl from 8 to 13 years of age is wanted because of the peculiar brand of companionship she may manifest as compared with that possessed by two or three younger children already in the home. It will insure the lad of 14 in the home of a prosperous farmer, not only board and clothing, but education, proper religious observance, honesty, frugality and justice for which he may well reciprocate in reasonable manual service. Who dare say that casual correspondence, or a visit of the applicant to the office of the organization would necessarily reveal any of these undesirable tendencies of foster parents; or that childless homes should be given babies simply because they ask for them?

It has been said that such technique as the foregoing makes this so-human service, mechanical; that a machine is set in motion which in its smooth operation destroys the human element that is so vital and necessary. The man or woman who through heart-throb stories of appeal in newspapers succeeds in distributing babies here and there, gathering with each placement an advantage in ridding some one else of his burden and in transferring a precious bundle of humanity to an eagerly waiting childless home,—to such a man or woman technique is an abomination. "What difference does it make?" they say. "Here is a baby needing a home. Why not place it here or there?" They forget there has been a past and there is to be a future, both having a tremendous influence on the child and family. What if a business concern kept an audit of accounts as these men and women attend to the affairs of children placed under such a method? Suppose a trust company kept track of its dollars as these men and women receive and loan babies! A receivership would be inevitable.

Standards in child-placing can not be too exacting; human safeguards can not be too secure. It is for this reason that child-caring organizations have an excuse to exist. It is my opinion that dependent children to be cared for apart from their own flesh and blood, should be given to the custody of organizations, but only such organizations as have a right to exist by virtue of their high standards of work, their necessity in the community and their security. In my opinion, there is no place left for the independent individual to assume this overwhelming responsibility, except as he or she may be a part of, or co-operate with a strong agency.

To communities anxious to improve their methods or to establish the most telling propaganda, my thought is this: Be careful to observe at the outset four fundamentals. Determine the fitness of the child for the life of a free family home. Determine th fitness of the child for the proffered home. Determine the fitness of that home for this

child. And cement the bonds between the organization, the free family home and the child, by constant and by sympathetic supervision. Then, whatever the scheme, your obedience to these principles will justify the faith the machinery is efficient; that the points of contact are strong enough so that when the load becomes heavy, as it will, the lives for which you are responsible are secure.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION. Following these papers an informal discussion was entered into by the following: Mr. Leon Volmer of New Orleans, Mrs. Anna M. Spallen of New York, Mr. John Melpolder of Fort Smith, Mr. Wilfred S. Reynolds of Chicago, and others.

Laws Affecting Children
Section, May 14, 9:00 A. M.

HOW SHALL WE FRAME A CONSISTENT PUBLIC POLICY FOR CHILDREN?

Roger N. Baldwin, Secretary, Civic League, St. Louis, Mo.

The movement for the welfare of children is like the conservation movement: we all know what we want, but we are not at all agreed how to get it. Even though our standards for the proper care of children are rather definitely fixed, our practical program is chaotic. Not a state in the union has a complete code of legislation covering the care, education and protection of children. While several model laws in specified fields of child-care have been framed and applied to many states successfully, they represent but a small fraction of the legislation necessary to work out a complete system. No national society has come forward with a program; no group of national societies has co-operated as yet to construct a definite system. Progress is haphazard and unsystematic. Within the same state, laws such as the child labor and compulsory education laws conflict directly with each other. One group of people puts through the legislature a bill for the salvation of certain children and another group puts through another, without reference to the conflicting machinery they create.

To bring order out of chaos, we need to examine—first, what are the proper functions of national, state and local governments in the care of the child; second, what are the underlying principles of public policy in the care of children; third, how specific acts relating to different phases of the child-problem should be harmonized and grouped into a consistent whole; and fourth, what actual work and organization should be undertaken to bring about the passage of such children's codes in the several states. The only instances so far of attempts to codify laws affecting children are the well-known Children's Charter of Great Britain and the Ohio State Children's Code. Both of these are incomplete.

1. Relation Between National, State and Local Governments

The power of the national government in the care of children is restricted chiefly to the regulation of child-labor through interstate commerce (and this power is questioned by many lawyers), to publicity, investigation and education. The Federal Census Bureau, the Federal Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Education are great factors in making known facts and pointing out appropriate remedies for conditions throughout the country, but they have no power of organizing or directing the work.

This matter must be left to the states. Local governments (municipal, county or town) seldom have the power to adopt regulations which vitally affect the welfare of children. The state itself must pass the legislation which determines even the organization of the work within the local units of government. The state alone has the power to establish the relation between parent and child, parent and state and state and child.

What we must look to, therefore, is a *state code* defining our public policy for the welfare of children. That we may have a model state code, which in practical effect can be applied to every state in the union,—although it may not be applied in the same form,—is both desirable and possible. It is just as possible that a whole code can be framed as that we can have a model child-labor law or a model juvenile court law.

2. Underlying Principles of a State Public Policy

The first fundamental point in framing a public policy is to define the relation of parent to the state. We may safely lay down the principle that the state is the ultimate parent of all minors; that when the natural parents of children fail to discharge their obligations the community in the role of the state has the right to step in and take their place. As a natural corollary, the principle should be recognized that the state should never separate a child from its own parents, except when they are unfit or incompetent guardians, their unfitness to be determined by a court.

The recognition of the family as the basic unit of society demands that the state should provide every possible means to keep normal children in good homes, even though this may require their support from public funds. Further than this, there must be a positive guarantee on the part of the state to every child, no matter what his circumstances or home, of a healthy body, a trained mind and a chance to make a living when he leaves school. This presupposes the supervision of a child's life from birth (or even before birth) to maturity.

The second group of principles covers the relation of the state to organized agencies for the care of children, whether these be public or private. The proper standardization of the care, education and pro-

tection of children demands that public, not private agencies, must be primarily responsible for them. Whenever private agencies are permitted to care for children, it should be only under the rigorous and continued supervision of the state.

Following out the principle that the family home is the proper place for every normal child, the care of normal children in institutions should be prohibited. Institutions should be used only for the care, education and protection of abnormal children who cannot be reared in a family home.

3. Specific Legislative Acts Composing a State Code

Putting these principles into effect in the form of a consistent state code carrying out the public policies outlined would give us the following groups of chief enactments. Practically all these acts are in effect in one state or another.

I. Eugenics

1. To prevent the birth of abnormal children, an act preventing the marriage of idiots, feeble-minded or insane persons. (To be made effective through segregation, sterilization, and the strengthening of the marriage license laws.)

2. For its moral effect, if for nothing else, an act requiring before marriage a physician's certificate of freedom from diseases directly transmissible to children. (To be enforced through a strengthening of the marriage license laws and the health agencies.)

3. An act preventing women from engaging in gainful occupation immediately before or after confinement, with public aid to such women, when necessary. (Enforced through the state department having charge of industry.)

II. Infant Welfare

An act requiring the reporting of all births, both to the local health officers and to a state body, and requiring special reports on all abnormal children (and including the proper regulation of midwives).

III. The Care of Neglected and Delinquent Children

1. An act to provide for the care and support of illegitimate children by placing the legal responsibility on the father, if known. In cases where paternity is not determined by a court, the mother, if poor, should be aided by public funds.

2. An act providing for the adoption and placing-out, under public supervision, of foundlings or neglected infants, all such adoptions and placing-out to be effected through a court.

3. An act providing a juvenile court in every county, with jurisdiction over neglected and delinquent children (not over destitute or dependent children); this court to have jurisdiction also over adults involved in children's cases, making it in effect a domestic relations court.

IV. The Care of Destitute Children

1. An act for the proper care of destitute and dependent children by creating an agency in each county (together with a state agency) to provide public relief to the mothers of such children under working age, when the fathers are dead, or incapable of providing for them. Relief also to be given to women whose husbands have deserted, with provision for tracing and prosecuting wife-deserters. This agency to receive also neglected or delinquent children from courts for placement in family homes.

2. An act creating a state agency (either under the board of charities or under a board of control, where such exists) to receive and place out children, whether destitute, neglected or delinquent, for whom the counties or cities are unable to make provision.

V. State Supervision

An act creating a state supervisory body, such as a state board of charities, with supervisory control over all public or private institutions for the care of children, including the probation work of juvenile courts and the placing-out of children by public or private agencies.

VI. Education

1. A compulsory school attendance law requiring a child's attendance in school from the age of five through a specified grade, with provision for the appointment of a school attendance officer in every school district of the state.

2. Special schools created for the instruction of abnormal, defective, tubercular, or other children needing special training and care,—these being state boarding-schools for the use of counties in which the number is small, and county and city schools where the number is great.

3. A state-wide school system, organized on the unit of the county or the city (in the case of large cities) with state aid and centralized state supervision.

Administrative Organization

To picture clearly the proper administration of these various acts and the various officers and boards having them in charge, we should have a system dictated by the present tendencies in political reform, namely, simplification of machinery and centralization of responsibility.

Practically all the work for children done by most state governments even to-day falls under only five separate departments. In some states these departments are in charge of a single man and in others in charge of a board. These, briefly, are—

1. *The State Board of Health*, administering the laws relative to the registration of births, eugenics and medical inspection.

2. *The State Department of Education*, administering the laws relating to the schools, school attendance, school hygiene, recreation, the issuing of permits under the child labor laws, and increasingly, special

institutions for the education of children, such as schools for the blind, deaf and feeble-minded.

3. *The State Board of Administration* (or governor) in direct charge and control of the state institutions for the training of delinquent boys and girls, for the epileptic and feeble-minded, insane, etc.

4. *The State Board of Charities*, with supervision over all public and private institutions for the care of children; supervision of the placement of children in family homes, and of the work of probation, parole and the giving of all relief by public agencies.

5. *The State Department of Factory Inspection*, with the enforcement of all laws relating to the hours and conditions of labor.

The Organization of the County for the Administration of Laws Affecting Children

Throughout the United States the county machinery for public service is woefully defective. The county is a neglected political unit. A proper organization of the county, administering the work outlined here, would give us five separate departments, corresponding closely to the five departments outlined in the state government. Three of these departments would come under the county court or county commissioners, elected by the people; the other two, the school board and the juvenile court, also elected by the people. These five departments are:

1. The county health officer or board of health, in charge of the registration of births and of all medical inspection. (Under the county court.)

2. The department of county institutions. (In charge of the county court.)

3. The department of public relief,—in charge of a county agent appointed by the county court,—this agent, with the approval of the county court, giving public relief to destitute families.

4. The school board, in charge of the county school system, school attendance, the issuing of permits under the child labor law, and all other school functions.

5. The juvenile court (or a court of domestic relations) with jurisdiction over the cases of all neglected and delinquent children, and over all adults involved in such cases.

4. How Shall We Work Out Such a Program?

Because the plan of an organized state and county system covers so many points, it may appear to offer a too ambitious program for uniformity throughout the country. Yet let us remember that we are to-day rapidly reconstructing government in all its departments all over the United States, and that we are proceeding from the agitation

for popular government to agitation for efficient government. This work of organizing the public system for the care of children naturally goes hand in hand with the reorganization of government for other purposes.

The work should not be difficult. The first essential is the preparation of a model state children's code. This code should not only include suggested laws, such as have been outlined, but should show the plan of administration and of enforcement. Such a work offers an opportunity to the various national organizations to bring together and harmonize their various lines of activity. Up to the present time the service they render in the various states is haphazard, depending largely upon the calls made upon them, or upon agitation undertaken along specific lines without reference to any well-rounded policy. These organizations, together with the Federal Children's Bureau, might well prepare, print and distribute such a code,—simple and complete.

Even with such a code, each state must undertake to apply it to the peculiar constitutional provisions and the administrative machinery of that state. To that end, a representative state committee of interested citizens, or an official state commission would be required to adapt it and to put it in the form of appropriate legislation.

This work can be done. It must be done, if we are to get order out of the present chaos, and if we are to give life to the standards and principles on which we all so thoroughly agree.

SOME ESSENTIALS OF A STATE CHILDREN'S CODE

Amos W. Butler, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, Ind.

I do not know how we should have come out in our state with a complete new children's code. We began with private institutions for children. The only public provision was measured by their being bound out by the township overseer of the poor or cared for in the county poor asylum.

Some thirty-five years ago, when a committee of the Friends' Church made an investigation, there were 700 children in our county poor asylums. In 1875 there was a law authorizing the placing of children who were public wards in private institutions. In 1881 boards of county commissioners were authorized in addition to establish orphans' homes. We sought to follow the example of Pennsylvania and Ohio. In 1889 the common law principle, with the judge as the guardian of all minors, was enacted into statute law. The first board of children's guardians was created. It was afterwards extended to the entire state. Later the number of orphans' homes multiplied. There was an effort to establish a state public school after the plan of Michigan but this was defeated and finally resulted in a compromise by

which all children were in effect made wards of the state under state supervision, and the existing institutions used as receiving homes.

Large numbers of children were brought from other states into Indiana. Many of them became public charges; consequently in 1899 the legislature passed a law regulating the importation of dependent children into the state. This can be done now under a bond approved by the Board of State Charities.

Prior to 1907 a child could be made a public ward by any one of a number of agencies and many persons were induced to shirk their natural responsibility and turn their children over to the public for support. That year a law was passed providing that no child can be made a public ward, to be supported at public expense, except by the judge of the juvenile court, and he must make it a ward of one of three agencies: the court, the board of county commissioners or the board of children's guardians, and all children so made wards are available for placement by state agents. The same legislature defined for all purposes the dependent, the neglected and the delinquent child, and provided a means of punishing those who contributed to the dependence, neglect or delinquency of children. There is also a child desertion and non-support law.

While the Board of State Charities from the beginning has had the right of visitation and inspection of all orphans' asylums that receive any support from public funds, it was not until terrible disclosures of baby farms and lying-in-homes in Indianapolis in 1908 called attention to the need of some sort of state regulation, that the legislature, in 1909, passed our present state licensing law, by which every maternity hospital, baby farm, orphans' home, foundling asylum or any other institution that cares for children is required to have an annual written license from the Board of State Charities and be subject to visitation and inspection by its representative at all times.

The provision of the last legislature (1913) authorizes a State Detention Home for normal, dependent children, but no appropriation has so far been made therefor.

Together with most states, we have state care and training of epileptics, feeble-minded, deaf and blind children; a state hospital for the tubercular; a state school for delinquent boys under sixteen and a similar institution for delinquent girls under eighteen; a fairly satisfactory child labor law; compulsory school attendance for children from seven to sixteen years of age, children from fourteen to sixteen being exempt if legally employed. The last legislature enacted an excellent vocational education law.

Whether we could have digested and assimilated a code which would have contained all of these different steps I do not know, but each has been taken as a result of study of conditions, a knowledge of the needs and an investigation of the whole field everywhere to see where the best ideas could be had that we could bring home and apply

to our conditions so far as they seemed advisable. The result is that we have made fairly good progress. But we sometimes think that our legislature enacts laws so rapidly that we are not able to work them all out before another group is upon us.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION. The following spoke on informal discussion: Dr. A. J. McKelway of Washington, Mr. J. A. Brown of Indianapolis, Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston, Dr. Hastings H. Hart of New York, Mr. D. B. Price of Helena, Montana; Judge George S. Addams of Cleveland, Mr. Roy Smith Wallace of Philadelphia, Mr. H. H. Shirer of Columbus, Ohio, and Judge Harvey H. Baker of Boston.

SOCIAL HYGIENE

Report of the Committee*

Maude E. Miner, Secretary, New York Probation and Protective Association, New York City.

The Committee on Social Hygiene, which was appointed last year for the first time in this Conference, to consider the problem of prostitution, believes that its work should ultimately result in a constructive program for the suppression of prostitution.

The program of this committee involves the conclusion that prostitution should be suppressed. This is the decision reached by those who have investigated the subject most completely in the United States and Europe, and by officials of cities who have vainly attempted to regulate prostitution. Fourteen vice commissions or committees which have investigated conditions in different cities and states in this country have unanimously concluded that the only method of dealing with vice is through suppression. Mr. Abraham Flexner, who has studied the various systems in European cities, has shown how futile are the systems of regulation in Europe, and has declared that sooner or later civilization "must throw down the gauntlet to the whole horrible thing". A questionaire sent out to 110 cities in the United States, the 100 largest cities, and 10 others which have made a special study of conditions relating to vice, show that 21 of the 72 cities from which an answer was received have a policy of regulation, while 51 have adopted a policy of suppression. During the last two years there have been changes in 21 of the 51 cities from a policy of regulation to suppression, with abandonment of the "red light" districts. In not one city has a policy of suppression been given up for regulation. The entire trend of cities appears, then, to be away from regulation of resorts, and toward the suppression of prostitution. In telling of these changes, police officials spoke of the impossibility of carrying out the rules imposed upon them under a system of regulation, and, with but four exceptions, the officials now trying to suppress prostitution stated that they believed suppression the best method of dealing with vice in their cities.

The Problem of Prostitution—Supply and Demand

Before attempting to outline a program for suppression of prostitution it is well to state what constitutes the problem. In the first place, many young girls are being brought into prostitution every year as the result of various causes, social, economic and individual, and this supply

* General Session, May 12, 8:00 P. M.

is ever being stimulated by those who exploit vice for profit. Again, there is a demand created by men, having root in the sex instinct and in the belief that prostitution is a necessity, and this demand is also greatly stimulated by various means of advertisement of vice.

Most of the girls who constitute the supply to prostitution are young—from 16 to 18 years of age; they are ignorant, few having had even a fair education; they are untrained and unskilled workers; they are from the homes of the poor, where there has been comparatively little opportunity for development and growth. There are immigrant girls who have been unprotected, some native American girls from the small country towns, and a larger percentage of those who tell the story of the gap between parents and children born and brought up under widely different conditions—the American born children of foreign parents.

No one factor alone explains the reason for girls entering prostitution. Several factors operate even in the case of a single individual, and combine in such a way as to draw the girl into vice. The process is usually gradual; an individual does not rush headlong into it, but takes the first immoral step, is cast off, disgraced, deserted or hard pressed, and then, often without realizing the full meaning of it, finds herself bound to a life of prostitution.

The social causes of prostitution include those factors which relate to the girl in her home and at her play—the crowded and broken homes, the lack of understanding and sympathy within the homes; the dangerous association in amusement park, cafe, and dance hall. Under economic causes are grouped those factors which relate to the girl at her work in her efforts to earn her living—dangerous and irregular work, low wage, and above all, lack of training for work and lack of efficiency in work. The economic status of the family is also a factor, determining as it often does the physical environment of the home, the age at which the girl must enter the world of work and the character of her amusements and association. The most important individual causes have their root in that mental deficiency which is so largely due to heredity. Accurate data are not at hand to determine the magnitude of this factor but it is certain that in combination with other causes, it serves to bring a large number of girls into a life of prostitution. The most active agent in stimulating supply is the exploiter of prostitution, the procurer and white slave trafficker.

The demand for prostitution exists not alone because of the passions of men, but because exploiters of vice are making money from stimulating the demand and raising it to meet the artificially stimulated supply. The close association between brothel and saloon, the use of erotic literature and amusements, and the advertisements of vice through flagrant soliciting on streets or in cafes, and through the presence of red light districts to attract the curious, are forever increasing the number of those who patronize the resorts of vice.

Methods of Suppression

Without serious checks aiming at prevention, prostitution has developed and flourished and has presented grave problems. As prostitution assumed alarming and threatening proportions and it was clearly seen that it was not possible to pursue a *laissez faire* policy, attempts were then made to regulate vice. Under this system of regulation, rules were laid down by the police with regard to maintaining outward order and conserving health. When rules have provided for concentrating resorts in one or more given districts of the city the special form of regulation has been termed "segregation". As the systems of "regulation" have proved ineffective, cities have been pushed, as the only hope, to a policy of "suppression." This is the only method that has not been fully and thoroughly tested and tried.

How can prostitution be suppressed? By enacting adequate laws against prostitution and securing honest enforcement of laws, by dealing wisely and effectively with offenders when they come into the courts, by doing preventive work to lessen both demand and supply, and by arousing and sustaining a public demand that prostitution shall be suppressed.

Legislation Against Prostitution

In order to suppress prostitution, it is necessary to have adequate laws enacted aiming at the suppression of the evil. These laws may be roughly divided into laws relating to the resorts of vice, laws relating to the supply and to the demand.

In nearly every state in the United States there are laws that make it a crime to maintain a disorderly resort or a house of assignation, or to be an inmate of a house of prostitution. Within the last few years a number of states have enacted laws by which not only keepers and inmates of resorts are held responsible, but also owners of property used for immoral purposes. The Injunction Law, first passed in Iowa and now adopted by a number of states, for the purpose of reaching the property owners, utilizes the common law principle of injunction against the owner of the property and the keeper of the house, and enjoins the property from further use for immoral purposes, and from use for any purpose within a year unless special permission is given. The result has been in communities which have adopted this law that owners of property have been far more careful about renting their houses and have looked into the standing of their prospective tenants from a moral as well as a financial viewpoint.

Some states make it a crime to carry on prostitution in a tenement house, other regulate lodging houses, rooming-houses, saloons and cafes, in order to prevent their use for the purpose of prostitution. Lodging and rooming-houses and other places of assignation have been disregarded in many localities, and citizens have failed to realize that these are most dangerous places where large numbers of young girls

first enter upon an immoral life. There are laws which affect the supply both directly and indirectly. Housing laws; labor laws; provision for licensing and supervising dance halls, employment agencies and moving picture theatres; and laws providing for the segregation and permanent care of the feeble-minded, affect the supply of girls and women to prostitution.

Legislative Needs

To cut off the supply to prostitution action must be taken to require the permanent detention of feeble-minded persons. Although some laws exist to provide for the commitment of mentally deficient girls, there are practically no laws to require that feeble-minded persons be permanently detained in institutions, and to make adequate institutional provision for those who need custodial care. Laws against impairing the morals of children, against abduction, rape, living on the earnings of prostitution, and procuring girls for the purpose of prostitution, are aimed even more directly at cutting off the supply.

Every state should have on its statute books laws which make it possible to reach the procurer and the man who lives on the earnings of prostitution. The Federal Interstate Traffic Law has rendered possible the conviction and sentence of many of these offenders, and within the first three years after the passage of that law, 655 convictions were obtained with sentences aggregating 1,105 years. Yet there remain many procurers who operate only within a single state and who carry on their nefarious traffic with little fear of detection and arrest. Because so much traffic exists between cities, even in the same state, a law should be enacted against transporting a woman from one city to another within the same state.

Those states which still have sixteen, fourteen, twelve and even ten years as the age of consent, should change this to 18 years. In New York State, where the age of consent is 18 years, it has been found that many of the men convicted of abducting girls from 16 to 18 years were professional procurers, and their conviction has resulted in long prison sentences.

Laws which affect the demand include those against sale of books, pictures, post cards and the presentation of sensuous plays that are intended only to excite sex impulses, open soliciting on streets either by men or by women for the purpose of seeking patronage, and all forms of advertising of immoral resorts and the sale of liquor which is so closely connected with the social evil. A few states have laws which penalize equally with the woman who is the inmate of a resort, the man who frequents a resort. This seems a very reasonable and just law. Why should it be a crime for a person to keep a resort, for a woman to be an inmate of the resort, and yet not an offense for a man to frequent a resort? Were it not for the fact that these places are frequented by men no resorts would exist.

Enforcement of Laws

The next step in the suppression of prostitution is the enforcement of laws against prostitution. Face to face with the necessity of seeking to enforce laws against prostitution, we ask what are the difficulties in enforcing them, and how can we overcome those difficulties. The answers given by the police officials of the 51 cities which are attempting suppression help us to answer the question with regard to the difficulties involved. With the exception of seven officials who replied that they had no difficulty in enforcing laws, the answers may be grouped under five general headings.

1—Lack of honest officials.
2—Political influence.
3—Difficulty in securing evidence required by the courts.
4—Unsatisfactory disposition in court cases.
5—Failure of public support of law enforcement.

It is significant that there is recognition by the police of the fact that one of the difficulties is to secure good and honest police officers. The public has long known that in many cities police have protected vice and have derived revenue from this source. Especially flagrant cases have resulted in exposure from time to time, and officers have pleaded guilty or been convicted of extortion. Political influence is a hindrance to law enforcement. Men often look to votes of those representing the vicious interests of the city for political advancement and rise to official position on their promises or "silent pledges" to look after those interests or at least not to interfere with them.

Officials in a number of cities gave as their greatest difficulty in law enforcement the inability of officers to secure evidence which would hold in the courts of justice. This indicates something radically wrong in our system of law enforcement. Courts, police, district attorneys, and lawmaking authorities have failed to get together to devise a practicable and workable scheme. The unwillingness of juries to convict those who are guilty and a lack of a suitable method of dealing with offenders explain in part the opinion of the police that it is useless to make arrests. Lack of support of public opinion is the greatest difficulty in enforcing laws. When officers do not feel that the public favors law enforcement they do not take steps to enforce the law.

Police, Courts and Public Must Act Together

In order to overcome these difficulties and to have laws enforced, it is necessary to secure honest policemen, to eliminate political influence, to find some means of securing adequate evidence, to demand that judges deal effectively with offenders and to arouse public opinion to require enforcement of laws.

For this work of law enforcement should be selected a special squad of picked men, chosen for their honesty and integrity. Some men

of this kind can be found on the police force of every large city, and others should be induced to enter for this particular work. Salaries of police officers entering the department should be increased, so that temptation may be lessened and a reasonable standard of living made possible. By constant vigilance and supervision a group of honest officials could be selected who would bear the responsibility of enforcing these laws.

When the most thoughtful and earnest citizens are determined to elect to positions of trust and responsibility those who have at heart the welfare of the community, then political influence can be eliminated. This requires, however, that many men who now leave the management of cities to those who exploit their positions for profit or political advancement shall take an active part in conducting municipal affairs.

In order that some system may be worked out by means of which officers may secure adequate evidence, police officials and judges should confer to decide what constitutes necessary evidence. It is difficult to get even three or four judges to agree in their rulings with regard to what evidence is necessary for conviction. Officers ought not to be required to resort to humiliation, dangers and possible demoralization for the purpose of obtaining evidence on which judge or jury can convict. Rules of evidence should be changed and the requirement of judges as to evidence should be more uniform. If this does not solve the problem, laws which make convictions possible on more easily obtainable evidence, should be placed on the statute books.

Public opinion should demand that judges convict when adequate evidence is presented, and cease to impose fines and short sentences. When public opinion truly favors the enforcement of laws, action will be taken. In the last analysis, it is the power of public opinion that puts life into every law and demands its enforcement.

Adequate System of Dealing with Offenders

We have said that one means of suppressing prostitution was to deal effectively with offenders in the courts. In many cities and states the only disposition of offenders convicted of maintaining disorderly houses or soliciting on the streets is the imposition of a fine. Those who have the money or who can get it from some source are released on payment of the fine; while those less fortunate go to a prison to serve out their sentences at the rate of a day for each dollar included in the amount of the fine. After payment of the fine or when released on bail, even before the case is called for final trial, the offender is free to return to her immoral living. Profits of prostitution are large and small fines are easily paid. Fines do not punish, deter or help.

In order to insure that something effective be done for every convicted woman, there should be a sifting process in the courts by which the needs of the individual may be discovered, and the method of treatment determined according to individual needs by a com-

mission with power to make final disposition. The fining system is useless; it is a license system and should not be tolerated. Short prison sentences have availed little or nothing and should be discontinued. Only these methods of dealing with offenders should be utilized—probation, the reformatory, the farm colony and custodial institution. Probation is for a very limited group of the younger girls who are physically, mentally and morally fit to go out into society without commitment to an institution; reformatories are for those for whom there is some hope of reform, as the result of a different environment and of a period of moral and industrial training; the farm colony is for the more hopeless ones who are so completely enslaved by the life that there is little chance for reform; and the custodial institution is for those delinquents who are mentally deficient.

To provide adequately for women during their trial, a separate woman's court is necessary; to provide for them both before and after trial until a disposition is made, a suitable house of detention is needed. The sum of $450,000.00 has been appropriated in New York City for such a combined House of Detention and Woman's Court, and the building is soon to be erected. By caring for the women in single rooms instead of cells, segregating the different classes of offenders and those suffering from venereal disease, by giving opportunity for complete mental and physical examination and home investigation before the final sentence is pronounced, it is possible to make the period of detention of great service in the solution of the problem of treating most wisely the individual offender.

Preventive Work

Effective preventive work must be done to lessen both supply and demand if prostitution is to be suppressed. To prevent the supply, protective work should be carried on by social service workers in hospitals, travellers' aid workers in stations, police women who are charged with the responsibility of investigating cases of runaway girls and supervising amusement resorts, and volunteer protective associations which bear the burden of doing personal work for those who are in grave moral danger. In addition to this, constructive work must be done in the home; there must be better training for work and increased efficiency in work; wider public provision for adequate recreation; and segregation of feeble-minded girls, if we are to adequately combat the social, economic and individual causes of prostitution.

Demand for prostitution is to be lessened to some extent through enforcement of laws against advertisement of vice, but far more through education and training for self-control. Although the home is the best place in which education for self-control and moral training can be given, because it fails so often in this regard, school and church and volunteer associations must bear some of the burden of it. For this purpose lectures should be given in schools, colleges, churches and work-

shops, and wisely prepared literature should be disseminated. Leaders and teachers should be chosen who influence, not alone by words but by their personality and by the power of their lives. Educational work to lessen prostitution will not be complete until there is sufficient education of public opinion to demand an equal standing of morality for men and for women. Even then the work will fail of highest accomplishment unless there is taught the sanctity of the sex relationship with the understanding that the ultimate safeguard is the spiritual defense.

Public Demand for Suppression

A great campaign of education for spreading knowledge about existing conditions, arousing greater social and personal responsibility with regard to them and promoting a higher moral standard, must be carried on if there is to be a constant demand that prostitution be suppressed. When the public is really aware of the truth about regulation of vice, that the segregated district does not and has never segregated vice, that prostitutes are widely scattered in cities boasting the most rigid rules, that toleration of a district for vice provides the trafficker with a market for trade, that it attracts young men who would not seek out immoral resorts, that it cuts off all hope of escape for the women, that regulation fails to give the pretended protection against venereal disease, and that by it the city is virtually a partner in vice; when, in short, the public changes its misinformation for knowledge of actual conditions, heeds the words of physicians that prostitution is not a necessity, and recognizes that it is not only a great economic waste but a great moral wrong, vice will no longer be tolerated, and not one "red light" district will remain as a stronghold of vice and there will be an insistent demand that prostitution be utterly suppressed. Law enforcement is the immediate method, but prevention and education must be the ultimate way.

Not until society as a whole has recognized its responsibility to see that there are adequate laws against vice and that these laws are enforced, that rational methods are adopted of dealing with offenders in the courts, and of preventing increase of supply and demand; not until each individual recognizes his personal responsibility for dealing with this problem of prostitution and of helping to create a demand for suppression, will there be successful suppression of vice.

In outlining a program for the suppression of prostitution we must, therefore, include

1. Securing adequate laws to reach property owners, keepers of resorts, and exploiters who stimulate supply and demand and make profit from prostitution.
2. Enforcement of laws through securing honest police officials, eliminating political influence, making it possible to get evidence on which courts will convict, and arousing a public opinion

which will demand conviction and sentence of guilty offenders, and constant enforcement of law.

3. Dealing effectively with offenders in the courts, abolishing fines and short prison sentences and substituting probation, reformatories and custodial institutions, as the result of a sifting process by means of which treatment will be given according to the individual need.
4. Effective preventive work to lessen demand and supply through
   (a) improving social and economic conditions,
   (b) segregating mentally deficient persons and insuring a better inheritance,
   (c) protective measures and personal work with those in moral danger,
   (d) the kind of education, teaching of self-control and spiritual understanding that shall build up a genuine defense, and
5. Arousing and sustaining a public demand for greater personal and social responsibility, higher standards of morality and ultimate suppression of prostitution.

MISS MINER: When two years ago we went to Philadelphia to attend the luncheon given for the purpose of considering the establishment of a vice commission the mayor of Philadelphia pledged himself to appoint such a commission. It was an interesting and thrilling meeting. The report of that vice commission has been made. We are fortunate tonight to have with us one of the members of that commission, who has studied the problem not only in this country but in many cities in Europe. It gives me pleasure, therefore, to introduce Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, of Philadelphia.

EDUCATION THE LARGEST FACTOR IN THE AWAKENING OF A NEW CONSCIENCE

Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, D. D., Philadelphia, Penna.

At the time when James A. Garfield was president of Hiram College in Ohio, a serious moral delinquency among the students scandalized the institution. Following a careful investigation, Garfield took this action. In the chapel exercises he read the seventh chapter of the Book of Proverbs, with its vivid portrayal of the youth enticed by the "strange woman." None could fail to understand the application. After the reading, Garfield closed the book and citing the names of three students, simply added: "These young men are expelled from this school." Not another word was said. One needs but little imagination to conceive of the profound impression made and which must have remained for life, with those who were present.

What happened to the young men who were expelled? I have no knowledge of the facts but you will agree with me, one may safely infer that they returned to their home towns and after the storm

had blown over they took their places, without much ado, in the social, commercial and even the religious life. Public sentiment in those days lightly declared—as it still largely avows: "A young man must sow his wild oats," and mentally adds "he must not be so stupid as to be discovered."

President Garfield was an educator; by his action he made a vigorous denunciation of a generally accepted lie. He exercised the discipline of the pedagogue in applying the moral lash. He gave a straightforward and telling demonstration of the large part which education must take in combating the evil of prostitution.

What became of the girls who enticed those college boys? I have no knowledge of the facts, but you will agree that one needs neither imagination nor court records to conceive of their inevitable and pitiable fate. Five fitful, feverish years of dissipation and then, as a rule, miserable wreckage, despair and suicide.

This contrast between the fates of the men and the women is seen on all sides. Society still shields and condones the man while it hounds and casts out the woman and her child. Still the Ishmaels and Hagars wander as outcasts in the wilderness. How few find or even seek a fountain of hope, that the child at least may be rescued! The sons of the rich continue to despoil the daughters of the poor. The double standard of morals is still firmly entrenched,—one standard for men, flexible and adjustable; another standard for women, rigid and unyielding. To combat this inequity must be the first platform in a vigorous campaign of education to lessen the social evil.

Because a man is exempt from the marks and consequences of indulgence which nature places on the woman, is his act therefore to be condoned in basely forsaking her? Was the seventh commandment promulgated only for one sex, or for both sexes?

The Attitude of Men

Tolstoi in his *Resurrection* challenged the manhood of our generation by his vivid portrayal of this gross injustice. So prominent and intelligent an official as the Chief of the Morals Police of Hamburg, stoutly maintained, when I interviewed him in behalf of the Philadelphia Vice Commission, that his twenty-seven years' experience confirmed the old doctrine. Hamburg is free from the brawls and murders of drunken sailors, because, said he, it frankly recognizes their physical needs and boldly makes provision for these with its segregated district under medical inspection and police control. The mediaeval plan which still prevails in Hamburg and elsewhere has, under the vigorous onslaughts of the International Abolitionist Federation, been vanquished in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. The American Vigilance Association, the Social Purity Alliance, the morals commissions of various cities, and numerous other agencies in this country, are engaged in practical measures which constitute a virtual educational

campaign for lessening prostitution. Some people are amenable to no other mode of instruction than that of police regulations. There are others who learn through legislation. Indeed, the laws governing health certificates and marriage relations, however difficult to enforce, are a most valuable measure of public instruction. The medical societies and health boards are the most capable and efficient of our public school-masters. They are everywhere routing the old lie which has so long made prostitution profitable because it was deemed necessary. No reputable physician today recommends what, a generation ago, was commonly prescribed. On the contrary, all agree that continence is conducive to good health; incontinence breeds disease. This fact must be further reinforced by education in the imperative ordinance of nature that nothing is so sure to undermine the health of body as a depraved mind, a conscience corroded and a soul debased.

Prostitutes Not Ultimate Guardians of Virtue

So much as to the education of the man. Now as to the woman. Much maudlin sentimentality is being aroused for the depraved and fallen woman. It has been affirmed that what is best and purest in civilization could not have been achieved but for the sacrifice of a certain number of women to a life of dishonor. Lecky *(History of European Morals*, Vol. 2, page 293) has this to say of the courtesan: "Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted and not a few, who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity blasted for the sins of the people."

Since Lecky wrote this eloquent and pathetic plea, a total transformation has come in our knowledge of and convictions as to the real place the prostitute holds as a factor in the social economy. In the light of present day knowledge, it is most absurd to picture the prostitute as the ultimate guardian of virtue, the savior of the purity of countless happy homes. The fact is that she is the chief destroyer of the home, for she is the purveyor of the vilest contagion that afflicts the human race. As the High Priestess of the Social Evil, she does, indeed, offer herself, as a victim of disease to early death. She communicates to men the infection, which is passed on, often unconsciously, to innocent wives and children, breeding a hundred-and-one ills whose origin, but a few years ago, was wrapped in mystery. It is the source of fully one-eighth of all human diseases. It is the cause of more deaths than tuberculosis, typhoid, yellow fever, diphtheria and scarlet fever combined. A vigorous campaign of education is needed if but to safeguard the future generations against these ills.

Problem too Serious for Silence

There is no longer a question as to whether we may or may not impart knowledge of this subject. The conditions of present day living impose upon us the necessity of replacing impure knowledge with pure knowledge. Our primary concern is to get rid of the sham conventionality, mawkish sentimentality and hypocrisy which have so largely prevailed in all that concerns this matter. We can no longer close our eyes to the awful effects on body, mind and soul of the *laissez faire* policy of letting it alone, or of ignoring it or pretending that it does not exist. We must accept the grim reality. We are dealing with the strongest natural instinct implanted in the human race. We are called upon to face candidly the ravages wrought by elemental passions. It is a problem of the ages, but it faces our age with a seriousness it never bore to any previous generation, because to us have been given those revelations of modern science which have exposed the secret sources of the hydra-headed evil that fills our hospitals, our blind asylums, our insane asylums, our homes for incurables, our reformatories and prisons, and mocks the work of philanthropy and moral reform as a task of Sisyphus.

Parents, teachers, ministers, physicians, social workers, all those who are entrusted with the rearing of the race, share in the great sin of sending out into the world boys and girls utterly ignorant of the simplest natural facts about the most intimate and sacred of all human relations. The wonder is not that some of our girls go to ruin and some of our boys become vulgarized,—the wonder is that all of them are not debased by the false information they imbibe from ignorant nurses, the filth they absorb from companions on the street, the lies with which their curiosity is fed and the dangers to which they are exposed from obscene literature and quack doctors. To lessen the number of prostitutes we must lessen those sources of ignorance.

Evil of Careless Information

But here we must tread with exceeding great caution, lest in our excess of zeal to do good we do great evil. Agnes Repplier in the March, 1914, *Atlantic* sounded a much needed warning against *The Repeal of Reticence*. No one desires that the next generation should be set adrift as ignorant of natural laws as was the past; but "a great deal of information is being given in the wrong way, by the wrong people." Very truly she says: "It was never meant by those who first cautiously advised a clearer understanding of sexual relations and hygienic rules, that everybody should chatter freely respecting these grave issues." Magazines have exploited the theme *ad nauseam*. Like a muddy stream, books are pouring from the press with appalling rapidity. Novelists, dramatists, photo-plays and bill-boards depict with wanton realism, scenes which leave no room for suggestion. The whole serious subject has been commercialized. Earnest-minded parents and educators feel

outraged. Their efforts to grapple with a most grave and serious problem have been cheapened and almost ruined—for the sake of coining money.

How shall we train our youth in purity, modesty, chastity and honor if all sense of shame and reserve be destroyed? It is to be fervently hoped that this mad orgy of publicity will soon exhaust itself. Mere information is not education. Conscious of this truth, our best educators are seeking to evolve sane, wise and effectual modes of training in social hygiene. All are agreed that the attitude of mind must be changed from one of a false shame, or of disrespect, of vulgar innuendo and cheap witticisms, to one of deep reverence towards the facts of personality, birth, motherhood, marriage and the sacred responsibilities and privileges which attend our part in the divine mystery of life's creation.

There is definite agreement on all sides, that the home is above all the place and the parent the proper person to impart to the child the lessons of personal purity. Within the sacred precincts of the home and in moments of the most natural confidence and tenderness, a true mother will enlighten her daughter and a true father will instruct his son.

The Parents' Responsibility

But here we confront the disheartening fact that most parents are unfit—too ignorant, or lacking in tact or delicacy. Even the most cultured feel a sense of helplessness and shamefacedness when confronted with the duty of speaking plainly to their boys and girls. Our problem is to educate the parents for this task. There should be free discussion in parents' meetings, neighborhood clubs and the like under competent leaders. Information is available in abundance—but inspiration is lacking. Men and women must be roused to feel that parental authority is undermined for the child when that authority is alert and active in all other matters but silent as the tomb on this one—the most vital of all.

American and English educators have devised modes of instruction through analogies with the marvels of reproduction in plants, fishes, birds and mammals. The whole topic is thus dignified, but a serious error is committed when by this mode of approach man is reduced to a mere biological specimen who, like all the rest, merely follows his animal instincts. To lead up to the exclamation: "Behold, how wonderful!" is to halt at the threshold. It results in nothing but feeding curiosity and yields nothing but a dangerous over-stimulation and excitement. More harm than good is thus done unless these truths be ever paramount: To man alone is given the divine gift of choosing. In man and woman the blending of the sentiments of the soul sanctifies the marriage bond; to them is assigned the exalted privilege and power to exercise the spiritual force by which they rule over their animal desires and thus assert and cultivate the strength of moral character.

The Schools and Religious Leaders

Much discussion prevails as to the part, if any, to be taken by the schools in sex education. I believe that direct instruction in the class-room cannot be given effectually to children or even to youths. The whole subject is so personal that it must rest only in the personal ties which only a teacher of the right individuality can establish with individual pupils; best of all, perhaps, the gymnasium teacher, the scout leader, swimming instructor, or the camp guide may find opportunity to cultivate the confidence and secure the right atmosphere to impart wholesome counsel. Here the minister and the teacher of religion should find a supreme opportunity to be helpful. Religion, too, loses its authority when it volunteers moral guidance in every sphere except this most vital one. The breakdown of character, so frequent in the period of adolescence, when temptations assail, is largely due to the failure of religion properly to equip our youth for this period of storm and stress. The religious school is called upon to take a more sincere part than it has hitherto done, in this educational work. The Bible is full of ordinances on personal purity: the Levitical laws are not all obsolete; the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorra, and the downfall of the licentious municipalities of old, have lost none of their force as a warning to modern cities. The denunciations of the Prophets against the sensuous practices connected with idolatry are not dead texts. But of these themes even the religious teacher can speak to the class only in general terms. Let him impress the lesson that to both sexes alike was given the Seventh Commandment as the foundation of the home, and the kindred ordinances teaching fidelity to domestic ties. Let him quicken the sense of chivalry in the youth or man as inspired by gentleness, purity and trust in the woman or girl. Abundant sources are to be found in the Psalms, Proverbs and incidents of Biblical history and biography.

Though our educational program should succeed in all these measures, first, in combating the double standard of morals and, second, in qualifying parents and guides of youth to equip our boys and girls with knowledge and inspire them with moral force; there would still remain the most important issue to be met. That is, to educate "the new conscience" aright.

Anarchy of "Free Love"

Miss Addams has spoken of the New Conscience in revolt against legalized vice. But there is also what calls itself a "new conscience" which, on the contrary, is in revolt against legalized marriage. I refer to that popular philosophy which dominates our literature and art in these times and exhausts its every effort to decry moral restraint as nothing but a yielding to old-fogy conventions and prejudices, which questions age-long standards as obsolete, and stoutly demands for the individual the utmost freedom for self-expression. The stage

fairly reeks with plays based on this motive. Ellen Key and her school have sought to justify this species of "free love." They fail to see the contradiction which lies in conserving the individuality of a man and woman while sacrificing the individuality of their children by surrendering these to the dead uniformity of public training by the state. They attack the family and the sanctity of the marriage bond. This is anarchy. The whole history of the race and the tragic story of every Don Juan testifies that in the home and in the enduring ties of monogamous marriage alone, are to be found that stability for the real exercise and development of the highest types of individual character and the lasting safeguards of social order.

With the crushing force of a whirl-wind coming up from the desert, Elijah of old lifted up his voice against the painted Queen Jezebel who set up images and fostered the licentious orgies of heathendom. Even so let this Conference speak in no uncertain terms in denunciation of these modern images after which the people go astray. The opening of this section on Social Hygiene is to be epoch making in the constructive efforts by which this great organization has roused and moved the American people to herculean tasks of moral reform. May this newest undertaking be fruitful of good. Together let us strive to make "the dignity of man" a term in the equation with "the holiness of God."

MISS MINER: We are greatly disappointed not to have with us tonight Miss Jane Addams and Dr. Katherine B. Davis, who is now Commissioner of Correction of New York City, but are very fortunate to have two other speakers who will present phases of the problem which deeply concern all of us. Mr. Reynolds has worked in the University Settlement in one of the congested districts of New York City, was in the district attorney's office, and now is Counsel for the American Social Hygiene Association. Mr. Reynolds will speak on The War Against the White Slave Traffic and Commercialized Vice.

WAR AGAINST THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC AND COMMERCIALIZED VICE

James B. Reynolds, Counsel, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

I know of no fact more creditable to the faith and courage manifested in this twentieth century than the manner in which we have gone forth to meet this ancient evil and the extent to which we have girded ourselves for the tremendous conflict in store for us. It may not be known to all of you that while the beginning of the present movement of warfare against commercialized vice in an active and direct form dates practically from the beginning of this century, the foundations were laid in Europe in 1878, during the period of twenty years

before the beginning of the century. A clergyman of the Church of England made a public declaration to the effect that English girls were being transported to Belgium for immoral purposes. The declaration was taken up by that heroic fighter for all that was good and worth while in England, Josephine Butler, who gathered the evidence to prove the declaration. Belgium demanded of the English government that the charges be withdrawn or that they be investigated by competent authorities. The English Home Secretary, doubtless concurring in the skepticism of the Belgian officials regarding the possibility of proof of the charges, ordered an inquiry to be made by a magistrate of the city of London. Contrary to their expectations, Josephine Butler, who was accustomed to sustain any proposition she offered, appeared with her witnesses. Before the magistrate had concluded his hearing, two leading police officials of Brussels were retired. Twenty years of agitation followed.

When, in 1902, the French government, roused by the revelations made throughout the rest of Europe, called together an international congress which drafted an international treaty, the term "white slave" came into being. The treaty was called the "white slave treaty" because it was believed that the traffic which the treaty was drafted to oppose, was a traffic whose purpose was to place its victims in a condition of slavery. I want you to take note of that because it is the custom of those not familiar with the facts to characterize the term as an hysterical expression of the sensational press. Instead, it is an expression given standing by the serious statesmen of Europe who were not particularly concerned with the evil except as they were convinced by the facts presented to them, of which they made a careful and impartial study. Following the ratification of this international treaty by the great powers of Europe and the United States, and subsequent agitation in our own country, there was appointed by the President of the United States a commission to investigate the subject of immigration. One of the important topics taken up by this commission was the importation of women into this country from Europe for immoral purposes. That commission found out exactly what the Europeans had found, only that we were partners in that traffic.

Evidence of Traffic

In 1901 I had a startling experience showing the conditions existing in this country. I was then secretary to the mayor of the city of New York and had charge of the licensing of employment agencies of the city. I had heard rumors regarding their use in improper ways, and I hired a man whom I knew I could trust and sent him among these employment agencies. Out of three hundred agencies then doing business in New York, he found sixty whose managers said to him frankly that they were willing to supply women for immoral purposes, and in most cases that the women would not know the destination to

which they were sent. Applicants for positions would see on the walls the endorsement of the city of New York in the form of a certificate indicating that people who came in were entitled to believe in the good faith and honesty of the keeper of the agency, and yet sixty of those keepers admitted that they were willing to take advantage of the opportunities that came to them in relation to immigrant girls. They said, "We won't supply you with any girls for the city, but we will supply you with girls to be sent out of the state. We will see that they get to their destination, and then it will be up to you to do the rest." I then became aware that it was the absence of any proper protection for our girls and women who might be transported from one state to another that had caused employment agents to recognize that an interstate traffic was the line of least resistance and greatest security. So when the law was passed in 1910 penalizing the transportation of women from one state to another for immoral purposes, I reverted to my experience in the office of the mayor of New York and saw exactly the practical bearing with which that law could be applied.

Not only has the national government passed laws but forty-three states have passed so-called white slave laws. We have not stopped even there. We have employed one method peculiar to our own country and I think peculiarly wise and beneficial in the interest of the permanent movement we believe has been launched, and that is we have applied the method of social investigation to determine the exact character and condition of this evil of prostitution in different cities. Fourteen cities have had vice commissions which have undertaken to thoroughly study the subject in its different relations and to see where the root of the evil lies, whether conditions in one city are the same as those in another, and whether one city has peculiar forms of evil for which special legislation should be provided. These inquiries have given a substantial amount of reliable information. Today we can point to the results of these social inquiries when challenged by any who dispute them, and if in any city there are those who say, "We believe our segregated district protects this community," we can at least ask them to apply the same careful, thorough method of inquiry by impartial experts not connected with the police department, and to report to the city on the subject. And you need never fear the result, because while it is true that in the case of every one of the commissions appointed in different cities a considerable number of members at the beginning of the investigation believed in segregation, up to date there has not been a single commission that has reported that has not unanimously declared against segregation.

Repression Versus Segregation

Let us now consider the practical reasons that are advanced why we should not substitute for the policy of segregation and of toler-

ation, a policy of open repression. Not all who favor the segregated district do so from evil motives. There are vast numbers who are ignorant of the true record of facts learned by these investigations, or who are not acquainted with the work of social forces in their city. The first objection, one that most often finds expression, is this: "You are dealing with an evil so firmly and long entrenched that you cannot make headway against it." I have been in the office of the prosecuting attorney, and there it was my duty for two years to receive the complaints regarding all sorts of crimes committed in our county. Suppose one of you had come to me and said, "My watch was stolen, and I know who did it, and I want you to indict So-and-so for the crime of larceny," or, "My brother was murdered last night and I want the help of the strong arm of the district attorney to indict the offender." Suppose I said to you in reply, "My dear fellow, I remember that in the beginning, larceny was committed as the first crime of man," or, "Murder was the next crime. These are ancient crimes. Do you seriously think we are going to be able to stop the commission of larceny and murder?" What would you have said and done? I will tell you. I would have lost my job and have deserved to lose it, too. I see absolutely no difference between the commission of one of these crimes and the commission of the other. We frankly admit we are dealing with an ancient evil, that it is deeply and securely entrenched, but because we see it is an evil and because you admit it, we say we must war against it as we must war against other evils of our time, not only now but for centuries to come.

Again you question: "Suppose we close our segregated district, what happens? Do we then scatter vice throughout the entire city, and so cause our latter state to be worse than our first?" That depends upon circumstances. It can be so managed that if your police power and your other authorities wish they can prevent it. In no city I know where the segregated district was closed has there been produced the condition described. Only three days ago I was in conference with the Chief of Police of Atlanta. While I was in New Orleans, which has its segregated district, I had been told by a police official that the chief of police of Atlanta had said that present conditions in that city were infinitely worse than when the segregated district was in existence. I asked him if he had made that statement, and if it were true. He replied that neither was correct, he had not made the statement, and it was not true; he had not said and did not think it; that conditions were substantially better than a year ago. He said, "We have absolutely eliminated prostitution in the district itself, and I believe there is no more prostitution outside the district than before it was closed." I talked with a gentleman who had gone thoroughly into the matter and had been wise enough to have made a survey of conditions in the city before the segregated district was abolished, who told me that it was reported that after the closing of the segregated district certain

hotels had been turned into houses of assignation. We looked up the records of the survey and found in every instance that the hotel was known as a house of assignation before the segregated district was closed. It merely happened that the attention of some people had been drawn to conditions outside the district which they had not known before. In the city of Duluth, Minnesota, the chief of police, who had closed the segregated district, said to me that, in his judgment, there was less prostitution outside the confines of the segregated district than there had been when the district existed. The net result had been the elimination of considerable prostitution without in the slightest degree endangering the morals of the rest of the city. And not only is there this much gain; there is other gain also. Three years ago I wrote to Des Moines and Lincoln, where the segregated districts had been closed, asking them the results. From both I learned that the closing of the segregated district had been not only of direct moral benefit, but had resulted in the departure from the city of a group of criminals formerly harbored in the district. So there was a substantial gain not only in morality but also in law and order.

Conclusive Reasons for Repression

May I cite one or two reasons why we stand absolutely and without question of flinching for the closing of the segregated district? Because we know the conditions existing there. We know what an infamy it is, and how it works for the demoralizaiton of a community. We know the segregated district in our country never is really a segregated district. It is a group of houses called so, but other people who are perfectly respectable although poor, are compelled to live there and are affected by it. Japan is the only country that builds high walls about its segregated districts and forces those who belong in the district to keep within them and does not allow outsiders or children to get in. Yet an eminent American who has lived long in that country tells us that in spite of their best efforts prostitution has extended beyond the confines of the walls of the segregated districts and they are seriously doubting whether it is worth while to continue that policy.

Last night, with some others of this convention, I went through the segregated district of this city. I saw people who evidently were engaged in honest means of gaining a livelihood mingling on the streets with women whose painted faces declared their vocation. I saw little children within range of the conversation of these women when soliciting passers-by. As I saw those children, I said to myself in fifteen or twenty years from now some of those children may be in the criminal courts of this city, their moral sense so perverted that they will have committed theft, their respect for women so shattered they will be up before the courts on some charge of assault against

a woman, or perhaps the example of indulgence all around them will have so destroyed their self control that they will be up for murder. The court will consider the evidence against them, and they will doubtless be convicted. But there will be one defendant in the case that will not be before the court, and that will be the defendant who was accessory before the fact and who, according to our law, is equally guilty, and that will be this city. I say to you what I am saying no less directly to others.

I had a similar experience in another city. A young fellow was in my office one day, arrested on the charge of grand larceny. It happened that because I had lived on the East Side formerly and knew his haunts I thought perhaps I could do something for him. He had stolen ninety-nine dollars from his employer and wanted to give it back. I learned that when he was a boy of eleven his mother had died and that for two years he was on the streets of the city and had received the education that the streets provide for the young. "Finally," he said, "my father committed me to an institution for two years, and when they thought I had been sufficiently restrained and influenced, I was let out and was given a start in life as messenger boy in the district telegraph service." He had been sent up into the tenderderloin district where the habitues of the tenderloin became his associates, and he said "You know how that is likely to affect a young fellow. I did not realize it, but gradually I lost all idea of what I ought to do, and when temptation came I fell." I said to myself that the real defendant who should be in the box was the city, and not that unfortunate boy.

One final reason let me give. You allow this segregated district to exist. Do you realize that it exerts an influence not only in this city but in the surrounding country, covering a substantial area? It is known among the country folks that they will find a district here and all kinds of stories are abroad about it, and that it is the place to visit if a boy wishes to show himself a courageous young man. Here the country boy comes and is debauched by the great city. We have, I am sorry to say, continually brought to our attention instances of girls from the country who go astray. They are apt to be girls not very well provided for in their homes, less equipped as to education and mental capacity for their own protection. After unfortunate experiences at home, they come to the city and look around for a chance to do something. They have not much capacity to do anything, but they are the ones who are most likely to learn that there is one way by which it is easy to earn a livelihood. They have been told, as I have occasion to know, that if they will go into that segregated district they can find there an opportunity to earn a livelihood and to earn as much in a single day as girls better educated are able to earn in a week. Think of the debauchery that results from the knowledge of that fact among the country girls!

There can be no doubt on the part of any of us who have had contact with this problem as to what our attitude must be. It must be without

question one of relentless hostility, however great the difficulties, however long the fight. And we must do all in our power to educate those who have blindly imagined that they were promoting public morality in tolerating this awful iniquity.

MISS MINER: Women are more and more going out into the world and making their influence felt. Among those who have pointed the way to effort for many women is Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, who has worked so effectively in co-operation with the Juvenile Court in Lexington, Kentucky.

A NEW HOPE

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky.

In facing the social evil today we are possessed of a new hope: we have knowledge that no previous generation has had. First, the appalling knowledge of the extent of the evil resulting from prostitution. This has awakened the public conscience and has forced in on the common sense of our people a determination to grapple with and finally, it may be, to eradicate it, if only in the interest of the health and efficiency of the race. Second, we have the wonderful knowledge that physicians have never given to any other generation that prostitution is not necessary for one-half the race, as was formerly believed to be the case.

Public Opinion the Opinion of Both Sexes

I think that one of the other notable signs of the day is that public opinion is no longer the opinion of one sex, but of both. In former days all avenues for the expression and the formulation of public opinion were in the possession of men. Women first broke into public opinion through the writing women—the geniuses of the race, the George Elliotts and George Sands.

Today, speaking generally, the law-making bodies and the press, the two most effective agencies for the expression of public opinion, are in the hands of men: and many parts of our country are denying themselves the distinct advantage of adding the woman's point of view to the man's point of view. This accounts to some extent for the shocking conditions of our sex laws in some sections,—for the fact that sex laws have not kept pace with the ethical advance of the community. It accounts to a lesser extent for the prevalence of the "unwritten law" so frequently invoked in southern states in recent years for the pro-

tection of those who have committed crimes of violence in order to avenge themselves or members of their family on the betraying lover, the faithless husband or wife, the violator of the home.

I remember a little while back three such crimes were committed down in Texas, and it occurred to me to find what was the age of protection for girls in Texas: it was pertinent. I found it was fifteen years. In most of our southern states,—there are a few notable exceptions—the age of protection goes down, to sixteeen years in my own state and in Virginia, fifteen in Texas and the Carolinas, and twelve in Georgia. I do not believe the men, the fathers of these southern states, believe that fifteen is a sufficient age of protection for their daughters. I believe they simply mean to protect their daughters by the conventions of society and in more primitive ways,—with their own right arms.

But it has not taken the women of the enfranchised states long to see the principle that all law-making bodies and law-administering men have been able to see with regard to a girl's property rights: that she should not be allowed to sell, give away, or in any way despoil herself of her material possessions, until she has reached years of discretion. The mothers of these enfranchised states have realized that there is one thing of more importance to a girl than material possessions can ever be, and have quickly enacted this realization into law. In Colorado at the first session of the legislature after the enfranchisement of women, the first law ever introduced by a woman legislator was a law raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen years, which was at once enacted. The other suffrage states followed suit. In the nine enfranchised states the age of protection is as high as eighteen in seven, and it is twenty-one in one of these.

Though our law-making bodies in most of the states of the Union, and our daily press in all are still in the hands of men, with the coming of the cheap magazine our writing women have increased by the score and our women's opinion is forcing itself into print, and to the front through such organizations as this Conference. Women have learned the trick of co-operation from men and are organizing themselves into such bodies as the Federation of Women's Clubs, National and International Woman Suffrage Associations, Councils of Women, etc., and are giving expression to their views from the platform and through special publications.

Mothers Determined

I believe I have never felt more hopeful than a few years ago when I attended a conference of the Federation of Women's Clubs in Cincinnati on sex hygiene. The hall was crowded with women and they were approaching the subject, not in the hysterical way we had supposed women would approach it, but were learning carefully from the experts present—physicians and scientists—the ways in which they might best approach it, the most reasonable and practical next steps

to take. For the first time I felt a great hope that this dragon which has stood so long in the path of civilization was at last to be conquered. For I agree with the English poet that the female of the species is fiercer than the male, when it comes to the protection of her young and that fathers and mothers standing together, equally informed and equally armed with the weapons of civilization, to safeguard their children will finally come off victorious.

Solidarity of Women

I consider another hopeful sign of the times to be the growing consciousness of solidarity on the part of women, the growing sense of responsibility of women fortunately placed for the conditions under which other women are living and working and suffering. I believe there are many comfortable women today who cannot remain long so comfortable, because they are beginning to realize that the leisure they have, the freedom from the household drudgery of their grandmothers is bought at the price of the work of little children and of other women working long and exhausting hours in unsanitary conditions, and for a mere pittance of wage. The comfort of these comfortable women has been disturbed by the facts brought to us by committees that have investigated industrial conditions, such as those in the canning factories of New York, for instance, which resulted in the passage of better laws by the last legislature of New York. That committee showed that in the canning industry women worked not only as in the department stores of the great cities, through the long days and weeks of the Christmas season, but through the months of the canning season, when one rush month succeeded another, when women and little children worked not one long day, but many long days in succession, days of twelve and fourteen, and sixteen and actually in one instance of twenty-three and a half hours of the twenty-four.

The Minimum Wage

The comfort of these comfortable women has been shocked by the facts brought out by the vice investigation commissions. One commission made an inquiry in Illinois, and took testimony as to the ability of girls to live on a certain fixed sum,—I believe $12.00 was under consideration.

The manager of a certain firm that employs some two thousand girls and women was arguing that $8.00 was a sufficient wage. He adduced the budget of two of his girls who earned this sum to prove his contention. The first girl paid $3.00 for her board, 60 cents for carfare, a fraction over 5 cents for breakfast, 12 cents for luncheon and 20 cents for dinner, and had $1.70 left for incidentals. Incidentals meant clothing in a long, severe winter like that of Chicago and neat clothing, for a girl in order to hold her position must be neat; it meant laundry unless she did her own laundering at night. It meant any little in-

dulgence for herself or any assistance which she might desire to give some other member of her family, or some fellow worker less well situated than herself. It meant those sad incidentals of the poor, the druggist's and the dentist's and the doctor's bills. The second budget showed that this girl had managed better. She has gotten both food and lodging for $3.00—fortunately the budget of the boarding-house keeper was not adduced; she did not have to pay street car fare; she had a certain amount for laundry, and she effected a saving of twenty-five cents. One member of the investigating committee was much impressed and asked to be allowed to go over the schedule again. He found that there had been a miscalculation, that even then 5 cents was not accounted for "which", as he said, "she probably spends for frivolous purposes." When we remember that a great number—in fact, the majority of these women workers are not old, or even middle-aged women, content to hold on to a bare thread of existence, simply to keep body and soul together if they may; but that they are young women, like our own young people, with the eager hopes and desires of youth, with the springtime of life pulsing in their veins, and when we remember that commercialized and organized vice is waiting for them, with its pitfalls laid on every street corner, in the background of every picture show and dance hall, we must feel that there is some connection between the wages paid to working women and the social evil. We are told by some social investigators that it is not a prime factor, that there are other much more important factors, as for instance, low mentality in the girls, lack of skill and training, poor home surroundings. But we know that the condition of the wage-earner generally is an important factor; and we welcome gladly those new social experiments such as minimum wage laws, welfare and industrial commissions, and look forward hopefully to the time when laws for the benefit of the worker, limiting the hours of work, insisting upon humane conditions, fixing a minimum wage even, will no longer embody sex discrimination: when through them the condition of the head of the family may be improved and home conditions made better: when because of them girls will be kept longer in the home, the period of education and training be prolonged and they be better fitted for life.

Recreation

It is another hopeful fact that the public is no longer able to shake off all responsibility for the conditions under which recreation is provided for the people. That we are trying for better regulation and supervision of the commercial agencies for providing pleasure for the people, and are beginning ourselves to assume responsibility for public recreation; to work consistently in the cities for more parks and playgrounds; and in the cities and country to have our school buildings turned over, in the hours they now stand idle, for the use of the people, both adults and young people, for recreational purposes.

Men's Responsibility

But perhaps the most hopeful of all the signs of the day is the *symptom*, if I may so term it, which we saw in our meeting yesterday morning, of the fact that there is a growing body of men who are going at this task in a determined fashion, who are helping to get and to enforce wise legislation, who are continually trying to bring the new truths to the young men of our day, who are building up a social conscience, a public opinion, that will demand responsibility of men as of women for unsocial acts.

I can never forget a few hours spent in the night court of New York where a woman was on trial for a felony: keeping a disorderly house in connection with a tenement house; a bridge connected the two. If proven guilty, she would be sentenced to a number of years in the penitentiary. A part of the evidence of the plain-clothes man was that when he went into a room of the house where she was arrested a man was sitting there with his coat off and that he got up, and put his coat on, and went out. He went out "unspotted before the world," so far as the world knew, innocent in its eyes, unaccused of the law. While the woman, whose crime was that she had provided the place to which he might go in, from which he might come out when he chose, stood there before us facing a punishment of which she realized the full gravity, as we could see by her manner and the nervous twitching of her face.

I think we must rely upon the men of our communities more than upon the women to bring about this new sense of social responsibility in our men, for men's acts, the consciousness that this is, as was stated yesterday, even more a man's problem than a woman's problem.

A Local Illustration

I have lived in a college town. In my own town is situated the State University of Kentucky and the Transylvania University, the first college founded west of the Alleghenies. Great numbers of young men come to that town every year. I have become a little despairing; but a new hope was given me yesterday, when I thought how such men as those present and others like them would go in the succeeding years to the young men in our schools and colleges and give them these new facts, these new ideals; which these young men would accept because they are the ideals of brave and strong men as well as of clean men. And that so the slow and painful work of education, on which in the last analysis we must rely, would go forward more rapidly.

I have seen successful our feeble efforts to cope with this great evil; our effort to prevent the taking into houses of prostitution girls younger than the law allows; our effort to stop the sale of liquor in these houses; our effort to remove such houses from close proximity to our schools and colleges. I have seen an effort, successful for a time, certainly, to limit the supply by preventing the bringing

down of girls from the mountain towns and counties of which Lexington is the seaport, the gate of entrance into the outside world. I have seen these things, and I have seen a law passed to prevent the issuance of liquor licenses in the segregated district. And lately I have seen, in this very year, the practical annulment of that law by the further granting of licenses to saloons within a block of places from which they had been removed. I am informed that our efforts to confine vice are within a few months already futile; that houses of prostitution have sprung up again all over town. We have simply proven again in our town and in our own experience, what has been proven elsewhere time and time again: that segregation does not segregate; that it gives a false sense of security only.

I hope tonight that every southern man and woman in this audience may have taken from what we have heard new heart of hope and a new resolve. That we may go out from this meeting with a determination to secure in our southern states laws that better protect our young men and young women, and to take all those difficult steps that have nearly made us despair at home—to secure the institutions needed to care for the women and to train them to economic independence, the many necessary laws so hard to get and so much harder to enforce. I hope especially that there may be no man or woman present from any southern city who does go forth, after what we have heard tonight, with a new determination to make war upon the red light district, as upon the whole great evil of prostitution, and to continue that war no matter how many times defeated, how many times driven back, how many times we may stumble and fall, until finally it has reached its ultimate necessary consummation of victory.

MISS MINER: We hope that things are going to happen as a result of these meetings, and that we are going back to our homes, some in Memphis, some in remote cities, to awaken personal and social responsibility for the protection of girls and actually help in this war upon vice.

Causes of Prostitution
Section, May 11, 9:00 A. M.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL FACTORS IN PROSTITUTION

Edith R. Spaulding, M. D., Resident Physician, Reformatory for Women, South Framingham, Mass.

That a better knowledge of the mental and physical characteristics of the prostitute herself could be obtained, and the causes as well as the results of her life be understood, the following study was undertaken. 243 women who have recently been inmates at the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women have been studied. All cases were included in which at any time there had been a history of commercialized, promiscuous sex immorality. Only those cases were discarded in which

the physical examination was incomplete, if history obtained gave no evidence of disease.

A study such as this does not aim to discover the fundamental physical or mental causes of prostitution as a social problem in the community. Such a problem is too involved to be considered from this limited standpoint. Recognizing, however, the fact that there is the demand in society, this aims to show the types of women from whom the supply is obtained and the benefits which may be derived for the community by further study and treatment of such types.

The 243 cases studied have received a mental examination. This has included the history of their educational advantages and a study of the results obtained, as well as psychological tests which estimate native ability aside from formal educational training. In all doubtful cases or in cases in which there appeared to be mental defect the Binet-Simon tests have also been used. As a result of these examinations the cases have been roughly classified as follows:

Mentality	Good	55 cases	22.6%
"	Fair	29 cases	11.9%
"	Dull	40 cases	16.5%
"	Subnormal	71 cases	29.2%
	Moron	7 cases	19.8%
	Imbecile	1 case	

Results of Study at South Framingham

As will be seen from the preceding figures, about a third of the cases showed fair or good mentality. These cases have been studied in detail for evidence of other mental and nervous defects aside from mental deficiency. The results will be given later. Nearly half of the cases studied were found to be defective mentally. This corresponds to the results of the investigation of the White Slave Commission* made recently in Massachusetts in which 51% of 300 cases studied mentally were found to be defective and represented segregable types. We should consider at least one-quarter of our own cases segregable from a standpoint of mental defect alone, and besides these perhaps another 20% candidates for a defective-delinquent institution, if such a classification should include those cases which show marked psychopathic tendencies associated with subnormal mentality. The cases which are considered segregable types appear to be unable to care for themselves in the community. Besides the harm which may be done to them on account of their weakened resistance they become an active menace to others,—first, through the spread of venereal disease; second, through their immoral influence in the community; and third, through bringing into the world children who will grow up to be as much a menace to society as they themselves have been. It should be the responsibility

* Report of the Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, so-called.

of representative members of society to see that provision is made for the care of such individuals, and that they are not punished for offenses for which they can in no way be considered responsible.

Besides the cases showing mental defect alone, there are many cases among both the mentally defective and those showing normal mentality, which show other defects, such as epilepsy, hysteria and psychopathic tendencies. In the study of criminality of all kinds such abnormal mental and nervous conditions play an important part. This is especially true of the class of women who are arrested on account of sex offenses. In the environment of mill towns and certain sections of large cities from which a large part of this population comes, the temptations which appeal to sex are tremendous, even to the individual who has a normal mentality and is well balanced. If through such conditions as slight mental dullness or extreme nervousness, the equilibrium is disturbed, the power of resistance is lost and the individual is unable to cope with the temptations which are usually about her.

Evidences of Social Instability

29 cases, or 11.9% of the 243 cases studied, have given a history of epilepsy; 28 cases, or 11.5%, have hysteria. Both conditions are very important as factors of social instability. The variability of epileptics and the extremes of which they are capable are well known to students of criminology. Many times we find cases suggesting a latent epilepsy among individuals in whose families there are other cases of the same disease. In these cases we see only what appear to be psychic manifestations or perhaps only great irregularity in tests and behavior.

The cases of hysteria are also interesting on account of their extreme suggestibility. It is only necessary to watch the manifestations of this characteristic in an institution to realize what an important factor suggestibility has been in the outside world in leading to their delinquencies. Mental imagery in such cases is of immense importance. One case of hysteria which we had under observation while in her attacks of *unconsciousness* would often repeat (naming a woman who was living a life of prostitution outside), "Mary, I will come to you; I will give up my child; there is nothing else for me in the world and I will come to you and do as you say". In studying her mental processes the pictures which had been drawn for her of luxury and gaiety in such a life were continually before her, too strongly contrasted with any reasonable pictures which it was possible for us to conjure up for her.

Aberrational Types

Another important class is that which includes the border line cases, which have perhaps never been satisfactorily classified. Among the cases there were 5 distinctly aberrational, who might be classified as psychopathic personalities. Three of the total number

have been transferred to insane hospitals. Eighteen cases showed marked instability and eight cases could be classified as "control defectives.

The summary of the abnormal cases is as follows:

Giving history of epilepsy	29 cases	12.0%
Giving history of hysteria	28 cases	11.6%
Psychopathic personalities	5 cases	14.1%
Transferred to hospitals for the insane	3 cases	
Markedly neuropathic	15 cases	
"Control defectives"	12 cases	
Total		37.7%

The term "control defective" we have borrowed from the terminology at the Elmira Reformatory. It expresses well the explosive nature of such cases which may be seen when, without provocation, they attack any person who happens to incur their enmity, whether she be officer or other inmate, or when by unreasonableness and loss of temper they bring unruliness and the necessity for discipline into an otherwise peaceful and well behaved group. Many of these cases come from families in which there are many cases of insanity, and although they, themselves, show no signs of a definite psychosis, there appears to be much inherited instability. Other cases show the results of a meningitis or an encephalitis which they have had in childhood. Occasionally we see cases in which the instability apparently followed a head injury. Besides these cases there are many who have previously been confined in hospitals for the insane and who represent very unstable types. They may or may not have defective mentality associated with the defect in self-control. They are one of the hardest classes of cases to deal with in institutions of any kind. The officers of penal institutions recognize their abnormality and feel that they should be confined in insane hospitals because of their dangerous character. On account of the lack of a definite psychosis the insane hospitals naturally take them very unwillingly. Even though they show marked mental defect, institutions for the feeble-minded are unwilling to admit them because of the demoralizing effect they produce on the more amenable types and the upsetting influence they have upon the institution routine. Many of these cases will doubtless be sent to defective-delinquent institutions when those institutions shall at last be established. Whether the defect is a mental one or a nervous one matters little as respects their menace to society. The following case may be cited as an illustration of such a type:

A woman was arrested for assault after trying to throw vitriol in her lover's eyes. At that time she was taken from the jail to a hospital for the insane because she had marked hallucinations of sight and hearing. These at that time were thought to be of alcoholic origin and disappeared quickly. She was transferred to the Reformatory

where she had previously served another sentence. At various times since her confinement there she has assaulted other inmates and matrons, often violently. Recently after such an attack on a matron she apparently seemed ignorant of what she had done. While she acknowledged having attacked people in the past, she felt that this time they had attacked her. A few days later she was found in a vague, although rather savage, mental condition, with marked delusions. She had had hallucinations of sight and was not oriented as to time or place. The woman is subnormal mentally and it would have been hardly possible for her to have feigned the condition. That evening, becoming annoyed at something, she flew into a tremendous rage which was much more characteristic of her usual self than the previous dazed condition had been. Her violent temper seemed to bring her to herself, and the next morning she could recall but faintly what she had said the day before, although she remembered vaguely being much frightened at what she thought she had seen in her room. Two days later she laughed at what she was told she had said, realizing the ridiculousness of it and could hardly believe it was true. Whether the condition had an hysterical or an epileptic basis (alcohol was ruled out by her long stay in the institution) nevertheless, while it lasted she was wholly irresponsible and it can easily be seen what a menace such an individual would be in a community.

Thus, over 37% of the 243 cases studied represent aberrational types of greater or less intensity. It can readily be understood what a factor such types would be in furnishing individuals of weakened resistance to help fill the demand for prostitution.

Few Normal on Close Study

Of the 84 cases showing apparently normal mentality, 47 cases when studied further have revealed the following characteristics,—

Hysteria	17 cases
Epilepsy	7 cases
Psychopathic types	5 cases
Neuropathic types	10 cases
"Control defectives"	8 cases

Of the 37 cases remaining, 23 show innate characteristics which, combined with the unfortunate conditions of home environment in which they were placed, were apparently responsible for their delinquency. The innate characteristics of these cases include the following: the aggressive, untamed personality with primitive passions; the woman who has gone through life "with a chip on her shoulder" believing that the "world owed her a living"; the sensual type which has overdeveloped physical characteristics; the immature personality, non-resisting in temperament (often called the weak-willed) which is unable to appreciate and shoulder responsibility; excessive vanity and love of pleasure in an indolent nature or the craving for excitement and applause

and the love of leadership with only undesirable avenues open in which to exercise it. Three cases were due largely to home environment alone. In these cases there has been immorality between different members of the family. 5 cases were due to the environment in the community alone,—with an apparently good home environment a single bad companion or group of companions had definitely influenced them to lead immoral lives. Eleven cases appear to be due to the environment in the home and in the community or to a chain of untoward circumstances and were apparently normal types.

The last group of 37 cases, those with normal mentality and without marked nervous defect, represents but 15% of the 243 cases studied. Considering that those cases which show poor mental ability are perhaps not able to cope fairly with their environment on account of their slight mental defect, we find 85 per cent of the cases studied showing some underlying defective mental or physical factor. We do not believe that this represents to any extent the cause of prostitution, for there are doubtless large numbers of individuals in the community with the same mental and physical defects who are not leading such a life. Still we feel that this class of women if not sufficiently protected, represents the ones who are first (on account of their weakened resistance) to offer themselves to fill the demand. It may be interesting to note in this connection, that although all of these cases have been studied from a social standpoint and their own reasons for going into such a life have always been inquired into, in only two cases have we been able to find any definite relation between the economic conditions and the choice of this means of livelihood.

The Physical Aspect

As complete a clinical history as possible has been obtained from each woman and has been supplemented in as many cases as possible by laboratory tests to determine the extent of venereal disease. If the clinical history or the laboratory findings have given evidence of venereal disease the individual has been considered to have the disease without the verification of both methods. As has been stated before, those cases in which there was no evidence of disease, but in which it was impossible to make a complete physical examination, have been discarded. As a result of these examinations we have found only one case which, after complete examination, did not show the presence of either disease. Thus over 99½% of the cases show the presence of one of the two venereal diseases. 134 cases or 55.8% gave evidence of having had both.

Of 233 cases which were examined for syphilis 229 or 98.2%, gave evidence of having had the disease. The results of the examinations for syphilis are as follows:

Number of cases giving evidence of the disease clinically or having a positive Wassermann reaction..229 or 98.2%
Number of cases giving positive Wassermann reaction .....225 or 96.6%
Number of cases giving positive history or presenting symptoms of the disease .....168 or 72.1%
Number of cases which were verified by both history and Wassermann reaction .....162 or 69.5%
Number of cases giving a negative Wassermann reaction and presenting no clinical evidence of the disease ..... 4 or 1.8%

Of 223 cases examined for gonorrhoea 216 (96.8%) gave evidence of having had it. The results in detail are as follows:

Number of cases giving evidence clinically or bacteriologically of the disease.....216 or 96.8%
Number of cases which gave a clinical history of the disease .....209 or 93.7%
Number of cases verified by bacteriological examination .....159 or 71.3%
Number of cases verified by both methods.....152 or 68.17%
Number of cases examined clinically and bacteriologically which gave no evidence of the disease... 7 or 31%

If only the cases were selected in which it was possible to obtain complete examinations both clinically and by laboratory methods also, these percentages would undoubtedly be much higher. However, as they stand at present they represent a great factor in the problem of prostitution. Statistics show that from 8.65% to 22% of first admissions in hospitals for the insane are cases with general paresis which is considered psychosis resulting from syphilis. This factor alone should make us realize the importance of the treatment of such a disease in the community and the necessity for hospitals (as pointed out by the report of the White Slave Commission of Massachusetts) where people could be invited to come for the treatment of this disease as well as for gonorrhoea. At present, as is only too well known, there are very few hospitals where either of these diseases are treated, and it will be remembered that these are the only contagious diseases which have not been made reportable by the board of health.

In studying the lives of these individuals for the factors which have determined their mode of life, there are several physical characteristics which should be mentioned. First, the perfectly normal condition of adolescence is always to be taken into consideration. In many cases of individuals with less than normal stability and insufficiently protected environment, it has been the adolescent tendencies which have been the dominant factor in determining their life. Again, the factor of too early development has often been seen. Puberty appears before the inhibitions which come with adolescene have had time to be correspondingly developed. This is a very noticeable factor in the study of such cases found in the Juvenile court and has been recognized in our own cases and verified by the histories obtained from the parents of the individual. Besides these factors there is the type in which

the physical characteristics predominate from birth. While it may be possible for these individuals to have their energy directed along constructive lines, it is often impossible to reach them and recognize their struggles until habits of an unfortunate nature have been irrevocably formed in their lives.

Summary

In viewing the 243 cases, which we appreciate represent the types which come to Reformatories and are not necessarily characteristic of all types of prostitutes in society, we find the following facts: 49% were defective mentally; 16.5% were dull; 47 of the remaining 84 cases with normal mentality showed other mental and nervous defects. Only 15% of the whole number appeared to be normal mentally and physically. Probably 40% could be considered segregable types and should be placed permanently, or at least during the child-bearing age, in custodial institutions. If these cases who are apparently unable to care for themselves could be removed from the community, we believe the supply for prostitution would be materially lessened and that such a movement would be a help in attacking the problem.

As has already been said, practically 100% of the cases studied show the presence of at least one of the two venereal diseases, while over 55% show the presence of both.

Of the cases studied for evidence of syphilis over 65% had had the disease. Of those studied for gonorrhoea over 98% gave evidence of having had it. Should we not recognize the far-reaching results of such diseases in the community and use every means possible to help eliminate them?

No one disputes the fact that the problem of prostitution is largely a moral one and must be solved through educational methods. However, while we believe that certain conditions can be much alleviated, we believe also that the problem will never be fully solved from the moral standpoint alone. The most crying need of the present time is in the mental and physical aspect of the situation and we believe that the greatest possible emphasis at this time should be laid on these factors and their great menace to society.

SOME SOCIAL CAUSES OF PROSTITUTION

Mary Willcox Glenn, New York City.

"We pass through periods dominated by this or that word—it may be development, or it may be competition, or education, or purity, or efficiency, or even sanctity. It is the word of the time." So writes a master of the right use of words. And in beginning this paper I am confounded not by a dominant word, but by a dominant phrase of the time, which, when made by me the subject of analysis, seems

under the process so to gain in complexity as to become a congeries of unsubstantial conjectures. I am brought to realize, therefore, that whatever may be the expectations of my hearers, the length I am prepared to go in analyzing any one social cause of so great an evil as prostitution is provokingly and inconclusively short. It would seem wise for me, therefore, to drop at once so ambitious a phrase as social causes, and speak very simply of some conditions which in my own experience as a case-worker I have found in individual instances to have led to prostitution. Given my lack of preparedness and of penetration, it may be granted that the consideration of the subject from the angle of the individual approach is permissible, even though no generalizing social data be drawn from the consideration of the individual case.

The outstanding fact that has bitten into my mind in considering varied cases has been the poverty of the lives that have headed towards so shameful a disaster. Poverty of experience and of preparation, poverty of background and of neighborhood resources, poverty of mind and of character. What is meant by this poverty of life is best explained by illustrations drawn from the lives of a meagre handful of girls and women.

Individual Instances

They will be nameless to us, these two young women who lived with their parents on a small western farm and got their education at the country school. When they were old enough to become wage earners, they started to work in the nearby town, but as they were ambitious to have a bigger experience and opportunity than could be got in their immediate vicinity, first one and then the other came to New York to seek work. It was through the night court that a co-worker was first brought into relation with one of the two girls, but later it was the girl herself who, acting as do so many other girls who have been drawn into evil living, sought out the court worker in order that she might get help to prevent her sister from following in her path. There had been in the girl's experience no one thing that had made the choice of prostitution seem sharply inevitable. Just little by little she had deviated from her course, and the drift had been easy because there was no group of associates to bring home a realization that she was losing caste. She could and did hold a job that gave support, she did have the farm to return to, but she lacked two essentials for safe living under strange conditions,—she had no experience which enabled her to count the cost of ephemeral pleasure, and she had no depth of respect for herself. Her dawn of realization came with the consciousness that she had her sister to protect and through the act of fidelity came her own chance of redemption.

There is another girl from the country who came to the city not

to seek work but to find a hospital in which to give birth to her first child. She was not one of the forlorn company that turns to the incurious metropolis in order that shelter may be found in which identity will lose itself, for she felt no call to hide her shame. She was inured to shame because her family has for at least three generations been well known to local poor law officials as one in which shiftlessness, inebriety and immorality are constant factors. From the maternity ward she was sent to a rescue home, from the rescue home to a psychopathic ward, from the psychopathic ward to another rescue home; and in each she was under observation so that it might be determined if she had such a degree of feeble-mindedness as would make her subject to admission for life to a custodial asylum. Quick of temper, weak in intellect, subject to strange hallucinations, fiercely devoted to her child at one time, repelled by it at another, as she was; she ought not to have been allowed to go back to her own home, nor should she have been allowed to go at large in the city. She could not have supported her own child; she could not have given it suitable care if she had been aided to support it. The question that was asked in her behalf insistently until the sheltering doors of the custodial asylum did open to admit her were: Have we reached the point when we do stand ready to commit to an institution until the age of child-bearing is passed, a mentally defective girl, who, superficially observed, appears capable of taking her place in the community, but who under observation is found to be unable either to support or to protect herself? Are we developing a power of diagnosis that makes it possible for us to determine accurately the real mental condition or the degree of moral obtuseness in a girl whose mental and moral condition does baffle the general practitioner?

She was a young married woman, our third nameless instance of poverty of life, who voluntarily committed herself to a reformatory institution when she realized that she had lost the power to resist the temptation to drink and to earn money by prostitution. She committed herself to an institution in order that she might be steadied to be a decent mother of her two little girls. When I think of her I always picture a dim, open-windowed room on a summer's evening, with one lamp burning fiercely at its centre. Around the lamp circle ephemeral moths, which have no power to escape the crumpling death that comes as they flutter in their aimlessness against the hot globe. The poor girl had no preparation for home making, she had worked in a factory and when little more than a child, married an Italian, much older than herself, who was jealously determined that his wife should keep close to the hearth and should judiciously expend the portion of his wages that he set aside for the housekeeping. She was a mere butterfly, a novice to life, and she knew nothing about his mother's way of preparing succulent meals. She had mother wit, however, and she soon did know that he was faithless to her. It is a long

story, one that need not be gone into at greater length here. The point one would make is that the poverty lay in her utter unpreparedness to cope with the conditions of her new life; the beauty lies in the fact that the scorching did not kill but that it purified. For one must add that after leaving the reformatory, she made a brave and continuing fight to learn the rules of life, and that in the fight there stood with her a friend who was determined to help her win.

She had always lived in a poor neighborhood, the young girl of whom I would speak next. She came of decent people and she had the example in her own home of a devoted and self-sacrificing grandmother; but there was much sickness at home and at times lack of money to meet the daily needs. The call of the street was insistent, the glare of the night life on the nearby pleasure-lovers' great thoroughfare was dazzling. Many careful plans were made to protect the girl, to give her her chance away from the old neighborhood, to see the situation eye to eye with her; but there was no clue she herself would give as to what she wanted other than to be let alone to get fun in her own way—and her own way led to ruin. Her paltry ambitions were not different, really, from another girl's I might mention, the difference lies in the background of the two homes. The second girl never had the chance to get in the home any glimmer of what dignity of conduct means. Her father went about his day's work careless as to the surroundings of his home, and the home itself was made in the basement of an apartment house which housed disreputable people. When the girl reached wage-earning age, her mother secured for her the position of telephone operator of the apartment house switchboard. It was only after her mother had died and her father had let her drift, that a step-brother came to realize that this young sister had need of protection. When he did take steps to have her properly cared for, the girl was living with a boy of nineteen who was well known at the neighborhood police station as a tough.

The Cry for a Friend

"It is not so much what you do for me as that you care" was the cry of a woman who had served a term in the workhouse and who made an appeal to a Church society to help her to remake her life. She is one of the body of women that we have got to learn to individualize, that we have to learn to count, each, as one. She emerged from that dark outer circle of our social life in which she had been engulfed for nine years to ask help to live an honest life. Those who considered her task of readjustment felt startled, as they thought of what resoluteness it called for in her to take a place at domestic service and to keep long hours and to accept small pay, and to be separated from any glamour that might soften the sharp lines of humdrum daily life. Even to her secluded home, however, came overtures from one, at least, of the men who had wrecked her. It was not strange that after

a time she drifted back into the dark circle which again engulfed her, so that no clue to her whereabouts could be got by those who yearned to draw her out. Her struggle with the good may be going on, she may yet again seek and find her chance to redeem her life. But her struggle need not be considered to have been in vain. It should serve to strengthen determination to seek and to rescue other wayward women and girls.

One such girl comes especially to mind in this connection. She was committed for immoral conduct to a reformatory and for two and a half years served her term. On leaving the institution she found a position as a telephone operator and was put on night duty. While in the institution she so completely rose above the habit of her old life through the revival and strengthening of her religious faith that one can rest secure in her power to go about her work by day or night unscathed.

"Poor, and Woman, and Alone"

One could continue the recital of the dreary assemblage. One could tell of the German mother who was powerless to control her fifteen-year-old Americanized daughter and who tried to justify her failure by a pathetic account of her fruitless efforts to protect her: "Night after night haf I gone out for her and brought her back. De fader would say 'let her go to the deuce,' but I would search for her till I could do it no more already, and so I give her to the Society." Or one could tell of the young girl whose father had died when she was very young and whose mother went out to work by the day, leaving her daughter to bring herself up as best she might. When the girl, herself, in due time went to work, it was as a domestic in a home where the standard of conduct was low, though the standard of comfort was far above what she had ever imagined. It was not to be wondered at that she should fall under the temptation to appropriate some of her employer's tawdry possessions. Or one could tell of the stunted child of an intemperate, immoral mother, a child that will always bear the scars on her face of the burns she received when but a baby, will always bear the scars on her heart and on her mind of ten years of institution life, of subsequent years in her degraded home, of later years in a correctional institution.

It is such as these who must be tempted to cry "Life can be bitter to the very bone, when one is poor, and woman, and alone."

But there are those, also, who seem wholly to be the victims of evil doers, who are the mere playthings of chance. When one does come in close relation with a woman who has had to bear the ignominy of bringing a nameless child into the world, but who has kept the purity of those whom temptation could not have vanquished, one may get a realization of the impregnable dignity of women who know how to drink bitter cups to the dregs without contamination. To see such a woman hold her child in her devoted arms is to get a glimpse into the

mystery of atonement, is to have an inkling of the wealth of recuperation that comes to the community through the courage and firm purpose of its individual members.

One may feel in hearing these stories that they deal wholly with the penalties paid by girls and women. But if there were time to go more thoroughly into the situation revealed by each of these fragmentary tales, one would be led to give facts relating to the boys and men involved and one would find that the conditions surrounding their involvement were as complex as was the case with the girls and women themselves. One could also substantiate the statement that in each instance every practicable effort was made to bring home to each man that could be reached a realization of the part he had played in the base degrading of a woman. Furthermore, the aid of the police and of the court were evoked whenever there were clues to follow that might furnish evidence and whenever there were evidential grounds for action.

If one review these disconnected stories, one sees how varied are the conditions which surrounded the individual lives. The inability of the family to protect its adventurous members, the readiness with which standards of conduct fall under the impress of impersonal contacts, the losing struggle of the home to safeguard its young in competition with the paltry offerings of the street, the meagreness of the education for home making, the difficulties of adjusting people of markedly different racial habits, the loss of traditional sanctions, ignorance of the laws of sex, faithlessness to marriage vows, demoralizing work conditions, poor pay, the home that is a sham, the home that is broken, the inability of the feeble-minded to protect themselves, the readiness with which in both city and open country stagnant centres of pauperism and crime are allowed to breed their kind—each of these can be seen to have had its part. It is as if one took a cross section of life and picked out in it the factors which are clearly marked as doomed to bring failure. If one were to stop with the mere acceptance of the fact of failure, the irony of the situation would appall.

No need is more clearly brought out by these glimpses into ill directed lives than the need of steadying and enriching family life and of making the preparation for home building more thorough and more discriminating. This subject is very large, and it will find its consideration in another section, as does also the related topic of the neighborhood and its reaction on the youth it harbors.

What May Be Done?

Without intrenching on the ground of the appeal to be made for the "awakening of a new conscience", nor on what may be said by other speakers in this section on the treatment or the prevention of prostitution, I may suggest three lines of action which may lessen one's sense of confusion growing out of this brief presentation of unrelated

social and individual conditions leading to the prostituting of human beings. Because others will speak with authority of the larger social aspects of treatment and of prevention, I shall still hold to the line of individual approach.

First, we can take an accurate census of the feeble-minded and estimate what will be the cost of their institutional care. We can prepare to meet the cost of building and maintaining suitable institutions for training and for custodial care. We can establish psychopathic clinics for the diagnosis and study of the mentally deficient, and we can conduct a tenacious campaign of education as to the need to withdraw feeble-minded men and women from free life in the community.

Second, we can work patiently for a single standard of purity, recognizing that as "man is a social outcome rather than a social unit", fundamental changes in points of view and in attitudes towards moral questions come but as the result of slow and baffling growth. It is, however, eminently practical to work for a single standard of purity, for when the ideal does become imbedded in our social consciousness and is, therefore, imaginatively gripped, it will become the ideal of the crowd.

The fact that we need to bring home to ourselves individually is the fact of our common responsibility. It is not by hot-footed campaigns, by bursts of indignation, by ruthless pulling aside of veils of reticence, that we can make the conquering attack on the world old evil. Therefore, third, we can, temperately considering the intricate question, face squarely our own obligation to enlist for service in order to make a definite, even if it be an inconspicuous, contribution to the fight.

The source of the strength to meet one's obligation in this matter must, to my mind, be a spiritual source, and the real power to steady one's threatened or one's fallen fellows must lie in the preparedness to make the spiritual appeal. If one gather up these pitiable stories I have offered and seek to explain why any result were got in any instance in the effort to pull the individual from her "death in life", one finds the explanation in the fact that sundered lives were brought into relation with the source of life, itself, through the mediation of some one person who had faith in the power of each human being to rise from a dead self into life. To those who served as mediators came a loss of cynicism in the face of genuine struggle against evil.

In the slowly enlarging process of helping to lift the burden of the social evil one can trace this clear defining line—that there shall be an identifying of the interests of rescuer and rescued. For even if the subject has not been approached in this paper from the broader social point of view, the conclusion that one draws is that the community, itself, can not bear with safety and certainly should not bear with equanimity the demoralization of its common life that must

result from the degradation of its weakest members. The stronger members of the community are entangled in the web that the weaker members weave. Loyalty to the community may be taken to imply a realization of responsibility which should carry forward the identification of the interests of one with another till it include the interests of the downmost man and woman.

Treatment of Prostitution
Section, May 13, 9:00 A. M.

THE IOWA INJUNCTION LAW

H. S. Hollingsworth, General Secretary, Associated Charities of Des Moines, Iowa.

I. *What the law is.* Hon. George Cosson, Attorney General of Iowa, was to have delivered this address, but at the last moment was unable to come to Memphis. Very largely the author of the bill, he helped, while a member of the legislature, to put the measure on our statute books. And now in his higher office he is instrumental in making it a success. Under the old injunction law it was incumbent on the state to prove parties guilty of violation. But under this newer and more effective bill it falls to the property owner to prove that the place in question is *not* being used for immoral purposes. The whole procedure is reversed. The effect is drastic.

II. *How the law operates.* Any citizen may file a petition with a court of equity alleging that a certain property is being used for the purpose of prostitution and is a public nuisance. The action is civil rather than criminal. If the assumption is at all warranted a temporary injunction is issued. A time is set for hearing and if the evidence is conclusive the injunction is made permanent.

III. *The effect.* The property may be made unproductive of income for one year. Violation may lead to contempt proceedings and to indictment under the criminal law. The final decree may enjoin the lessee from using the building. A tax of $300.00 is assessed against the real estate and is collectible in the same way other taxes are. Costs of the court action likewise become a lien.

IV. *The results.* This very simple measure has closed every segregated vice district in the state of Iowa. It has made property owners responsible for the character of their tenants. Failure to enforce the law makes public officials subject to ouster proceedings and several mayors in Iowa have actually been removed from office.

So signal has been the victory of the Iowa Injunction Law that many other states have taken up the issue and patterned bills after it. Most notable of all perhaps is the Kenyon Red Light Law for the District of Columbia, put through the national Congress by Iowa's honored and honorable senator, William S. Kenyon.

April 26, 1913, the Minnesota Red Light Injunction and Abatement

Law was passed by the legislature. While modeled for the major part after Iowa's law, it has some improvements which commend it to other states. Social purity leaders highly endorse it. Suffice to say that Iowa will make the necessary amendments to the law as it now is, and that other states yet unorganized in the crusade against segregated and commercialized vice will adopt a perfect measure. And backed by law and the higher social sentiments and instincts of our civilization we will very soon strike dead the insidious monster that today threatens the life of our nation and of every nation.

HOTELS AND THE SOCIAL EVIL

Frederick H. Whitin, General Secretary, Committee of Fourteen in New York City.

Hotels used for immoral purposes are an important factor in the problem of the Social Evil, and the suppression of them is one of the most difficult of the problems in the repression of the evil.

The Chicago Vice Commission declared that the police should immediately suppress all assignation hotels. How the police were to do this, the report did not even attempt to state, for it was a study of vice conditions rather than of law enforcement against vice.

The hotel business being one long recognized by law, the keeper of a hotel must be assumed to be conducting a legitimate business, while a disorderly house can be kept only in violation of law. Hotels, being presumably legitimate, persons may resort there without creating a suspicion that their purpose is immoral, and while there are very few hotels accommodating couples which are not used occasionally by men and women for immoral purposes, the great majority of hotels neither seek nor desire improper business. The cover of apparent respectability given by the legitimate business removes the fear felt by many persons, especially women, of being seen in a suspicious place. If the temptations of hotel and furnished room accommodations could be eliminated, there would be a great reduction of fornication and adultery. Many a woman who later becomes a professional prostitute began the breakdown of her natural reserve in the assignation hotel.

Basis of Operation for Street Solicitation

Without the hotel or furnished room accommodation readily accessible, street solicitation cannot be profitable. This form of the evil is peculiarly bad, for the woman aggressvely seeks her prey when he is least able to resist—in the evening hours and in the amusement sections of the city. The forced closing of the many hotels in New York City which catered to street women has been the cause of a large part of the recent improvement of street conditions. When the Com-

mittee of Fourteen was organized in 1905 to meet the peculiarly dangerous conditions due to the Raines Liquor Tax Law there were 2,577 places licensed to sell liquor as hotels in New York City. This number has been reduced to 1,303, including the legitimate commercial hotels and the many saloon hotels, probably a majority of the whole number which are conducted for men.

It is because the hotel is a legitimate business and because few hotels cater solely to the prostitute and her customer that the suppression of the hotel which caters more rather than less to the illegitimate business, is so difficult. It is almost impossible to draft a law to regulate hotel business which will accomplish the purpose desired—the elimination of the illegitimate business—without imposing severe and unnecessary restriction upon the many commercial hotels. Existing hotel law deals with the duties of the innkeeper to protect the wayfarer, laws which are of ancient origin. The hotel law for the protection of the innkeeper from the "hotel-beat" is much more modern. The law requires innkeepers to furnish, if able, accommodations to all who are able to pay, and the Civil Rights Law seeks to prevent hotel proprietors making race discrimination. The conduct of hotels as regards morals is chiefly regulated by the legal requirements as to evidence of what constitutes an improper hotel. The courts generally hold a hotel to be disorderly and hence one to be suppressed which admits women *known* to the proprietor to be prostitutes. To prove such knowledge it must be shown that the proprietor of the hotel or his clerk knowingly accepted as a guest the same woman twice in one night as the wife of two different men. To avoid the dangers of such knowledge, the person renting the rooms of a hotel doing such business carefully avoids seeing any women guests, they being required to wait in a ladies' waiting room while "the husband" goes to the hotel office to secure accommodation for himself "and wife". Or, if the woman return within twenty-four hours with a second man, she will be refused accommodation. She is more likely, however, to go to some other similar hotel in the neighborhood, one not infrequently conducted by the same proprietor. The provision of the New York State Excise Law that the same room may not be rented twice between 6 P. M. and 6 A. M. is of little effectiveness. Such use is difficult to prove, for the proprietor controls the hotel register and records.

The Boston Licensing Board has recently endeavored to eliminate objectionable business by requiring certain hotels to refuse all couples who, having no baggage, seek accommodation. It is held that compliance with this requirement would necessitate a violation of the law and that it is, moreover, a requirement which can be easily circumvented.

Despite these difficulties, the worst of the disorderly hotels, hotels frequented exclusively by street women, have been closed in New York City. This has been accomplished by the Excise Law provision

that a place convicted of being disorderly may not traffic in liquor for one year thereafter. But it has so far been impossible to reach the many large and notorious assignation hotels. These are frequented by couples of apparent respectability, the woman being far from the prostitute class, and the relationship plainly not a commercial one. Some such couples make regular periodical visits, staying two or three hours each time. These couples when closely observed present many problems. Not infrequently the woman is the older and more experienced of the pair.

Remedy in Law and Public Opinion

The suppression of places of fornication and adultery, hotels and rooming houses, should be made less difficult by making less strict the requirements as to evidence of a disorderly character. Means should also be found to give publicity to their clientele. The proprietor of each hotel and rooming house should be required to keep a register of all guests, which each male guest should personally sign. He should be required to give his correct post office address to be entered on the register, together with the number of the room occupied and the hour of arrival, and on departure, that hour also. Also the fact as to whether the guest has baggage or not should be noted. The use of a false name or address should be made a misdemeanor and a false entry as to baggage and the occupancy of the room should be presumptive evidence that the place is disorderly. Where the police have reason to believe that the register does not correctly state the facts or that seventy-five per cent. of the guests are transient couples, they (the police) should be given the right to inspect the hotel at any time, and particularly to question on their departure any or all guests, requiring of them identification to prove that the name and post office address given at the time accommodation was sought was the true and correct one.

To be just to the hotel proprietors, the Civil Rights Law should be amended so as to give them the necessary power to exercise proper discretion without liability of suit for damages. As the Chicago Vice Commission said: "Immoral hotels must be closed but they will not be closed until public opinion demands their closing and the general public accepts the annoyance which the exercise of proper precautions by the hotel proprietors will necessitate. The whole question of public morals is one of public opinion which must first be educated and then wisely guided."

THE ATLANTA CRUSADE

Joseph C. Logan, General Secretary, Associated Charities of Atlanta, Ga.

In September, 1912, the police of Atlanta closed forty-four recognized houses of prostitution, and proscribed the business of the two hundred and sixty-five women who had occupied them. This act followed

an order of the chief of police who gave it out without consulting the board under which, by Atlanta's charter, the police department is directed. Neither the mayor nor the council had announced any policy respecting the evil, though both were credited with favoring segregation. There was a city ordinance forbidding houses of prostitution, and a state statute of the same import. The chief of police recognized the law as the highest authority to which he was subject.

Notwithstanding his new policy had been advocated publicly by the Men and Religion Committee for six months previous, the chief's order came as a thunderclap. There were many who had not taken the campaign seriously. These deplored the alleged persecution of the women, and predicted dire results to the community; but the campaign which had preceded the action of the police chief had anticipated every criticism and every result which the closing of the houses brought about, and prevented any retroaction.

Persistent Campaign of Men and Religion Movement

This campaign had begun the previous fall in the Social Service Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. This committee first studied the problem until it was unanimous for suppression, and afterwards made a thorough study of the local situation. Two hundred and sixty-five women in recognized houses of prostitution were personally interviewed, and gave statements concerning their previous life, their income and expenses. The board paid by them and the rentals paid by their landladies were learned. The gross annual income of the traffic was figured at $700,000. An officer detailed from the police department assisted in this investigation.

Immediately following the completion of this survey, two investigators were put on the streets, and in ten nights, working an average of two hours each night, these men met twenty-eight different women in bed rooms in hotels, lodging houses, and assignation houses in residence sections. Engagements were made with these women directly on the street, and through cab men, soda fountain clerks, and bell boys. In the meantime the ownership of all the houses had been determined. This investigation cost about $750.

Effective Publicity

Up to this stage no general publicity had been given to the work of the committee, though the evangelical ministers of the city had been kept informed of progress. The executive committee of the Men and Religion Movement now took active direction of the campaign. They collected all available literature on the problem and digested it. When the local information was all in hand, they asked for and secured the appointment of a vice commission by the mayor under authorization of council.

The Vice Commission was rather slow in getting at work but from time to time newspaper items appeared which indicated that its conclusions would be adverse to suppression. But the Men and Religion Committee placed all the facts in its possession and its conclusions before a full meeting of the evangelical ministers of the city. The ministers pledged themselves to see that members of their congregations owning houses of prostitution discontinued such use of their property and to demand from their pulpits an end of the traffic. They also authorized the statement that they would, in event the traffic was discontinued, provide all the women engaged in it with adequate care.

Following this, the committee began the publication every few days of two column, full-page advertisements in all the daily papers. These advertisements, called bulletins, discussed the subject from an emotional, scientific and religious standpoint in the frankest way; and repeatedly called upon those in authority to enforce the law. The action of the ministers, the sensational character of the bulletins, and the anticipated report of the Vice Commission, made a very live issue of the problem. Copies of the Minneapolis Vice Commission report were sent to all the policemen, to city officials, and men of influence who came to the knowledge of the committee as having expressed any opinion on the problem. Any man who said he opposed suppression was liable to get a copy of the Minneapolis report in his next morning's mail.

Administration Takes Action

After the twentieth bulletin and before the report of the Vice Commission was completed, the chief of police acted. Help was personally offered all the women by the ministers, and two special workers were employed to give their entire time rehabilitating them. A home for temporary care was opened, and is still being conducted. About two-thirds of the women left the city. It was mainly the sick, the feeble-minded, the friendless who accepted the help that was offered. In a year's time two hundred and fifty-six women were handled, one hundred and thirty-nine of whom had been engaged in prostitution in recognized houses or in hotels.

The police are still pursuing a policy of strict suppression. Houses of prostitution have been found in residence districts, and closed. It is claimed that others exist, and that clandestine vice has increased, but it becomes more and more apparent that there will be no return to the old policy. The general feeling is that we have got somewhere with the evil and will get further, but not by indifference.

The bulletins have continued, exposing any suspected attempt to subvert the chief of police or his policy. They have voiced the appeal of Christianity for a living wage, and for the abolition of the liquor traffic. To counteract what has been called their fanaticism, a Civic League has been organized "to insure sanity" in the administration of

local affairs. And so with us there still goes on the old contest between the prophets of Jehovah and the prophets of Baal, both claiming to represent the true God, as to what is sanity and justice.

THE CLOSING OF HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION IN KANSAS CITY

Karl L. Schreiber, Superintendent, Parole Department, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Mo.

The taking of a monthly fine or license from keepers of houses of prostitution and the segregation of these houses in a certain part of the city had been in operation for so many years in Kansas City that it was looked upon by many of the citizens as a necessary evil and by others as something to be tolerated. On different occasions there had been an effort made by well meaning people to remove these houses from the city, but in a very short time the agitation would be dropped and the keepers would feel themselves more firmly entrenched.

In the summer of 1913 members of the Council of Women's Clubs, the ministers of the Church Federation and many other prominent business men, under the leadership of Hon. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the National Commission on Industrial Relations, called a meeting in the office of the police commissioners and the chief of police to consider the wiping out of this illegitimate business. At this meeting the question was plainly put to the officials as to whether they approved of the city allowing these immoral houses to be open and receiving fees from them, or whether they thought they should be closed and if they thought so, to close them.

Stock Arguments Refuted

Friends of the keepers of these bawdy houses immediately endeavored to show the injustice of the movement: how these places had been allowed to exist in the community for so many years, and the large amount of money that was invested in them. They endeavored to show the big loss to the owners of the real estate, the large revenue that the city would be deprived of, and the greatest of all reasons advanced was that these poor, unfortunate girls would be thrown out on the world unprepared to take their proper place. Immediately the first three reasons were wiped out as having nothing in their favor and the Board of Public Welfare, with the consent of some of the philanthropic men present, agreed to take care of all the girls until they could be safely placed in comfortable surroundings.

The officials, when confronted by this united effort of the reputable people of the community, ordered the places to be closed within twenty-four hours and to remain closed. The united efforts of the good people

of any community will remove an evil spot from their midst when they fully determine that such a place shall be removed.

The predictions of the friends of these prostitutes were that instead of having them in one district they would scatter into all parts of the city and into houses adjoining those of respectable people because this evil has always existed and always would exist.

Many of the inmates, when the houses were closed, went to different cities, because there is always a demand for this kind of girl. Others moved into different parts of the city and became solicitors on the street. Some went to work, leaving their addresses with friends, and continued to lead immoral lives.

Illegitimate Business Persists

Certain hotels and rooming houses thrived until the court issued injunctions forbidding the landlords to rent them as they had been doing. Other rooming houses were raided and many girls were brought into the court for soliciting on the street. But after a time less vigilance and precaution was given to this "trade" and the town soon became overrun with these girls plying their trade on the street. The city became known as a "street walking" city and many strange girls came to the city as could be noted in new faces that appeared in the court. The older girls, however, who had been prostitutes for years, walked through the main streets apparently with unconcern. Occasionally the police would bring a large number of them in, but the better established and acquainted girls seldom got in court. After these temporary clean-ups the streets would be practically deserted. But every night thereafter more women could be seen on the street until they could again be met with the usual frequency.

The last few months there have been a greater number of girls arrested for street walking than there have for years past and the "clean-ups" of these girls on the streets are occurring more frequently. This city has been short nearly one hundred policemen the last few years, but many new policemen have been added to the force, and this makes the district to be covered much smaller and allows for a better supervision of the beats.

Municipal Reformatory Under Construction

In our city land has been purchased and enough money appropriated by the city to begin the erecting of buildings in the country where it is the intention of the Board of Public Welfare to establish a women's reformatory. Instead of putting these poor, unfortunate girls, when they get a fine, behind the bars in a workhouse situated in the heart of the city, it is planned to have the judges impose a large enough sentence against them so that they can be sent out into the country when they need institutional care and discipline. Here, away from all trace of city life, while the fallen woman is being builded up morally through

friendly control, her physical body will also be strengthened so that she can more easily resist temptation when she is released from the institution. Such a favorable future for many of these girls will make the officers more apt to bring them into court, make the judge more willing to impose a sentence, and give the woman handling the delinquent women in the city a better opportunity to rightly understand the girl she is handling.

There are still some people who claim that the city has been the loser by the removal of the vice district and who are hopeful that the day will soon come when it will be restored, but the general opinion of the people after a year's trial, whether business man, church worker or policeman, and above all from the women of the city, is that they will never again be partakers of the gain that the city might secure through the earnings of their unfortunate sisters.

PROGRESS IN BALTIMORE

J. W. Magruder, General Secretary, Federated Charities, Baltimore, Md.

As a member of the Maryland State-Wide Vice Commission appointed by Governor Phillips Lee Goldsborough, I should not feel at liberty to speak if I were called upon to express a personal opinion or lay down any propositions. Our commission agreed at the outset that until the work was finished and our report issued, we would not talk for publication. What little is given out comes through our chairman, Dr. George Walker. It is understood that I confine myself at this time to a plain statement of the present policy of the Police Department of Baltimore in dealing with vice.

We still have segregation. Under the present administration, however, there has been a suspension of the policy of long standing, by which commercialized prostitutes, known as such and registered at police headquarters, have been notified to appear in court on a given day each year to answer to the charge of violating the law and to pay a stipulated fine. This fine, while conforming to the law, was in reality virtually a license, the amount being graduated from time to time according to the business supposed to be done. The whole proceeding was carried on publicly and according to a general agreement and understanding on the part of the courts, the state's attorney's office and the police department.

Soon after the present Board of Police Commissioners was appointed by the new Governor, the three members addressed themselves to a study of the vice situation and without any talk or noise or spectacular demonstration, deliberately suspended the long standing order. They took up one thing at a time and in a slow but steady, progressive fashion began to close in on commercialized prostitution.

Gradual Restriction

First, the so-called "ladies' day" in court was abandoned. I do not recall the successive steps in their order, but the sale of liquor in disorderly houses was prohibited. Then the doors were closed and the blinds drawn. Then music was eliminated. Then the telephone company was ordered to remove the telephones. Then the order went forth that if an inmate were to die or to drop out no woman could take her place; if a house were closed it could not be re-opened for the same purpose. Finally announcement was made that by a given date an entire street, which for years had been given over to vice, was to be closed to the business. Then a second street was closed up. Other small areas were eliminated. Gradually the recognized segregated districts have been narrowed down to a relatively circumscribed territory, with the process slowly going on.

It is said that at the outset more than one thousand women were in the business. According to the latest reports there are now between three and four hundred. How far the Commissioners will go remains to be seen, but the inference would seem to be that the intention is ultimately to abandon segregation and, so far as the police department is concerned, to wipe out the business of commercialized prostitution. Meanwhile vice is to be stripped of all accessories and of artificial allurements and, if I may say so, compelled to stand solely upon its merits.

REFORM IN LITTLE ROCK

Rabbi Louis Witt, Little Rock, Ark.

About two years ago Mayor Charles Taylor, on his own initiative, appointed a Vice Commission to make a study of the local vice situation and also to recommend some advanced policy of dealing with it. The commission deliberated for some months and issued a report, concluding with the unanimous recommendation that the segregated district be abolished on a specified date. Acting on this recommendation, the mayor closed the district after giving the inmates thereof sufficient time to make plans for their future and also after a committee of men and women had called on the unfortunate girls with offers of help of any sort that would move them to a better environment or a better life. None of the girls would accept the offer. The district is now closed. However, most of the girls simply moved across the river to a municipality that is now separate and independent but was a few years ago a ward of Little Rock, and the district is flourishing there. Morally, therefore, Little Rock has cleansed its area of a vice district; practically it has such a district within a few blocks of the further end of the bridge that joins it to its sister city. There is at present

not even the beginning of a determined or organized movement in the city across the river for the suppression of its district.

It is difficult to tell to what degree the public opinion of Little Rock is back of the mayor and the Vice Commission in the policy of suppression. As a matter of fact, the public was really not prepared for the execution of so drastic and revolutionary a policy as recommended by the commission. Where the doctrine of the absolute necessity of sexual indulgence on the part of the male is so immemorially and inextricably rooted, where a special district for such traffic can be defended on the grounds that it goes back to the beginnings of history and is to be found in every city of every land in our own day, it needs more than the mere issuance of a report by a commission or an edict by a mayor, to gain the support and approval of public opinion. And yet no policy, in this democratic government, can succeed without the pressure of public opinion behind it. The local commission did appoint a special committee to publish and advocate facts and arguments in order to get the citizenship to think on the subject and thus to prepare it for an intelligent reception of the deliberations and the conclusions of the commission when these would finally appear. For local reasons, however, the committee was not able to carry out its designated work.

Action Premature and Public Opinion Unformed

As a consequence, the future of the policy of suppression is rendered somewhat uncertain by the uninformed condition of the public mind. To offset this handicap some follow-up work would be very effective and is urgently needed, but no such work is being done. Most of the business men to whom I have spoken have no faith in the suppression policy and regard it as quixotic and harmful. They argue that there are more girls on the streets than ever before, that there is more venereal disease than ever before, that there are more assignation houses scattered throughout the city than ever before, and that more innocent girls are being ruined than ever before. Our mayor holds to the contrary and he is supported by the chief of police and by the police judge and these are in the position to know. What we need is a body of reliable facts and statistics which can be secured only by a systematic and efficient survey. But the city is not in a position either to make such a survey or to pay to have one made. If the life of the Vice Commission had been extended a few years, as a sort of morals commission, it might have found some way of having such a survey made, or it might, at least, have found suitable channels for conveying adequate and continuous information to the public by way of a campaign of publicity and education, but no such power was given to the commission. The result is that since the edict for suppression was issued by the mayor nothing has been done, by way of organized effort, to insure or to secure the endorsement of public opinion. Such opinion is in an individualistic and chaotic condition, with the major part of it, I am

inclined to think, if not opposed to it, at least without faith in it. However, I do not believe that we will go backwards, although I would not undertake to predict that the evil will not slowly and surreptitiously creep back under new administrations. One thing is sure: as long as the present mayor is in power the law will be enforced. Another thing is also sure: the present mayor has made it increasingly difficult for any succeeding mayor to undo what has already been done.

PROGRESS AGAINST VICE IN ST. LOUIS

Roger N. Baldwin, Secretary, St. Louis Civic League.

The chief contribution of St. Louis to the suppression of commercialized vice is the quiet effectiveness of the movement which resulted in closing every public house in the city on March 1, 1914. Few people in the city knew about the movement. Its success came as a surprise to many and a shock to others. But it was the result of a three years' carefully-planned campaign of constant repression.

In 1911 the Civic League, a citizens' association for better government, organized a Joint Committee on Public Morals of representatives from thirty-three organizations. Facts about the extent of vice were gathered and conferences held with the police. A definite plan of action looking to complete suppression was drawn up.

In December, 1911, a sweeping police order was issued closing one of the three vice districts, and strictly regulating the remaining two. The St. Louis police being under state control and state politics being different from local politics, they are singularly free from evil influences. The work was done thoroughly. The plan called for the abolition of one vice district in the fall of 1913 and the last district in the fall of 1914.

According to schedule the police closed one of three districts December 1, 1913. Immediately after, the coming of a representative of the World's Purity Federation after the clean-up of Kansas City, hastened the movement for final suppression, and a quickly organized Citizens' Committee of One Hundred demanded the immediate closing of the last district. A thorough report on the whole subject was printed and widely circulated. The Police Board issued the order effective March 1, 1914,—affecting about thirty-five houses with two hundred and eighty-five inmates.

Although suits were threatened, and the Police Board was petitioned to revoke its order, the opposition has been quiet and ineffective. The newspapers gave the movement for suppression but little space, and, on the whole, only perfunctory support. The remarkable success of so quiet a campaign must be credited to a number of factors,—

the efficiency of our police, the comparatively small extent of the vice district, the gradual repression over a three-year period, the inherent morality of this German-American city, the lack of a transient and floating population, and finally the good sense and the hard work of the citizens' committee which had the campaign in charge.

Treatment of Women Offenders
Joint Session with Committee on Corrections, May 14, 9:00 A. M.

TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS BEFORE SENTENCE

Zenas L. Potter, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

What is wrong with the usual treatment of offenders before sentence is exactly what is wrong with their treatment after sentence—a mistaken means has been adopted for securing society's protection. We have sought the punishment of the law breaker rather than his regeneration. Indeed the speedy punishment of the offender is still the guiding object in the work of the average policeman, prosecuting attorney, criminal court judge and jailer. It is the very purpose of the penalty clauses of our criminal codes. As long as this continues to be the case our first duty must be to drive home the fact that the means commonly used to punish offenders tend to make them chronic law breakers rather than law observers, and do not protect society with either the greatest financial or social economy.

At the same time, our criticism should be more than destructive. We should not only endeavor to eliminate the punishment of the offender as an ideal for correctional work, but should develop a procedure which will tend to transform him into a law-abiding and self-supporting citizen. My suggestions are for the development of such a program for the treatment of the offender before sentence, a field which has been largely neglected by reform advocates.

Should Police Use Their Discretion?

Should the policeman use discretion in making arrests, is the first question to be considered. Under the theory upon which our criminal law has been based there is clearly no room for such discretion. Every illegal act is supposed to involve a certain degree of guilt, in proportion to which punishment is to be meted out. Failure to arrest any person committing such an act is to free him from deserved punishment, and to let one person go and arrest another when both have been guilty of the same offense, is unjustly to discriminate between individuals.

As a matter of fact, policemen do use a great deal of discretion in making arrests; and while their judgment and even their motives may sometimes be at fault, I am constrained to believe that their close contact with human nature has made them wiser than the theory of the

criminal law, and led them to see that what some offenders need is not punishment, but a word of friendly warning, and a chance. For a number of years the practice has been followed in some cities of bringing children into court only when other methods of preventing their delinquency—such as more careful parental care, and informal probationary supervision—have been tried and failed. The desirability of following similar procedure with adults, both men and women, bringing them into court only as a last resort, is less only in degree. One trip to court always makes another less humiliating, and we should never, until other means have been tried and failed, break down a man's or woman's desire to be known as a law-abiding citizen. Moreover, the arrest and confinement with other prisoners of citizens who inadvertently commit minor and technical offenses, not only tends to make them and their friends antagonistic to a policy of strict law enforcement, but confuses the justice of society's holding some individuals under restraint, and so physiologically interferes with the proper treatment of those who need so to be held. Those placed in confinement should be given as little reason as possible for believing that they are unjustly held. Persons ought, I believe, to be arrested only when such action is necessary in order to get them to comply with the law. To secure observance of the law, not to make arrests, should be the purpose of the police department.

A sharp distinction needs here to be drawn between a policy of using discretion in making arrests and one of lax law enforcement. Failure to draw this distinction has been, I believe, partly responsible for wrecking many reform administrations. The mistake has been made of thinking that a policy of law enforcement involves not only enforcement of all laws, but the arrest of all persons found violating any law. Citizens are arrested unnecessarily for minor and technical violations, and sooner or later there is a reversion of public sentiment, not because the people do not believe in law enforcement, but because they are against bothersome police methods. Because we believe in a policy of law enforcement we need not believe that policemen should use no discrimination in making arrests.

Safeguards Are Imperative

At the same time there are serious dangers in this exercise of discretion which need to be guarded against. Failure to arrest because an offender is a personal friend or political ally, or because he is willing to recompense the policeman for overlooking his misdeed strikes at the very root of police efficiency. At the present time most policemen are exercising their discretion altogether unofficially and without any proper check upon their discrimination. We should, I believe, officially recognize the desirability of the use of discretion and adopt safeguards to guarantee that it is wisely used.

There are two ways in which this might be done: first, by laying

down rules as to when a policeman may and when he may not exercise his discretion; second, by requiring him to report all violations of the law which he observes so that those over him may know what use he is making of it.

There are many offenses such as murder, robbery, arson, bigamy, confirmed alcoholism, prostitution, etc., the commission of which is almost certain indication of some sort of degeneracy. These have sometimes been designated as crimes involving moral turpitude, though with the growing recognition of mental deficiency among delinquents the moral responsibility of the persons committing them is not always clear. There are other offenses, such as riding a bicycle on the sidewalk, leaving a horse unhitched, burning rubbish unprotected, etc., which do not necessarily indicate degeneracy. While there is no sharp demarcation between these two groups it is not difficult to classify the great majority of crimes within them. Persons guilty of offenses falling within the first group will not ordinarily be converted into law-abiding citizens by being allowed to go with only a policeman's warning. They need to be brought into court and placed under the supervision of a probation officer, or sent to an institution. It is safe to lay down the rule that arrests should always be made in such cases. Persons committing offenses falling within the second group, on the other hand, need not be arrested ordinarily in order to get them to comply with the law. In such cases arrest should be made only as a last resort. It is my belief, drawn not from any knowledge of its having been done, but from observation of police practice in a number of cities, that wiser use might be made of discretionary power in making arrests if city councils or those at the head of police departments would classify all laws into these groups and lay down the rule that policemen are to arrest all persons committing crimes falling in the first group; but that they may use their discretion in arresting persons committing crimes falling within the second. This would, to some extent, prevent misuse by individual patrolmen of discretionary power in making arrests.

Checks on Discretionary Action of Police

As a still further check upon their discretion, all patrolmen should be required to make daily written reports of all violations of the law which they observe, so that those in control of the department may discover how they are using their authority, and remove any abuses which creep in. Such reports are required in many cities where they serve not only this but other purposes. They are one of the necessary requirements of an efficienct police department.

Police departments occasionally feel that a crusade in which they arrest and make examples of all who violate its provisions is needed to call attention to some statute which has been generally disregarded. Observation in a number of cities has led to the conviction that such crusades are necessary only because of past police negligence. If, how-

ever, they ever are needed, let the police select for arrest as examples those persons whose own proper treatment makes it desirable that they be placed under restraint.

Two evils in connection with the making of arrests need severe condemnation: the "framing up" of cases by crooked detectives or policemen desirous of making a record, and the idea held by many officers that they have a right to pick up on sight persons known to have been former police charges. The first of these evils is universally condemned, but will probably not be entirely eliminated until we destroy the idea that the efficient policeman is he who makes the most arrests. The really efficient policeman is he who secures compliance with the law by making the fewest arrests. The second of these evils is not so universally criticized, though hardly less deserving of condemnation. No person ever struggles under such odds as the prisoner newly released from jail; and more than one ex-prisoner, resolved to make the battle to get on his feet, has been dragged back into a life of crime by ruthless, unpitying police treatment. The time will come when the policeman will act from a new motive and will consider it his duty not to pick up the ex-prisoner on sight, but to do all in his power to help him become an orderly, self-reliant citizen.

Bail System Supported

After arrest two things happen to offenders. Those able to furnish bail are released. Those unable to do so are held under restraint. Many see in this different treatment of the man with and the man without money a serious injustice. After conviction there is certainly grave injustice in the practice which commonly exists of imprisoning some men because they are unable to pay a fine, while others, more prosperous, but guilty of the same offense, go free. The ordinary provision of fines only as penalties for petty offenses is open to severe criticism. But before conviction the case is different. In the eyes of the law, all persons are, as they should be, innocent until proven guilty. This being true, they should not, theoretically, be detained against their will until convicted. We have, however, to guarantee the appearance of all suspected persons for trial, and practically, in order to make this certain, it is necessary to detain under restraint all those whose presence can be assured in no other way. Greater justice would not be done, however, by holding all persons under restraint because these few are unable to offer guarantee of their appearance. It seems as if those who oppose the bail system are in the position of the teacher who, on a rainy day, made the whole class stay after school because a very few of the children were without protection from the weather. The bail system appears to be just and will work no hardship if a combination of the "crooked" judge and the professional bondsman to prey upon penniless offenders is guarded against.

Those who are unable to furnish bail should, however,

receive very different treatment from that accorded them in the great majority of cities. Ordinarily they are thrown into jail, confined with persons who already have had some crime fastened upon them, and made to suffer all the privations those persons suffer. Where delay before trial is long those later proven innocent often undergo serious deprivation of liberty. Petty offenders do not usually have to wait long for trial, but prisoners whose cases go to the grand jury are often held several weeks, and United States prisoners sometimes for months, pending the holding of a term of the United States District Court.

For the proper treatment of these suspected offenders two things are necessary: that trial be held at the earliest possible moment, and that pending trial they be detained in clean and comfortable circumstances with as much freedom as possible. Their cases should always be given precedence over those of persons out on bail, and for their sakes court terms should be held as frequently as is at all feasible. In larger cities, where there are enough of these persons to make it practicable, special places of detention apart from the ordinary jails should be provided. In smaller cities, where such procedure is out of the question, those held pending trial will probably have to be kept under the same roof with convicted offenders, but in no case should they be thrown into the same quarters with those who have been proven guilty. They should, moveover, have free access to their friends and attorneys and every effort should be made to protect them from humiliation of any sort.

In addition to these suggestions, pending trial, some effort should be made to discover the cause of an adult's delinquency, just as we have been attempting in the case of children. The value of such information to the trial judge in cases of adults would be no less than in cases of children, and when we come to the time when trial is carried on, not so much to find out if a specific act has been committed, as to determine if an offender is in need of care and training by the state, then we will insist on looking into the past lives and physical and mental conditions of all offenders before passing judgment upon them.

Program of Standards

These, then, form our program for the treatment of offenders before sentence:

1. Police officers should be given discretionary authority in making arrests with the general instructions to make them only when such action will help to convert a law-breaker into a law-observer. Safeguards should be instituted to prevent misuse of that discretion.

2. Every effort should be made to prevent the framing up of cases against innocent persons.

3. Policemen should be instructed to arrest ex-offenders only when there is reason to believe that they are involved in some new act of delinquency.

4. All who can furnish adequate guarantee of their appearance for trial should be let out on bail, but the "bleeding" of offenders by professional bondsmen should be prevented.

5. Those who have to be detained pending trial should be given a hearing at the earliest possible moment.

6. For these persons clean and comfortable quarters apart from other prisoners should be provided.

7. As far as possible efforts should be made to get at the underlying causes of prisoners' delinquency before judgment is passed upon them.

REFORMATORY TREATMENT OF WOMEN

Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Superintendent, Sleighton Farm, Darling, Pa.

The function of reformatories for both girls and women has changed very much during the last ten years, in communities where probation has been developed and other preventive measures designed to help the first offenders, leaving the more difficult cases for institutional care. Good probation has been found to be helpful both for the juvenile and adult and should be encouraged wherever it is needed. This makes the work of the institutions more difficult and less easy to bring up the percentage of the so-called "saved." Considering the great amount of money spent in institutions, it is a perfectly natural question to ask about the results. It is not so easy to claim the standard of eighty per cent., which was fixed some years ago, because many of the first offenders are now helped by probation and kept from the institution altogether.

During the last five years the value of the psychological clinic has been demonstrated and we are beginning to realize that many of the adults and juveniles who are brought into the courts are mentally deficient and need custodial care. It is useless for us to try to train those who are too irresponsible to ever care for themselves. Certain communities are realizing this and are making proper provision for such persons. There is still much for us to do in educating the public along this line where it would be considered a great hardship to deprive a woman of her "freedom." We are learning that many of the young women who are drifting into prostitution or asking for care in the maternity homes, bearing illegitimate children for the communities to support, are those who need permanent care. It is not a kindness to them to allow them to go at large. It is a great waste of money and effort to give them training for a year or two and then turn them back on the community, where they are often a great menace. It should be remembered that such a woman is often well-developed physically, a willing worker, could be made self-supporting under direction; but if she

falls into the hands of vicious people, she is a commercial asset because she can be made to earn money for them. Many women of this very type are being led into immorality where they have not enough mentality to properly direct their own lives.

New Type of Institution Treatment

The State Reformatory for Women at Bedford, New York, has set a standard. This institution is located in the country with plenty of land for farming purposes, thus giving the women an opportunity for out-door work and recreation. This is of the greatest help and an important factor in the rehabilitation of the women, who are usually in bad physical condition from their irregular lives and often from long periods of dissipation. Dr. Katharine B. Davis, until recently the superintendent, has succeeded in interesting outside persons in furnishing the funds to open a Laboratory of Social Hygiene. An additional farm has been purchased and a new reception house built with the proper facilities for the physical examination of new inmates. It is proposed to place all new girls in the reception house and after they have been carefully studied from the scientific standpoint they will be classified according to their needs and an attempt will be made to give the best industrial training, or, after a reasonable time, to transfer them to an institution for custodial care.

The School of Eugenics at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, has furnished field workers to several institutions for the purpose of stimulating interest in this important part of the work and to make further study, if possible. It is very important for the institutions to know more about the family histories and the past lives of the women who are under their care. It is only in this way that we are going to get the material to educate the public to the necessity of providing custodial care for a large number of mental defectives.

This is a woman's work for women. The institution, or home, should always be in charge of a woman, and have a woman physician. Most of the inmates have seen too much of the wrong kind of men and it is, therefore, of the greatest importance for them to be thrown in contact with the right kind of women. It must be borne in mind that the women need training. They are inefficient and unable, often, to earn a decent living because they have not had the proper training. This requires money for teachers, both in industrial and academic work. It is important that there should be regular classes in both of these branches.

Elaborate Buildings Versus Scientific Administration

It is better to spend the money for efficient teachers and helpers than only to put up expensive buildings with modern equipment. We are beginning to realize the importance of educated women in all departments of work in a reformatory and the advantage of inexpensive

buildings. We have been so much in the habit of thinking we must build for the future. We are safe in saying that the superintendents of all institutions built twenty-five or thirty years ago would very gladly change their plans if they could do so now. It is far more important to have plenty of land and have institutions located in the country with an educated type of workers, and it is often possible to utilize the farmhouse and other buildings on the place until more buildings can be added.

Recently two private rescue homes have sold their places in the country and returned to the city because of the inconvenience to the board of managers. It took so much of their time to go out to the country for frequent visits. Let us never forget for whom the institution is primarily intended. Is it for the benefit and convenience of the directors or teachers, or for the best development of those committed to their charge? If we keep this in mind, there can never be any question about the advisability of moving to the country. It is better to be inaccessible, as those managing it will be less annoyed by intruders, even though it takes more of the time of the directors.

All the work in the reformatory should be of such a character that the women can look back to the time spent there as a period of happiness and benefit. To this end, they must have both work and play. This needs direction by those who are in sympathy with young people. Patience and judgment and sympathy with young people do not always come with advancing years. Too often we find middle-aged women in these institutions or rescue homes, who have come to the time of life when they wish to move along the lines of least resistance, and to keep the place quiet and the girls orderly is often their chief end and ambition. This is not always a wholesome or good thing to do. It is much better to get some younger woman who can enter into the life of young people and interpret life to them.

Old Rules Should Give Way to New Knowledge

Some maternity homes have the rule that they will never take a girl for her second confinement. They feel that they are justified in this on the ground of taking only first offenders. Unless there is good follow-up work an institution cannot know about the girls after they have left. It is often only an accident when a girl becomes pregnant a second time. She may have been leading the wrong kind of a life and it is very important for every institution and home to have a parole department to look after the women after they leave the institution. Work should be found for them and they should be given careful supervision. The training of the institution will count for very little without this supervision. If the co-operation of the courts and those in authority could be secured, it is usually much better not to have the girl return to her old home where the same temptations and evil companions will be waiting for her. It is better if she could

begin her life outside of the institution in a new community and be kept in close touch with the institution.

Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Indiana and Ohio have state reformatories for women. Five other states are considering the question. If reformatories are to be of the greatest service to the community, they should be earnestly studying the causes of delinquency, and be in a position to furnish data for better legislation and the education of the public to do preventive work. The best thing a reformatory can do is to try to eliminate itself by trying to eradicate the causes of delinquency.

HEALTH

*Dr. Ennion G. Williams, Commissioner of Health of the State of Virginia, Richmond, Chairman.**

DR. WILLIAMS: Our country leads the world in many respects. We are proud of it, but in one line we are behind other civilized nations and that is in the bookkeeping of the human race, so to speak,—in other words, collecting records of births and deaths and causes of deaths. But things are changing rapidly. All over the country there is an awakening to preventive measures. We are fortunate in having with us the man who is more responsible than anyone else for the rapid increase in the number of states collecting statistics of births and deaths in this country. State after state has recently entered the registration area. Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, formerly of the United States Census Bureau, but now State Registrar of Vital Statistics of New York.

NEEDS AND PRESENT STATUS OF BIRTH REGISTRATION

Cressy L. Wilbur, M. D., Chief Statistician, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

What are the needs of birth registration in the United States? In a nutshell, adequate laws and thorough enforcement of such laws, in every case of neglect or failure to obey them, by means of the reasonable penalties provided therein.

What is the present status of birth registration in this country? In a word, disgraceful! Shameful to us as citizens of great commonwealths that so far neglect the right of the children born therein to be enrolled upon the records of the state—such enrollment carrying therewith the protection of certain rights and privileges and perhaps the saving of sight and life—as children are recorded upon the registers of births in practically every other civilized nation.

One can not draw an indictment against a nation. And there are reasons for our seeming neglect that explain, although they do not excuse our present light of knowledge, the neglect of this important matter in the United States.

Present Incomplete Birth Registration

The completeness of birth registration in the United States is far behind that of the registration of deaths. I do not know of any state in the Union in which a fair degree of approximate completeness in

*General session, May 15, 10:45 A. M.

the registration of births has been reached. We will mention, perhaps, the hackneyed but seldom demonstrated ratio of "ninety per cent."—*before* a corresponding degree of efficiency in the registration of deaths was reached. States have been admitted to the "registration area" for deaths when, so far as the best available evidence indicated, at least nine out of every ten deaths that occurred were recorded. For 1913 this area included some 23 states, besides certain cities in non-registration states. The population included in this area amounted to nearly two-thirds (65.1 per cent.) of the total estimated population of the United States. It is yet a long pull and a hard pull before the time will come when the entire country will be under effective laws, *effectively enforced*, for the registration of deaths alone. And it will be a longer time before there will be complete and thorough birth registration throughout the United States. And it will be still longer before we shall have records and statistics of morbidity that will be fairly comparable with the statistics of births and deaths. Although it forms no part of this discussion, I can not forbear to mention the subject because it forms one of the most potentially serviceable divisions of vital statistics.

The area of approximately complete birth registration would be very much less extensive. Only about a dozen states succeeded in registering as many births as the Census showed infants under one year of age in the population. We know that the births should considerably exceed the infants enumerated under one year of age, many infants dying during the first year of life; comparison of international statistics shows births in excess of percentages usually considerably in excess of ten per cent. If we accept this limit, only three or four states would appear to be eligible for admission. And it is noteworthy that in even our oldest and supposedly most efficient registration states, such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, it is officially admitted that a considerable number of births escape registration.

Importance of Birth Record

I do not wish to underrate the vast importance of birth registration. In some ways it is even more important than the registration of deaths. One who is dead, without kin or connections, has no further personal interest in vital records or the statistics based thereon. The omission of one death may altogether inappreciably affect the mortality statistics of the state. But the birth of a child unregistered—who can tell what loss to the child, to the state, and to the world may ensue? Prompt registration means practical application of the most approved agencies for the protection of the infant's life and health—or should do so. It is everywhere recognized as the first line of attack against the preventable mortality of infants. For every certificate of a living birth that comes into the New York State Department of Health at Albany a circular letter goes at once to the mother, over the signature of Com-

missioner Biggs, with a "baby book" or special literature intended to aid in preventing as much as possible sickness of her child. But of course this does not help the mother whose infant's birth, through neglect of physician or midwife, remains unrecorded.

More attention has been paid during the last few years to the neglected condition of birth registration in this country than ever before. The formation of the Children's Bureau, absolutely dependent upon the results of birth registration for the full development of its beneficent purpose, has added great force to the demand for better laws and more thorough enforcement of those we have. The Children's Bureau has interested the women's clubs in many states in the subject, personal investigations of the effectiveness of the laws being undertaken. Thus the condition of neglect is brought home to the people, and to the women of the country, and to my mind this is the absolutely necessary condition for success. The people of the entire United States must understand how increasingly important the registration of vital statistics is becoming, so that they will not tolerate carelessness, slackness, or dishonesty in this important work. Unless public sentiment stands squarely behind the local registrar, and even the state registrar, in the performance of his plain duty, he is not going to antagonize his friends, create fresh enemies, and perhaps jeopardize his official position and his family's maintenance on account of sheer devotion to duty.

The "Model Law"

Returning to the initial proposition, what is an *adequate* law for the registration of births in the United States? One that will give complete and thoroughly trustworthy *results*. But no law, at present in force in this country, does give complete results. Complete, I mean, as the commonly accepted opinion of European registration. Therefore we do not know, from absolute experience, what form of law will prove adequate in the United States. Shall we adopt systems in vogue in England and Wales or on the Continent? Can we expect parents to *present* their children at the office of the registrar to be recorded? Will it answer for registration to be deferred for six weeks as in England and Wales? Hardly, in the United States, can we expect results in this way. Our experience has seemed to develop along the lines incorporated in the "Model Law," a measure which has been framed and several times revised by committees representing the American Medical Association, American Public Health Association, the Bureau of the Census, and other agencies.

In this draft, which has given excellent and prompt—though not as yet perfect—results, reliance is had upon the requirement that physicians and midwives shall file certificates of birth within a brief and definitely specified time (e. g., 5 days in New York; 10 days in Michigan and Pennsylvania) with a local registrar, who is responsible for the registration of *all* births and deaths in his district. To render

it possible to impose such responsibility upon the local registrar, it is evident that the primary registration district must be small enough so that the registrar can exercise constant supervision and know, at the end of the month when he comes to make his report, whether all births and deaths that occurred in his district have been duly registered or whether some cases of delinquency exist. To insure uniform and effective operation of the law over the entire area of the state, the requirement of prompt monthly reports from the local registrar to the state registrar is necessary. Such reports, which should be made on a fixed day of the following month, contain all the original birth certificates and death certificates filed *for* the preceding month, with a statement card to the effect that no other births or deaths occurred in the district. Thus each month the state registrar can check up the condition of registration in every city, village, town or township, or other primary registration district in the state, and know at once, before the trouble has an opportunity to extend, whether any local registrars are neglecting their duty and permitting disregard or violation of the law on the part of physicians, midwives, undertakers, or others upon whom duties devolve thereunder.

Much Depends on Local Registrar

The position of local registrar is therefore an extremely important one for the success of a state system of registration. A reasonable compensation must be provided and it is essential that payment be made only for certificates properly executed and promptly filed and returned as required by the law. A secure tenure of office should be provided for—at least four years—and it is desirable, on the whole, that the state registrar or state health department should be responsible for the appointment of suitable officials. To this, however, there may be objection and various alternative plans have been adopted.

When finally organized, in as close conformity to the requirements of the Model Law as conditions will permit, the main duty of the authorities in charge of this work and more particularly the duty of the state registrar is to build up a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the law and a desire to carry out its requirements in a reasonable, tactful, but withal a firm and uncompromising manner. This can not be done in a day. It requires time to educate the local registrars and to secure the co-operation of physicians and undertakers. There is no royal road to success, no short cuts by which the infallible execution of a law can be brought about. Respect and regard for law must be encouraged, and this can best be done by insisting on strict compliance with the provisions of the act and enforcing the penalties in cases of violation. There should be no attempt at discrimination or selecting of cases against persons without friends or influence. The law should be impartial, and failure to register a birth or a death should be followed with the imposition of a reasonable fine (for a first offense) just as cer-

tainly as the day follows the night. Until we reach this point—and it is still far distant as regards the routine enforcement of state laws—our vital statistics will remain incomplete.

It is one thing to criticise our results and it is quite another thing to attempt to carry out a registration law thoroughly and impartially in either a state or city office. If I have laid greater stress on essentials—on what I regard as the most essential feature of administration, namely, prosecution of all cases of delinquency—it is not that I have failed to recognize the expediency of educating the public and the medical profession to a cheerful and understanding compliance with the requirements of the law. But in the long run success can be obtained only by impartial, thorough, unrelenting *enforcement* of law.

No Substitute for Enforcement of Law

I am not a believer in the efficacy and expediency of substitutes for the enforcement of law, nor for the complication of the main issue, *registration* of births, with subsidiary issues such as reports of prophylactics used against ophthalmia neonatorum, etc. Birth registration in this country is too weak a nag to place a single additional burden on its back until it can at least travel over its own course. Reliance on the enforcement of law, by reasonable penalties, and the building up of a public and professional sentiment that will demand such enforcement, seems to me the only hope for ultimate success.

Tedious Progress

The way seems long and we are not yet in sight of the goal for the country as a whole. This year South Carolina, the last state but one in the Union without a general vital statistics law, passed a bill for that purpose which still rests in the hands of Governor Blease. Georgia, I trust, may enact suitable legislation this year. This will make the roll of states complete so far as regards some sort of legislation, although the laws will require revision in many of them before they can be expected to yield good results. It is possible to have adequate legislation, by which I mean laws that *should* be effective so far as form is concerned, on the statute books of all the states in the Union by 1920; but I doubt, as the present rate of progress in thorough enforcement whether satisfactory results will be reached in all of them for deaths alone by 1930 or 1940. And birth registration will drag behind, as it has always dragged behind, because compulsory enforcement means the prosecution of some influential and perhaps vindictive members of the medical profession. It is a difficult and unsatisfactory condition—but before you criticise or blame a city or state registrar put yourself in his place. Consider just how actively you support the enforcement of other laws—of any laws—when they conflict with your personal interest or pleasure; how prone we are to denounce as official

red-tape any regulation of our movements or restraint upon our freedom of action in any way. Then consider how revolutionary it must seem to many in the remote rural parts of the country to have the state step in and say, through the official action or voice of a neighbor who has suddenly been appointed local registrar, that the bodies of the dead can not be committed to the earth without a burial permit, or a baby be born without a certificate of birth being registered!

It is a surprise to me that registration laws have gone into effect as efficiently and as smoothly as they have. In Tennessee, for example, Doctor Shoulders, State Registrar of Vital Statistics, reports excellent results under the Model Law which has only been in force since January 1, 1914. So also in Arkansas, beginning on the same date; Mississippi, since November, 1912; Kentucky and Missouri, admitted as registration states for deaths for 1911 and with very creditable birth registration; Virginia, admitted for 1913; North Carolina, with registration for municipalities over 1,000 population since 1909, and a new state-wide law in effect this year. The earnestness, enthusiasm, and success of the state registration officials of these states is inspiring, and with the cordial interest and support of the public, and more particularly the enlightened and public-spirited citizens, men and women, who constitute the membership of these great national philanthropic organizations now meeting in Memphis and representing the entire South and the entire country, I believe that we can greatly hasten the time when we shall have complete and therefore thoroughly useful vital statistics of births, deaths, and sickness.

MORBIDITY REPORTS AND STATISTICS—THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE CONTROL OF DISEASE

John W. Trask, Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service.

Morbidity statistics are the statistics of sickness and disease. They show the occurrence of diseases and their relative prevalence in different localities and at different times. They differ from mortality statistics in that as relates to disease mortality statistics are the statistics of fatal cases only, while morbidity statistics include all cases.

The presence or absence of disease has perhaps a greater influence in determining the happiness and efficiency of the individual and of the community than any other factor. It also has a direct bearing on the individual's longevity even when in itself not fatal, for every attack of sickness probably does some injury and leaves the human machine impaired to a degree. The terminal illness is usually but the last of the devitalizing conditions and the cause of death may rightly be considered to be all the attacks of sickness and all the morbid processes

which have affected the individual during life, all of which have probably been instrumental in bringing about the termination of life, some perhaps in a greater degree than the terminal illness itself.

In speaking of the usefulness of general morbidity registration, Farr in England said a number of years ago:

> It will be an invaluable contribution to therapeutics, as well as to hygiene, for it will enable the therapeutists to determine the duration and the fatality of all forms of disease under the several existing systems of treatment in the various sanitary and social conditions of the people. Illusion will be dispelled, quackery, as completely as astrology, suppressed, a science of therapeutics created, suffering diminished, life shielded from many dangers.

Russia Leads in Morbidity Registration

At the present time the only country which requires the registration of all cases of sickness is Russia. In the United States where notification has been limited almost entirely to the communicable diseases, the first law including more than one or two diseases was enacted in Michigan in 1883. It required householders, hotel keepers, and keepers of boarding houses, to report immediately to the health officer or board of health cases of "smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, scarlet fever, or any other disease dangerous to the public health." The Michigan law seems to be the first one looking to the comprehensive collection of information in regard to the prevalence of disease, and the credit for this is due to the foresight of Dr. Henry B. Baker, then secretary of the state board of health. Dr. Baker was truly a pioneer who in his grasp of the essentials in the control of disease appears to have been considerably ahead of his time.

Each state has exclusive authority within its jurisdiction as regards legislation for the notification of disease, and any comprehensive plan that may be developed for morbidity reports and morbidity statistics must be the result of combined effort and co-operation and the enactment by the several states of similar requirements. It implies also an adequate enforcement of these requirements. The question of morbidity reports is one of the most difficult problems to be solved by the state health authorities. Considerable progress has, however, already been made in a number of states. In 1912 in Virginia there were 31 cases of diphtheria reported for each death registered, in the District of Columbia 26 cases for each death, in Rochester, N. Y., 31, and in Salt Lake City, Utah, 53. In the same year Virginia had over 16 cases of typhoid fever reported for each death, Hartford, Conn., had 19 cases, Denver, Colo., 16 cases, and Worcester, Mass., 14 cases. With morbidity reports of this degree of completeness the respective health departments have definite information of the prevalence of these diseases and the conditions under which cases are occurring. They possess information which makes them masters of the situation at all times.

New Model Law

The question of morbidity reports is an important one and is bound to receive much consideration in the immediate future. The state health authorities in conference with the Public Health Service in June, 1913, approved a model state law for morbidity reports. The provisions of the model law slightly amended have already been adopted by the state of Kansas through regulations promulgated last December. As opportunity affords other states will undoubtedly take similar action.

The first and most important function of morbidity reports is to give the health department information of the occurrence of disease. Their secondary purpose is to furnish data for morbidity statistics. The original observers upon whom morbidity reports and morbidity statistics chiefly depend for their completeness are the practicing physicians. This is necessarily so, for neither the health department nor any other branch of the state or local government can keep in such close touch with the lives of the people as to be in a position to know of the occurrence of disease. The physician is the one who, because of the very nature of his work and his relation to the community, is best able to have this information and furnish it. He comes in contact with the sick to a degree others do not. The health officer can not know of the presence of disease except as it is reported to him by physicians. Experience has shown that there may be hundreds of cases of a dangerous infection in a city and the health officer not know of its presence in the absence of notification.

Unfortunately many practicing physicians have little knowledge of the methods of health administration and, in common with people in general, frequently expect the health department in some mysterious manner to control disease without placing upon them the burden of co-operating by reporting the occurrence of cases. The practicing physician, whether he recognizes it or not, or is so recognized by the community, is essentially an adjunct of the health department, for unless he performs his part the health department is in large measure helpless.

Burden of Co-operation on Practicing Physicians

Among practicing physicians, at least in the United States, there has at times been the feeling that the knowledge of a disease in a patient is privileged information which they should not be called upon to impart. In communities where the laws require the notification of the disease this feeling has no legal basis and the physician who does not make report is not a law-abiding citizen. But aside from the legal aspects of the matter there would seem to be little justification for not reporting communicable diseases at least. Every physician has a number of individuals or families who look to him, and properly so, not only for treatment, but also for such reasonable protection from disease as

he is able to give. The failure to report the occurrence of a case of communicable disease in one patient may lead to its spread to others among his clientele, whose rights he has ignored. He therefore violates the intent and spirit of the ethical principle of the protection of patients among whom must be considered the well together with the sick. The notification of disease is in the interest and for the protection of the community, and as his patients are usually members of the community their interests are ignored and, because of the antisocial whim or supposed convenience of the individual affected with a notifiable disease, they are deprived of the protection they have a right to expect. It would seem that the physician who fails to report his cases of preventable diseases required to be notified may properly be considered as actively obstructing public health administration.

In regard to the manner of securing reports, it is the practice for health departments to furnish to physicians notification blanks upon which the notifications are to be made. In some instances these are in the form of post cards, which have proper spaces indicated for notation of the required information. These cards require the physician to affix a stamp before mailing them to the health department. A far better practice is that employed by many states and cities of supplying physicians with postal-card forms which do not require additional postage before mailing.

Verification of Information

The information which physicians are required to give varies. It has usually been customary to require the physician, in making his report, to include all the data regarding the case desired by the health department. In the majority of instances no further data regarding these cases are secured by the health officials. While it may be impracticable in most instances to change this practice at the present time, it must be recognized that a local health department should prefer to collect its data regarding each case itself, and should not be willing to depend upon the physician's report for its epidemiologic information. Logically, the only information which the physician should be depended upon to give in his report is the occurrence of a case, or a suspected case, of a given disease in such and such a person at such and such an address. He might properly be required to add to this such data as are matters of record or easily verified, such as the age, color, and sex of the patient, and similar information. The local health department, however, should be reluctant to depend upon the diagnosis of the practicing physician, unless the diagnosis has been verified by a trained diagnostician in the service of the department itself. This has been the practice during recent outbreaks of such diseases as yellow fever and plague. It is also the practice in certain other instances. It must necessarily become the practice whenever a determined effort is to be made in the control of any preventable disease.

In considering statistical data of any kind their shortcomings should always be borne in mind. The errors in morbidity statistics are due principally to incomplete notification—that is, to the failure of physicians to report all cases of the notifiable diseases. More cases of disease usually occur than are reported. This can never be entirely overcome, for many diseases vary in severity under different conditions, and some cases are so mild that their true nature is not recognized, and frequently they do not come to the attention of physicians.

The cases notified are usually correctly diagnosed, for physicians do not generally report cases until they are practically sure of the diagnosis, as the case remains an evidence of faulty diagnosis if mistakes are made. Then, too, physicians naturally wish to report only those cases required and to know whether a given case is one of these he must first be reasonably sure of its nature.

The errors in morbidity statistics are therefore chiefly those of incompleteness. In this they resemble birth statistics, although the degree of incompleteness, due to the difference in the nature of the two, is usually greater in morbidity statistics. They differ from death statistics which can readily be made quite complete as to number, but in which the greatest factor of error is the frequent incorrect statement as to the cause of death.

Occupational Diseases

No discussion of morbidity reports and morbidity statistics would be complete without reference to the notification of occupational diseases. Most civilized nations have during the last hundred years undergone an industrial revolution. It has been within this period that the large factory with its hundreds or thousands of workers has had its development and that many of our present industries and the majority of our industrial processes have been developed. So great has been this change in the industrial life of the people that there has been developed a new and important branch of hygiene and sanitation which is properly termed industrial hygiene. With this industrial development there have evolved new diseases and disabilities due to the nature of the individual's work or to the conditions incident to the work. Not only have new diseases in a sense been evolved, but a number of diseases previously rare have become much more common. Under existing social conditions a large proportion of the people are engaged in some occupation, and the diseases of occupation merit the attention and consideration of the community.

Due largely to the activities of the American Association for Labor Legislation the question of the control of occupational diseases has during the last few years been receiving much consideration. Naturally the first step in the control of the industrial diseases was the securing of a means by which the occurrence and prevalence of these diseases might be known to those whose duty it would be to control them.

For this purpose, and largely because of the activities of the American Association for Labor Legislation, a number of states have since 1911 enacted laws on the subject.

Functions of Morbidity Reports Summarized

In conclusion allow me to summarize briefly the several functions in health administration performed by morbidity reports—that is, reports of cases of sickness:

1. In the communicable diseases morbidity reports show the occurrence of cases which constitute foci from which the disease may spread to others, as in scarlet fever, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, or yellow fever, and make it possible to take proper precautions to protect the family of the patient, his associates, or the community at large.

2. In some cases morbidity reports make it possible to see that the sick receive proper treatment, as in opthalmia neonatorum, diphtheria, and, in certain cities, tuberculosis. The reporting of cases of ophthalmia in the newborn makes it possible to save the sight of some infants who would otherwise not receive adequate treatment until after much damage had been done. In diphtheria the health department can be of service in furnishing antitoxin. Some cities furnish hospital or other relief to consumptives who would otherwise be without proper treatment.

3. In diseases that are not communicable, such as those due to occupation or environment, reported cases show the location of conditions which are causing illness or injury. This makes it possible to remedy the faulty conditions, so that others may not be similarly injured.

4. In certain diseases, of which the cause or means of spread is unknown, such as pellagra, morbidity reports show their geographic distribution and varying prevalence, and the conditions under which cases occur. This information has great potential value in attempts to ascertain their causes and means of spread.

5. Reports of the ocurrence of disease are necessary to show the need of certain sanitary measures or works and to control and check the efficiency of such measures or works when put into operation. In pulmonary tuberculosis such reports show the number of consumptives in the community and the need of sanitoria. In malaria they show the prevalence of the disease, the need for drainage and other anti-mosquito work, the efficiency of such work when in operation, and when a change in the prophylactic measures or additional ones are necessary. In typhoid fever they show faults in the water supply or in the control of the production and distribution of milk or in the disposal of excreta in special localities.

6. Morbidity reports when recorded over a period of time and properly compiled furnish a record of the past occurrence of disease.

They show the relative prevalence of disease from year to year and under varying conditions. They show the effect of the introduction of public-health measures and of sanitary works. They give a history of diseases not obtainable in their absence.

CANCER AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Curtis E. Lakeman, Executive Secretary, American Society for the Control of Cancer, New York City.

It is my purpose to ask you to consider the problem of cancer not from the medical point of view, but in its aspect of increasing importance as a social question calling for definite social intervention. In recent years this disease has presented itself to some of our foremost medical, statistical and lay minds as a menace to the community so serious and threatening as to call for collective efforts to check its ravages. Various local movements of this kind have been started, and a year ago, lacking one week, a national campaign was begun by the organization of the American Society for the Control of Cancer, which I have the honor to represent before you. This association marks no new or overlapping effort in the field of pathological research or institutional care. It is fundamentally a social organization and, in spirit and ambition at least, claims a place alongside the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, which in many respects has served as its model. The purpose of the Society as stated in the constitution is "to disseminate knowledge concerning the symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention of cancer, to investigate the conditions under which cancer is found and to compile statistics in regard thereto."

Why, it may be asked, is there need of a special society to fight cancer? If an anti-cancer society why not a special organization for the prevention of pneumonia, or typhoid fever, or heart disease or any of the principal causes of death? The question is admittedly fair. A new health society appearing in the long list of philanthropic movements which ask support from the public is justly charged with the responsibility of proving its own right to exist. Some such justification of the Cancer Society will, I trust, incidentally appear as a result of this rapid survey of the essential facts in regard to cancer. I come not to state new knowledge but to emphasize that which we already possess. As I find myself not a little embarrassed in this imposing statistical company it will be well to say at once that most of the specific statements as to the prevalence and distribution of the disease are made on the authority of Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, who is a member of the Executive Board of the American Society for the Control of Cancer and Chairman of its Committee on Statistics. I therefore

transfer to his able shoulders the burden of any exceptions and antagonism which may be aroused by the statistics here presented. As a matter of fact there is probably no one in America who has made a more thorough study of this field than Mr. Hoffman. An outline of his collection of data was presented last year before the American Gynecological Society in a paper entitled "The Menace of Cancer," and the entire mass is to be published shortly in a book which will assemble the cancer statistics of the entire civilized world, obtained in many cases and brought down to date by direct correspondence with the registration offices.

The Prevalence of Cancer

To visualize the need of social action against cancer we must take a preliminary survey of the nature and prevalence of the disease. Considered solely from the viewpoint of the individual patient, cancer is, in many respects, without a parallel among human afflictions. Observed and described almost from the dawn of human records and studied during the era of modern medicine by the ablest minds with the aid of all the resources which science can suggest and unlimited funds can provide, cancer still remains the mystery of medicine, the veritable sphinx of diseases. Biology is in darkness or disagreement as to its ultimate cause, and the science of therapeutics still knows no certain cure except to cut out the malignant growth, root and branch. Unless this is done in time, while the disease is still in its local beginning, the patient faces almost certain death, usually preceded by terrible suffering with either disfigurement of the external body or complete disorganization of internal organs.

From the point of view of the community, tuberculosis is about twice as frequent as cancer and at younger ages very much more so. As a disease of advanced adult life, however, cancer is even more frequent than the great king of mortal ills. Mr. Hoffman's recent estimate of 75,000 deaths from cancer annually in the United States has been widely quoted and nowhere challenged. Throughout the civilized world there are probably 500,000 deaths each year from this disease. It would appear that at the present time cancer is of less frequency in the United States than in Germany, England, Scotland, The Netherlands and Switzerland, but of greater frequency than in New Zealand, Australia, Italy, Japan, and Hungary. In Switzerland the death rate during the decenium of 1900 to 1909 was 127.7 per 100,000 of population, while in Ceylon it was only 5.1. Even among the European population of that island the rate was only 19.4. For reasons which it would be of the highest interest to understand, the incidence of cancer among Europeans in Ceylon seems to be tremendously lower than the averages prevailing in the countries from which they came.

The influence of topography is a subject requiring still further research. Cancer is much more common in some parts of the United

States than in others. In certain sections of Madison County, New York, the rate for at least twenty years past has been unusually and unaccountably high as compared with the surrounding communities.

A Disease of Adult Life

The social importance of cancer stands forth in the clearest light when we come to consider its age and sex distribution and its racial and occupational incidence. Cancer is pre-eminently a disease of adult life. Roughly speaking, one death in eleven at ages over forty is caused by cancer. At this period of life one woman in eight and one man in fourteen succumbs to the disease. According to the U. S. Census Bureau the average age of death from cancer is 59 years, whereas in the case of tuberculosis it is only 36.5 years. Of all deaths from cancer in the registration area during the years 1906 to 1910, 83 per cent were at ages of 45 and over. There are comparatively few deaths from cancer under thirty-five, but above this age the rate increases rapidly with advancing years. At the age group 35 to 44 the cancer death rate per 100,000 of population is about 60, and it rises to 795 at ages 75 and over.

It is well known that cancer is more frequent among women than men. In 1911, at ages 25 and over the cancer death rate of males in the United States registration area was 118 per 100,000 of population and 196 for females. The excess in the female rate holds true for all age groups over 25. It is relatively greatest at ages 35 to 44 when nearly three times as many women as men die of cancer. In general the excess in the cancer mortality of women is almost entirely due to cancer of the breast and the generative organs.

Social Incidence

Cancer is rare among primitive races and most common among civilized peoples living under the better material conditions. It appears to be more common among the well-to-do than the poor, and less common among persons below the average weight. During the period of slavery cancer was rare among negroes in the United States but since emancipation the cancer death rate has increased rapidly until now some forms of the disease at certain ages are more common among the negroes than among the whites. A recent special study of the comparative racial mortality in the District of Columbia shows this to be the case, for instance, in regard to cancer of the uterus, in spite of an impression to the contrary which has hitherto prevailed. A curious fact brought out in the same study is that cancer of the mouth is of relatively high frequency among colored females, especially at ages of sixty and over. This is suggestive of the baleful influence of the clay pipe.

Occupational Incidence

In taking account of cancer in relation to occupation we are led directly into the consideration of causative factors. While medical science is still in the dark as to the ultimate cause or causes of cancer it has nevertheless furnished us with a mass of recorded observations in regard to the conditions which seem to favor the development of the disease. These facts are of the utmost importance and of special significance in connection with organized efforts for prevention. The most striking and well known of these "conditioning factors" is continued irritation. The examples are among the commonplaces of cancer literature. The women of India who clearly acquire cancer of the cheek from carrying betel nuts in the mouth, the natives of Kashmir who develop cancer of the abdomen from burns caused by overheating of the curious warming pans which they wear about the body, the chimney sweep, the sailor with cancer of the groin caused by the irritation of rope seats—all these you have heard of. The tendency of this line of inquiry toward a study of occupational incidence is at once evident. In fact, Green of Edinburgh began his interesting studies with chimney sweeps and then traced the apparent effects of ordinary coal soot in the development of cancer through a number of definite occupations in which the workers are exposed to the products of combustion, especially sulphuric acid and sulphate of ammonia. His ingenious theory was apparently sustained by the observed incidence of cancerous growths among paraffine workers and men employed in the manufacture of coal tar products. Similarly in connection with the manufacture of patent fuel or briquettes investigation has seemingly shown the relation of pitch fragments or pitch dust to skin troubles and subsequent cancerous affections, and special draft regulations to control the disease in this industry have been prepared by the British government. Such illustrations could be multiplied but the whole subject needs much further study and occupation mortality statistics with reference to precise employments should be gathered and analyzed. In this connection the Cancer Society has suggested to the Director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines that a thoroughly qualified investigation be made by that department into the problem of the apparent relation of gas works, pitch industries and the manufacture of fuel briquettes to ulceration of the skin and epithelioma.

Nativity, Migration and Heredity

A study of cancer in relation to nativity and migration is important in determining the effect of environment. In his work on the "Natural History of Cancer," Williams holds that changes in environment, and most of all in nutrition, exert the chief influence in an excessive cancer death-rate. As tending to substantiate this view, Williams instanced the observation that the foreign born residents

of the United States appear to experience a higher cancer death-rate than in their home countries. The latest data published by the U. S. Census Office in 1900 seems to sustain this argument. It then appeared that for practically all foreign born residents except for natives of Italy and Poland the rates were in excess of those for natives of this country. For natives of Germany the specific death-rate at ages 45-64 was 226.2 and for Ireland 215.1 as compared with 145.1 for natives of the United States.

With regard to heredity, statistical and laboratory experience both tend to disprove the existence of such influence. A recent study of the records of American life insurance companies took account of all applicants for insurance who gave a family record of two or more cases of cancer. The result showed that the actual mortality had been only 79% of the expected and that out of 69 deaths from all causes only four were deaths from cancer. By way of contrast similar studies with reference to apoplexy and heart disease tended to show a clear relation between the mortality of the applicants and the family record. In both cases the actual mortality from these diseases was above the expected and the proportion of deaths was distinctly above the normal. It would seem that if a liability to cancer is inherited the facts would surely have been disclosed by this investigation. Dr. Francis Carter Wood, director of cancer research at Columbia University, recently reported that by continued inbreeding of mice that have cancer it is possible to produce a generation which is extremely susceptible to tumors of all varieties. This would seem to show that, in a sense, cancer is hereditary, provided the cancerous ancestry is sufficiently concentrated. But if the same experimental procedure which was used to produce the breed of susceptible mice were to be applied to human beings it would require about three hundred years to obtain a race with the same number of cancerous mothers and fathers as could be obtained in four or five years with mice. To produce the breed desired in the experiment all the mothers in ten generations had to be cancerous, while the fathers also came from cancerous stock. This is evidently impossible under ordinary conditions of human life and we may safely assume that heredity plays a very small part, if any at all, in the production of cancer.

Not Infectious

Nor does it appear that cancer, in the general sense of the term, is an infectious disease. There is no evidence that a surgeon has ever become infected with cancer in spite of the constant thousands of surgical operations in recent years. Williams instances the negative results in this respect of years of contact with the disease on the part of the nurses and physicians of the Middlesex Hospital. But this subject also needs further investigation and highly specialized

research has yet to give us an authoritative answer. Meanwhile the empirical evidence adduced by those who urge the existence of "cancer houses" and "cancer streets" where the disease seems to have been communicated, appears to be insufficient to support the conclusion.

Apparent Increase

When we consider the apparent increase of cancer, we enter the field of a classical controversy. Nothing in mortality statistics is clearer than the almost universal increase in the recorded cancer death rate. In the U. S. Registration area the cancer death rate at all ages increased from 63 in 1900 to 74.3 in 1911 or at the rate of approximately 1.5 per cent per annum. For the years 1901-1911, at ages twenty-five and over the increase in the male cancer death rate for the registration states of 1900 was 29 per cent, and in the female cancer death rate, 23 per cent. In Massachusetts the rate increased from 74.6 in 1900 to 94.4 in 1911, equivalent to 27 per cent. During the same decade there was a 52 per cent increase in New Jersey and a 29 per cent increase in New York. For large American cities in the aggregate the rate has risen from 37.2 during the five years 1872-76 to 80.5 in the period 1907-1911. An almost identical increase holds both for New York and Philadelphia. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The results are practically the same and the phenomenon of a continuing increase in the recorded death rate is generally recognized.

What remains in dispute is the extent to which this reflects the facts. It was in 1893 that King and Newholme published their well known contention that there had been no actual increase in cancer, but that the apparent increase was due to improved methods of diagnosis and erroneous methods of statistical analysis. This conclusion was challenged by Dr. J. F. Payne in 1898 and the point is still a subject of much contention. After a careful consideration of the American data it is difficult to believe that cancer is not actually increasing. It does not seem possible that an almost uninterrupted rise in the cancer death rate from year to year should be merely apparent and the result of nothing but possible changes in the age distribution of the population or improved methods of diagnosis and death certification. It seems especially significant in this connection that the death rate should continue to increase with every new annual harvest of statistics. The largest actual, as well as relative, increase has taken place during the last ten years. The returns from seven of the largest American cities, namely New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis, showed that the cancer death rate for 1913 was in each case the highest on record.

The Control of Cancer

In relation to our present subject, however, the question whether the increase in the cancer death rate is real or apparent is purely

academic. Sufficient facts have been presented to show that cancer is a public health problem of the first magnitude. No one will claim that the disease is decreasing, and there is no division of opinion in regard to its overshadowing importance as a cause of death in adult life. Only an elementary consideration of the foregoing statistics is required in order to visualize the terrific onslaught of cancer against men and women at the most useful period of life and at the age when the care and guidance of children and the discharge of business responsibilities make the mother and father most valuable to society. Cancer is a deadly force in the destruction of homes. This is also true of tuberculosis, but the war against the "white plague" has long been in progress and the effect of the combined forces of popular education and public administrative control, in both of which fields this country has probably led all others, is now evident in a declining death rate. Community efforts are also well organized against infant mortality. It is no disparagement to this splendid work to emphasize the relative importance of a social campaign against cancer. The loss of a baby's life, too often doubly sad because so easily preventable, is the loss of a potentially valuable unit of society. But the immediate and consequent loss to the community is certainly greater when cancer, likewise often preventable, removes the father or mother who is the mainstay of a dependent family.

The life insurance companies realize to the full the significance of cancer. As Mr. Edward A. Woods of Pittsburgh recently pointed out, cancer attacks the very class of persons most largely insured. The disease is more prevalent if anything among well-to-do civilized people living under sanitary conditions. Its onset cannot be foreseen or detected through physique, heredity or environment as is the case with tuberculosis and other diseases. For these reasons cancer increases the cost of life insurance for which we in America pay nearly a billion dollars annually.

Nor is the determination of the real cause of cancer of more than scientific interest at the present time. Even if the cause or causes of the disease were thoroughly understood, the enormous mortality from malignant disease would probably not be appreciably diminished for many years to come. It will be recalled that the mortality from tuberculosis still continues at a high rate although perhaps no disease has been understood better or for a longer time.

Remedy Competent Surgery at Early Stage

The great hope in the control of cancer at the present time lies in the effectiveness of competent surgery in the earliest stages. The problem of prevention therefore resolves itself entirely into one of general education as to the necessity of recognizing the earliest symptoms of cancer and seeking qualified treatment while there is still a reasonable possibility that the malignant growth may be removed and

life preserved. Through ignorance and neglect probably ninety per cent of the attacks are now fatal. Yet early surgical operation is rarely in itself fatal, relatively painless, and in increasingly high percentage of cases, completely successful in exterminating the disease. In view of these facts the statistical proof of delay in seeking competent treatment marks a condition which is most deplorable. A prominent New York surgeon recently tabulated his own case records and those of six of the leading metropolitan hospitals with a view to throwing light on this question of the time which elapses in the average case before treatment is sought. Out of 65 cases of first operation he found that after the discovery of a tumor or other suspicious symptom the thirty-five men had waited on the average 12.2 months before consulting the surgeon, and the thirty women 11.9 months. Dr. William J. Mayo in a recent public address gave almost exactly the same estimate from his own experience. In like manner Winter of Koenigsberg, analyzing 1,062 operable cases of cancer of the uterus showed that 87 per cent of the patients who applied for treatment could and should have done so much earlier when they would have had a far higher chance of recovery than was actually the case.

Success of Popular Education

It is to Winter, in fact, that we turn as the pioneer who first realized the possibilities of preventing deaths from cancer by the systematic education of the public. The need of such a campaign must be evident from what has been said. If the encouragement of a precedent is required we have it in the Koenigsberg records. When in the early nineties Winter began his work of instructing the people and especially the women of this Prussian city in regard to the early recognition of cancer the local death rate from this disease had already risen from 53 per 100,000 of population in 1880 to 110 in 1893. The rate continued to increase until 1907 when it reached a maximum of 139. After that we observe the phenomenon, elsewhere so unusual, of a diminishing cancer death rate, and in 1912 the figures had dropped to 118, demonstrably because of the educational work which one man had done.

An account of another most interesting movement for public education in regard to cancer is given in the British Medical Journal for March 21, 1914, by Mr. Charles P. Childe, vice-chairman of the Health Committee of the Town Council of Portsmouth, England. This progressive municipal council is probably the first in England to take action in this matter, and in many respects this movement under public auspices is unique. The Council directed its Health Committee "to consider in conjunction with the medical officer of health any possible means of securing the earlier treatment of people suffering from cancer and to report to the Council at an early date." After careful consideration the Council on October 28, 1913, adopted by an overwhelming

majority three resolutions, the first of which called for a public meeting to which the nurses of Portsmouth and ladies interested in social, medical and charitable work should be invited for the purpose of hearing a lecture on cancer and initiating a system of education on the early signs of the disease, the possibility of its cure and the folly of delay in seeking medical advice. The second resolution ordered the free microscopic examination under public auspices of specimens submitted in connection with cancer. The third resolution required the monthly publication in the local press of an admirably worded official notice issued under the authority of the Borough government, which describes in a dozen paragraphs of plain and simple language the symptoms of the commonest forms of cancer and emphasizes the paramount importance of early recognition and removal of the malignant growth. The Portsmouth campaign aims especially to interest those who either in their professional capacity or their charitable ministrations come into frequent contact with the poor and uneducated classes. The Central Midwives Board has already issued written instructions to midwives on the early signs of cancer of the uterus. The purpose of the Portsmouth campaign is to extend the dissemination of knowledge to others than midwives and to make it embrace other forms of cancer.

The American Society

The origin of the American Society may be traced to the appointment, in 1912, of a special committee of the American Gynecological Society. It was perhaps natural that physicians pursuing this branch of the medical profession, and coming into frequent contact with the menace of cancer among women, should have felt the need of a broad social effort to check the cancer death rate by a campaign of public education.

The members of this committee soon reached the conclusion that a movement intended so largely for the instruction and benefit of the laity should be organized and directed to a considerable extent by men and women outside the medical profession although in the closest cooperation with the best available medical experts. Accordingly the committee invited to its preliminary meetings a number of experienced and influential men and women who were especially interested in the cancer problem. Five of these public-spirited citizens guaranteed the first year's expenses of the proposed organization to the amount of five thousand dollars, on the condition that its plan and purpose should meet with the approval of the medical profession as a whole. A timely opportunity of testing medical sentiment was at hand in the form of the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons held in Washington in May, 1913. This Congress represents the joint annual meeting of thirteen or fourteen special medical societies of national scope. Nearly all of these societies approved the proposal submitted by the Gynecological Society and appointed delegates to meet with the original

conference committee. The movement was thus broadened at its very outset to include not only gynecologists but general surgeons, physicians, pathologists, and representatives of other special branches of the profession, as well as laymen.

These delegates met at the Harvard Club in New York City on May 22, 1913, in what might be called the constitutional convention of the cancer association. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, officers, trustees, and an Executive Committee named and the American Society for the Control of Cancer was formally launched.

At this stage of the average new movement, we are perhaps too ready, in America, to rest on our arms and imagine we have accomplished something. Those charged with the destinies of the Cancer Society, however, did not so deceive themselves; nor did they unduly hurry the careful preliminary work of planning their organization, which was continued during the summer of 1913. At the end of the year an executive secretary was employed and an office opened. Meanwhile, in addition to the original endorsement of the dozen special medical societies the new organization received in 1913 the formal approval of the American Medical Association, the American Surgical Association, the Clinical Congress of Surgeons of North America, and the Western and Southern Surgical and Gynecological Societies.

Co-operation with Other Agencies

In working toward the objects for which it was formed the society aims to co-operate to the utmost extent with all existing agencies, institutions and individuals interesteed in the cancer problem, and become a national clearing house of information as to progress in the study and control of this disease.

To furnish a basis of new and concrete knowledge for its campaign of general education the society is undertaking a careful statistical study of hospital records of operations and will endeavor to have such records kept on a uniform basis. We need to know more accurately than we now know just what percentage of operations are successful in each different form and stage of the disease.

In general publicity work the example of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis is followed in many respects. Educational circulars and bulletins are prepared under the authoritative supervision of the executive committee and are printed for general distribution from the office and through various agencies on all suitable occasions.

Much emphasis at the present time is being placed on the organization in many cities of public meetings to discuss the cancer problem. Such meetings have already been held in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, St. Louis, Baltimore and other places, and several more are in prospect.

The co-operation of newspapers is especially gratifying. Press

bulletins are prepared and sent to the editors of nearly a thousand selected newspapers. The co-operation of the highly organized publicity service of the American Medical Association also assures the frequent publication of educational articles in the editor's press sheet of this organization, which is sent weekly to five thousand newspapers, periodicals and writers.

Special work through nurses' organizations has been undertaken in the belief that the instruction of nurses as to the early symptoms of cancer, particularly in women, will be of great value in our campaign. A similar effort will be made to instruct midwives, since in very many cases the nurse or the midwife is frequently the first person to be asked for advice by women who would not be reached by printed circulars. Educational activities through many other channels will be taken up in the near future. The active co-operation of women's clubs, state and city departments of health, state and county medical societies, and fraternal, commercial and trade organizations will be especially sought in order that each may become a channel for the dissemination of accurate information in regard to cancer, always so far as possible under the direction and guidance of the central organization. Another promising field is that of lectures to the employees of industrial concerns employing large numbers of men and women and carrying on systematic welfare work. Life insurance companies have already undertaken to reprint by the hundred thousand and distribute among their policy holders our special circulars telling how to recognize the principal forms of cancer.

The plan of organization provides for local committees in all the principal centers of the country, the chairmen of which shall be members of the governing board of the national organization.

That there is need of such educational work on the widest scale is indicated by a recent newspaper clipping which was forwarded to us by a friend in St. Louis. This is from the inquiry column of the newspaper in question, under the caption, "Lump on Breast":

> The lump on my breast, of which I wrote, has been growing about a year. It does not pain me generally but occasionally I suffer from it. I have been told that kerosene rubbed on it was good for it, and I have tried that but it has hurt me very much and has inflamed some, but this is the only inflammation. I am very much worried. MISS R. F.

The published answer was:—

> You probably used kerosene when you had irritated the skin by intense rubbing. Bathe the spot thoroughly and apply a pad of antiphlogistian.

No one could ask for a more concrete and vivid illustration both of the need and the problem of a national movement for the control of cancer by systematic public education.

DISCUSSION: The discussion at this session pertained to better organization for securing vital statistics, and certain medical and social factors in the problem of cancer. It was of an informal nature and was participated in chiefly by the chairman, Commissioner Williams, Dr. Wilbur, Mr. Lakeman, and Dr. Trask.

Rural Sanitation
Section, May 15, 9:00 A. M.

THE DISTRICT NURSE IN RURAL WORK

Fannie F. Clement, Superintendent of the Town and Country Nursing Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

At variance, perhaps, with the first impression that might be gleaned from hasty consideration of the term "rural" or for our purpose the small community of approximately 12,000 population and under, the typical rural nurses' field of today is not a region of farms. This outline based upon the reports from seventy rural nurses and collected by a committee for the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, represents rural nurses' activities in 23 different states. They represent the rural nurse as a worker among those who toil with their hands—farmers among them, of course, but not farmers alone. She is found most frequently among the factory employes, who live in a small town grown up about one, or two, or more industries, among the drifting seasonal workers who appear near the fish or fruit canneries, according to locality, among the miners who work in the coal regions, or in the precious metal workings of some far western states. In thirty-five of the communities upon which this study is based manufacturing is the principal industry; in twelve, farming; in six, mining; in three, lumbering; in two, quarrying, and in one, dairying. Two of the nurses work in small college towns and one in a purely residential section. There are those, too, who find employment in small towns of mixed populations, where some of the folk are farmers, and others industrial workers. The variety, naturally, is without limit.

Five nurses are employed especially for tuberculosis work, although in each instance they do general visiting nursing as well; three of them are county nurses. Seven are employed for industrial nursing, although many more work in industrial communities. All the rest are general visiting nurses. None happen to be county school nurses, although there are rural nurses who have been appointed as such. One nurse is employed as police matron, but not for this purpose only.

Size of Territory

The environment and general conditions under which rural nursing is carried on differs greatly in many respects. Considering first, the size of the territory covered by the typical rural nurse, there is a

corollary of equal importance that at once presents itself. The population is almost invariably scattered. A survey of districts from which reports were received from communities under 12,000 population, would indicate that the average size of the nurse's working round must lie between six and ten square miles. The mean population which must rely upon attention from the nurse, according to their reports, would appear to be from three to four thousand.

Merely the statement "six square miles" is entirely inadequate, if one would grasp the extent of the average nurse's territory. In many instances, in mountainous districts particularly, the nurse's route lies along ten or fifteen miles of stony, rutty roads, where one mile of going equals five miles on a fair, level road. To cite another type by specific instance, there is one nurse whose territory includes an entire valley. In this valley are scattered farms typical of the average rural district, and six small villages as well.

Many of the rural nurses, who would have to carefully figure if they were asked the square miles within their "call" limits, can tell you instantly the size of their districts by other figures. "'I ride from 6 to 18 miles every day," said one nurse from the far West. Others tell of longer routes, and many describe more compact territories.

Nationalities

If there is a difference in point of number, there is still a greater difference in the character of the population served by the rural nurse. Every nationality that has appeared in this country, it may be safely stated, is served by her. Significant, indeed, are the lists of nationalities sent in by nurses as representative of "their people." Americans are mentioned in some cases, but in many, many instances, the list includes only foreigners. This condition—namely, the large proportion of immigrants and "first generation" foreign stock that enters into the average rural nurse's territory,—is pronounced in all sections except the South. Here, too, it prevails somewhat; but in no such striking fashion as elsewhere. In the South, of course, the negro forms a goodly part of the rural nurse's clientele. Take the state of Washington. There the prevailing foreign races are the Norwegian, the Swedish, and the Italian. Consider the Pacific Coast states. There are found the Chinese, Greeks, Basques, and people of the other races that are today to be found along the Atlantic seaboard.

Restrictions of Work

According to the nature of their especial duties, it has been found necessary in the town and country districts to make certain restrictions as to the visiting nurse's work. Thus a large majority of nurses "draw the line" at contagious cases, as scarlet fever and diphtheria. This is obviously necessary if the nurse is to be of the broadest service

to the community. Others—a very small proportion—refuse all night calls; and many have it understood that they are not to be called upon to relieve private nurses. Others are not allowed to visit those who can afford to employ a private nurse.

Practically all the nurses restrict the length of service upon any one case, usually to an hour or hour and one-half. One nurse reported that she takes cases for periods not exceeding four days. The average rural nurse, however, would seem to give no extended continuous service, as such a plan would restrict her time to the few, when she may be needed by many other patients.

On the question of attending normal confinement cases, rural nurses are apparently divided. Less than 30 answered that they took such cases, day or night; in all other communities patients at this time are cared for by relatives, neighbors, practical nurses, midwives or physicians. It is oftentimes a fact that if visiting nurses were allowed to attend normal deliveries, little time would be left for other patients. In some localities, however, this would not be true and although the nurse attends confinements sometimes, it becomes necessary to restrict this service to day calls only. This question of providing adequate care of confinement cases in most rural nursing communities has not yet been adequately provided for.

Improvising Utensils

An interesting phase of the rural nurse's work is the remarkable degree of resourcefulness she must of necessity develop. Only a few mention a well-stocked supply closet where all necessities are to be found. Hospital supplies to which the nurse has become accustomed during her training are often lacking; it is her task to supply a substitute. To gain an idea of the ingeniousness used would require a lengthy list of incidents, but here are a few: improvising an invalid's bedside table from a sewing machine drop shelf; use of hot bricks or salt or sand bags in place of hot water bottles; chairs as bed rests; soaping windows to give opaque light for operations; foot tub and oilcloth for Kelly pad. Sometimes the rural nurse has to make long trips for drinking water and one speaks of melting snow in order to secure water for the bathing of a patient. Boiled water is carried in fruit cans to maternity or operative cases. The keeping up of wood fires sometimes devolves upon the rural nurse and as one answers, "anything from the preparing of a meal to treating a sick chicken." Where the family live in a single room one nurse shields the patient by a curtain. A cradle for protection against the weight of bed-clothes was made from three barrel hoops wound round with strips of muslin; wooden blocks are used for raising low beds; a stretcher is sometimes made of boards padded with quilts.

In order to emphasize the more definitely medical phases of the rural nurse's work, much that concerns its social aspects is necessarily

omitted here and this, too, in spite of the fact that more and more, where oftentimes the visiting nurse is the only health missioner, the small community is looking to her for a sympathetic understanding of *all* community ills and a knowledge as to how they may be alleviated and prevented.

Preventing Diseases and Epidemics

Almost invariably the nurses reported as the prevailing diseases, tuberculosis, pneumonia and typhoid, and many mention grippe, rheumatism, gonorrhea, hookworm, pellagra, cholera infantum, malaria, epidemics of measles, scarlet fever, tonsilitis, smallpox and typhoid, together with all the so-called contagious diseases of children occurring in some form in nearly every community. Among miners and in foreign settlements grippe and pneumonia and other pulmonary diseases are conspicuous.

In order to prevent epidemics some nurses report "strict observance of quarantine," "precautions against typhoid" and "the enforcement of laws for vaccination for smallpox."

In very few communities contagious cases are sent to hospitals. They are usually quarantined at home, the observance of which is enforced by local health authority. In one community smallpox only is isolated. Sometimes contagious cases are placed in the care of a special nurse. A vacant house was utilized in one community for isolation purposes and tents in another. A few report "there is no way to isolate contagious cases."

School Nursing

The school work of the rural nurse is rapidly becoming a prominent factor. Several write, "medical inspection and school nursing has just been started." Usually within the visiting area are included five to eight schools. Few private and parochial schools are reported in the smaller communities. Medical inspection is reported to prevail in the majority of schools, but the nurses in answering this question have confused medical inspection with inspection by nurses, so the answers are misleading. In one school the doctor sees all children each week and sends cases to the nurse. The inspection of school children by the nurse ranges from weekly visits to annual. One nurse visits the school three times weekly, some every month, others every three months; others at irregular intervals, and still others only on request of the teacher. Seven of the nurses reporting are employed specifically for school work; two or three for half or part time work in the schools. The large majority do not give talks in the schools. A number report talks given by physicians. An occasional talk is given by a few nurses on such topics as hygiene, alcohol, tuberculosis, hookworm and patent medicines. One nurse states, "every morning all ailing pupils, with head-ache, sore throat, sore eyes, etc., are reported by teachers to the nurse." She looks the children over. If there is fever, rash or any

condition that warrants it, she sends them home for a day until she sees what develops. If their condition seems serious, she advises a doctor. She calls to see children reported to be ill at home and advises medical attention if it seems necessary. "There was some opposition from parents the first year, but now teachers, parents and physicians all co-operate in the work."

One nurse gives a few lessons in the domestic science department of the schools. In one community she provides books and clothing for destitute children in order that they may attend school. A list of diseased, degenerate and backward children was prepared by one nurse upon request of the school superintendent. Circulars explaining adenoid diseases were distributed in one school with the request to teachers to report cases for operation. One nurse takes pupils to an eye and ear clinic. One nurse reports inspection to see if children have obtained a physician's certificate after a contagious disease.

An open air school is carried on in one rural community by a tuberculosis society.

Occasionally the nurse acts as truant officer in the schools, but unofficially so. What emphasis is placed upon oral hygiene is usually by the nurse. A dentist in several schools is reported. In one he gave a day each month for free service to needy children. One nurse reports tooth brushes and powder given by the dentist. Through this practice, she says, "a general interest is aroused among parents and the condition of the teeth throughout the school has been improved." In one school oral hygiene is taught by a grade teacher.

The crudeness and lack of technique in rural school nursing is obviously due to its newness, yet the nurse who wrote, "A rural nurse's best work must come through the schools," voices the belief of many as to the importance of this phase of rural nursing.

Tuberculosis Work

A considerable number of nurses are able to send their tuberculosis patients to sanitoria, but the majority of cases are cared for in the home. But for the three or four exceptionally fortunate nurses who have no tuberculosis patients, all nurses instruct in its cure and prevention. Talks on tuberculosis are given in schools, where two report the tubercular children are weighed regularly. One rural community is working for an open-air school. One nurse reports her tubercular patients living in tents and several on sleeping porches. There is very little success in the prevention of tuberculosis among negroes. As one nurse writes, "they are undoubtedly the source of the infection, but considering their mode of living, susceptibility, inability to get proper food and the dreadful quarters provided for them to live in, they are not more careless nor a greater danger to the community than the white man who has tuberculosis."

With few exceptions the nurses find a great need for instruction

Infant Welfare Work

in the care and feeding of babies, and this is usually given in the individual homes. As some write, "the need is greater than for almost any other form of nursing." "Among foreigners, nursing babies are fed on condensed milk and anything from sauerkraut to bologna." In communities of foreigners and negroes, reports show particular need. One nurse gives statistics of 33 deaths, one year and under, covering a period in which there were 203 births. There is rarely any specially organized baby welfare work in the rural communities. Talks on infant hygiene in the high schools are occasionally given, to parents and teachers' meetings and occasional exhibits are held in the schools and literature upon this subject is distributed. One nurse distributes a pamphlet issued by the New York Health Department, "How to Save the Babies," written by Dr. Shaw of Albany.

Most nurses are instructed to teach home modification of milk where this is necessary, the physicians frequently, however, leaving it to the nurse to use her own discretion as to what to give the babies.

Rural nurses as a rule make prenatal visits. As to this, one states that she does not—"Medical men have yet to be won over on this point."

Venereal Diseases

In a majority of communities nothing is done for cases of venereal diseases, and where anything at all is done, it is very little. In but few is special attention given to infants' eyes. One nurse sends these cases to a county hospital. In one community such cases are visited by the nurse when the patient is unable to go to the dispensary. Acute cases are mostly cared for in the home. Families are instructed as to precautionary measures. Other nurses do not deal with these cases. One states it has been her experience that many doctors ignore this disease and do not give out the diagnosis. A Massachusetts nurse writes: "A young nurse recently graduated from the hospital is totally blind from an infection from a new-born baby. The physician did not warn her to use care. I feel very strongly about this and hope something may be done to compel medical men to notify this disease."

Fumigation

Fumigation in most instances is done by health boards or health officer, occasionally by a physician, and in one community the family under the physician's directions. In four communities it devolves upon the nurse to do this. Total failure to fumigate is reported in but one community, yet fumigation after tuberculosis is often omitted.

Co-operation of Health Officials

Most nurses report hearty co-operation with health officials. One made a campaign with the State Commission on Hookworm and gave

talks on tuberculosis at the same time. One nurse reports "splendid help from state inspectors in regard to putting their local men on their mettle, especially with regard to fumigation after death from tuberculosis and the cleaning of cesspools." She writes:

> Lately samples of water were taken from the ten wells including the center school and the analysis showed the presence of sewage. I wish there could be some course of lectures to which selectmen of small towns would be obliged to attend. They say all these new ideas are a nuisance. After a small diphtheria outbreak we had the schoolroom fumigated. One of the Board of Health attended to this. When the room was re-opened, I remarked upon the freshness of a bunch of flowers and also some plants, and thought it strange they had not wilted. Upon trying to find out the reason, I discovered two windows open with shades drawn. We had the room re-fumigated, but this is a specimen of the work.

One nurse reports the payment for visits to a typhoid case by the local board of health.

Sanitary Inspection

One nurse is appointed officially as sanitary inspector of washerwomen in a community where those women are licensed. Nurses who do sanitary inspection in a general way, report improved conditions as to outhouses, toilets, sink drains, homes and premises. One nurse is authorized to inspect public buildings. One reports insanitary conditions to landlords. In speaking of what sanitary inspection she does, one nurse says "none officially, but keep my eyes open."

Chronics

Chronic cases are often sent to institutions or given nursing care in the home, when necessary. One nurse states "they are my greatest problem, for they hate to be dropped by the nurse." Some nurses supply them with magazines, try to keep them cheerful and comfortable. Few of the nurses mention about doing other than nursing for them. One reports:

> —my experience has been, if I mentioned to any one who had flowers, that an old lady or some sick person whom I knew would enjoy them, they have made a note of it and sent a few flowers and plants at intervals. A birthday greeting is always appreciated and I have a patient, paralyzed, who loves birds, so I procured for him "Bird-Lore" from a lady who is a member of the Audubon Society. We baited the branch of a tree outside the window with suet to encourage the birds, and pretty soon we had lots of chickadees chirping to my patient. He has had plenty of feathered friends all winter and has enjoyed them very much. Then I have found useful and a comfort to a patient, a two-yards strip of roller toweling folded lengthwise, attaching the two ends to the foot of the bed. The patient can then pull himself up to a sitting posture, thus giving him a change of position and

making him feel less helpless. Christmas I got some small trees and decorated them at very little expense and carried one to each of my shut-ins. A bowl of partridge berries is bright and we have some gold fish, too, as pets. I collect all the magazines I can and distribute them where I know they will be read. Picture puzzles are nice for some cases and these are good things in which to encourage a partially paralyzed person to use his arm and concentrate.

Water and Milk Supply

The report on water supply was generally good. One nurse states that the well water in her locality was poor and another that the water had been condemned.

The milk supply is generally good. One nurse reports it is as good for the well-to-do, but the poor people's cattle are allowed to range and seldom housed, are forced to feed upon pine needles, cones and snow banks, and the milk consequently is very poor.

Sewerage System

Sewerage systems are to be found in sections of the majority of the communities, yet cesspools and privies also. One nurse reports the only privy in the community is on the school house grounds. One community has tub-privies, another no sewerage or cesspools, and many homes not even outhouses. "When there is a privy it is generally built over a stream even though it passes the front door." Privies were reported in practically every community. A considerable number said "being done away with."

Results of Rural Nursing

Although the actual results of the efforts of the rural nurse are difficult to tabulate, they have been able to institute many practices that indicate improved living conditions; the screening of houses, whitewashing and general renovation of rooms after tuberculosis and other contagion, the reporting of bad condition of outhouses and careless disposal of garbage, and also successful co-operation with the health officer and sanitary inspector. Several report work on garbage ordinances, one nurse that infant mortality has been reduced and another that the general death rate has been decreased. Reports are given regarding improvement in general cleanliness, better food and more fresh air, earlier hours for children and vigorous fly campaigns. Reports mention "the holding of clean-up days," "privies removed," "old buildings torn down," "boys sleeping in tents to prevent overcrowding," "making of gardens," "forming of potato clubs and girls' bread clubs," "reform in school building and grounds." One nurse reports "garbage pails are more frequently emptied and kept covered from the flies. Potato peelings are no longer thrown out in door yards. Heavy, dirty

—because unwashable—bed quilts are either replaced by new, or kept covered with clean sheets. Netting is used to screen windows and waste matter is more carefully and quickly disposed of." One despairing nurse writes "progress is slow," another, "very little improvement."

Social Organization

One nurse reports the starting of a playground to keep the children off the streets and out of mischief. "Oftentimes," she says, "country children do not have as much access to land as one would expect. We had a bad state of affairs among children, especially during vacation time. The playground was started to overcome this. Then we have a gymnasium class for children and adults, a mothers' playground club, school lunches where nothing is to cost over three cents, a Boy Scout organization, a Boys' Improvement Club, cooking and sewing classes and tuberculosis clinics. We also have had lectures given in the schoolhouse for parents only on sex hygiene, eye, ear, nose and throat."

One nurse started a mothers' club, but mothers' meetings were later taken up in the schools and this was discontinued. Several others have organized mothers' clubs, girls' clubs, boys' clubs, classes in home nursing, folk dancing, social evenings for young people, a night school, an orchestra, and introduced educational moving picture shows. One nurse tried to organize a working girls' club and "little mothers'" club, but the movement found no support. One club sews for the visiting nurse, making clothes for infants, etc.

Reports are given of weekly classes in first aid to injured, and home nursing classes in the high school. Union meetings of all schools are held in one community with great success, and as the nurse reports, "with unexpected results." Parents and teachers study such subjects as "nutrition of the growing child," "prenatal care," "infant feeding," "school children's diet," the "study of physiology with applied hygiene." This nurse has also organized a child welfare exhibition committee. One nurse helped form "a girls' club whose aim is to teach them to be good housewives and mothers." Another started a girls' "Good Health Club," which meets once a week. They practice bed-making, first aid work, plain cooking and will make a garden this spring. Another who voices the sentiment of not a few writes, "the pressure of active nursing has rendered other social work impossible."

In a community where little bedside nursing is necessary, one Red Cross visiting nurse during one month gave five instructive talks, preparing the ground for the mothers' meetings which after that were continued every two weeks on subjects such as "Personal Hygiene and Health of Children." A class in handicraft was formed among a group of young married ladies who have since contributed supplies of infant wear to be sold at cost. This nurse also started a course of talks at

the five school houses within her visiting area. Later she organized a class of colored girls from twelve to twenty-one, teaching them sewing preparatory to dressmaking.

From this limited survey of rural nursing the need not only of large numbers but of well-equipped rural nurses is indicated. It was with the purpose of extending the services of such women to the smaller communities of the United States that the Town and Country Nursing Service of the American Red Cross was organized. Nurses especially trained in public health nursing are sent into the field, being responsible to their local committees and with salaries provided by the organizations which employ them. The Red Cross maintains a general supervision over the work of its visiting nurses through receipts of their monthly reports and occasional visits to them. It is thus enabled to standardize and correlate visiting nursing within its scope. The question of a visiting nurse is being agitated in hundreds of small communities today, and this fact together with the continual broadening of the education of the public health nurse is certainly a most encouraging indication of the place she may eventually fill in the health program of rural communities throughout the country.

THE RURAL DEATH RATE IN NEW YORK STATE.

Linsly R. Williams, M. D., Deputy Commissioner of Health, of the State of New York, Albany.

During the last fifty years the urban population has been steadily increasing throughout the United States with the numerous and increasing advantages of urban life and with its increase in material comforts. This has been noticeably true in New York State. The urban population is generally described as that population living in communities of either 8,000 or 10,000 in population, or over, and the rural, in villages and towns of less than 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants.

The United States Census Bureau statistics show that in 1900 there were 1,980,783 persons living in rural districts of 8,000 or less in New York State, or 27.1% of the total. That in 1910 there were 1,928,120 living in rural districts of New York State, or 21.2% of the total population of the state. The following table will show in New York State the relative percentage of urban and rural population of the state:

Year.	Total	Urban	Rural	Per Cent. Urban	Per Cent. Rural
1880	5,082,871	2,852,010	2,230,861	56.1	43.9
1890	6,003,174	3,899,737	2,103,437	65.	35.
1900	7,269,894	5,299,111	1,970,783	72.9	27.1
1910	9,113,614	7,185,494	1,928,120	78.8	21.2

Urban 8,000 or over: New York death rate..... 19.5

Rural 15.5

1900		1910	
Deaths under 1 year (N. York)	26,755	Deaths under 1	27,503
Total deaths	132,352	Total deaths	147,678
Cities under 1	21,586	Urban	110,283
Rural deaths under 1	5,169	Rural	37,395

1900

Urban (2,500 and over) ..... 5,352,283 Rural 1,916,611

1910—April		Yearly Percentage of Increase.
Urban	7,185,494	34. %
Rural	1,928,120	.5 %
1910—July		
Urban	7,224,169	.5 %
Rural	1,928,363	.01%
1911		
Urban	7,409,810	2. %
Rural	1,929,529	.06%
1912		
Urban	7,595,451	2. %
Rural	1,930,695	.06%
1913		
Urban	7,781,094	2. %
Rural	1,931,860	.06%
1914		
Urban	7,966,735	2. %
Rural	1,933,026	.06%

1900

Population Greater New York 3,437,202
Cities 100,000 718,408

1910

Cities and villages having population 2,500 or over increased 34.4%. Rural population increased .6%.

Following counties may be classified as strictly rural:

Essex	Washington	Livingston
Hamilton	Tompkins	Allegany
Herkimer	Tioga	Seneca
Lewis	Schuyler	Ontario
Clinton	Steuben	Yates
Greene	Wayne	Orleans
Schoharie	Sullivan	Genesee
Otsego	Madison	Franklin
Delaware	Chenango	St. Lawrence
Fulton	Cortland	Jefferson
Warren	Wyoming	Oswego
Saratoga	Cattaraugus	

Following counties have large rural area, but population over 90 per square mile:

Niagara	Cayuga	Schenectady
Chemung	Montgomery	Dutchess
Oneida	Orange	Monroe
Rensselaer	Suffolk	Broome
Westchester	Chautauqua	Albany
Erie	Onondaga	Putnam

The increase in population in the urban districts has been very evident, especially in the larger cities, whilst in the rural districts there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of the rural inhabitants. Although the total rural population has diminished in the past twenty years, yet during the last ten years it has remained about the same.

Grouping of New York Population

The state of New York, like most of the states in the Union, varies in the character and fertility of its soil and in the variety of its products of agriculture and manufacture. The state is divided politically into sixty-one counties, of which three are described as strictly rural, four being strictly urban. The other fifty-four counties contain many cities and villages, but there are wide districts which are sparsely settled. There also are a number of counties which are still but little more than a wilderness—such as the counties of Essex, Hamilton, and parts of Franklin, Warren and Herkimer, and there are many wild and barren areas in the county of Allegany.

The population of over half the state resides in the five counties of Kings, Queens, Richmond, Manhattan and Bronx, comprising the City of Greater New York, with a population in 1910 of 4,794,935, and 695,630 more living in Buffalo and Rochester; 595,820 in the six second-class cities of Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Yonkers, Utica and Syracuse, and 864,273 in the forty-three third-class cities, and approximately 800,000 more in incorporated villages.

In the cities of the first class (1913 estimate):

Name.	Population.
New York	5,333,539
Buffalo	454,112
Rochester	241,518
Total	6,029,169

Cities of the second class:

Name.	Population.	Name.	Population.
Albany	102,961	Yonkers	93,383
Troy	77,560	Utica	82,060
Schenectady	90,503	Syracuse	149,353
Total			595,820

Cities of the third class (population 50,000 maximum to 6,449 minimum):

Binghamton, Elmira, Auburn, Amsterdam, Niagara Falls, Mt. Vernon, New Rochelle, Jamestown, Poughkeepsie, Newburgh, Watertown, Kingston, Cohoes, Oswego, Rome, Gloversville, Dunkirk, Lockport, Lackawanna, Ogdensburg, Glens Falls, Olean, Middletown, Ithaca, Watervliet, Corning, Hornell, Geneva, No. Tonawanda, Little Falls, Cortland, Plattsburg, Hudson, Fulton, Beacon, Rensselaer, Johnstown, Oneonta, Port Jervis, Tonawanda, Oneida, Canandaigua, Salamanca. Total population, 864,273.

The other third-class cities just mentioned vary in population from 50,000, the largest, to 6,449, the smallest, making a total of 864,273. This gives a total population in the chartered cities of the state of 7,489,262, and with the 800,000 more in the incorporated villages a total of 8,289,-262 in the cities and villages.

The death rate in all the cities of the state was 18.9 in 1900; 16.4 in 1910; 15.5 in 1911, and 14.8 in 1912. For the districts outside of this area, that is, the strictly rural districts in which there are no incorporated villages, the death rate for 1900 was 15.7; 1910, 15.6; 1911, 15.6; 1912, 15. These rates are determined according to the population of the U. S. Census and according to their estimate of population for these years.

Infant Mortality

The infant mortality rate for 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913 is tabulated as follows:

Cities.	1910	1911	1912	1913
First class	126	110	106	105
Second class	171	143	133	135
Third class	155	136	130	125
Incorporated villages	Not obtainable.			

A more complete table has been made in the Department showing the following death rate amongst infants under one year of age, being computed by the ratio of deaths in infants under one year to the thousand births.

Infant Death Rate

Cities.	1912	1913
First class (over 175,000)	106	105
Second class (50,000 to 175,000)	133	135
Third class (20,000 to 50,000)	119	120
Third class (10,000 to 20,000)	144	138
Third class (under 10,000)	112	100
Rest of state	100	111
Entire state	108	109

In February, 1914, a statement was issued by the Commissioner of Health of the State, Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, that the death rate in New York City for 1913 was 13.7, or .4 less than 1912, but that for the rest of the state in 1913 was 15.8, an increase of .3 over 1912.

The following table, giving the death rates in the first, second and third class cities and villages over 8,000, shows that the death rate in the smaller cities and villages has remained fairly constant, but that the larger cities show a marked diminution in the death rate:

Cities.	1900	1910	1911	1912	1913
First class	19.9	16.0	15.1	14.3	14.3
Second class	16.7	15.4	16.7	15.0	15.2
Third class	16.7	17.2	16.9	17.2	17.6
Villages over 8,000	16.5	17.5	17.2	15.7	16.9

By comparing these death rates with those of Greater New York for the same years it was estimated that at least 3,000 lives would have been saved throughout the state, if the rural rate was as low as New York City.

These statements were not fully to the liking of many of the residents of the rural districts and they were challenged in many instances, and in the following way: that people in the country lived to a ripe old age, that the figures were inaccurate, that many persons left the city in their old age to die in the country, and that the numerous institutions throughout the state had a large death rate, and that these deaths were credited to a rural district and should properly have been charged to the former residence; and many individuals who developed a disease as a result of living conditions in the city went to the country seeking health when it was too late, and died, having their death credited to a rural district.

There is no evidence to show that people live to an older age in the country than in the city, nor is there any evidence to show that the statistics are wholly wrong. Experience showed that whatever inaccuracies would occur would be more likely to occur in the smaller cities, villages and rural districts, where the health authorities give only part time, are poorly paid and have little clerical assistance. It was criticized that 8,000 was too high a figure to classify as a rural community, and another computation was made which showed very little variation, when all communities above 2,500 were classified as urban, and those below this number as rural. This increased the death rate for the urban districts for 1913 from 14.5 to 14.8.

In order to further refute the criticisms made by various individuals in the rural districts it was pointed out that in computing the deaths of cities and villages, as already indicated, the resident death rate was given, and that the non-resident deaths were excluded, although how long a person resides in any one city to gain residence has not as yet been determined and is not stated in the Vital Statistics Law of the state, but in the returns from the various sections of the state all those deaths classified as non-resident deaths were not included in the tabulated figures. It was then pointed out by the critics that there were a large number of state institutions in the various rural districts of the state, with a total population in 1913 of 37,034, which cared for the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic and imprisoned, and amongst which population there were 2,601 deaths, and that these deaths were chiefly of urban citizens, which were credited to the rural population.

Purely for hypothetical interest, the total number of deaths in the institutions in the rural communities was subtracted from the total number of rural deaths and added to the total number of urban deaths. In other words, crediting all deaths in institutions to the urban population and giving none to the rural population, excluding, however, the 930 deaths in institutions that occurred and were already credited to

urban districts. This increased the death rate for the urban districts to 15.2% and the rural death rate was diminished to 14.7%. For further hypothetical interest, all the deaths in institutions were added to the New York City deaths, and it was found that this increased the New York City death rate from 13.7 to 14.2, and by subtracting all the deaths in institutions from the rural districts a hypothetical rural rate was obtained, decreasing the present rural rate from 15.8 to 15.2.

Correction for Age Grouping

Further correction should be made to the rural death rate by classifying the age groups, and the following table shows in some measure that the distribution of population is such that there is a larger number of younger persons between the ages of 15 and 45—71.4% in the urban districts, and 62.2% in the rural.*

	Urban.	Rural.
All ages	7,185,494	1,928,120
Under 5 years	726,763	172,164
5 to 14 years	1,257,155	332,539
15 to 24 years	1,459,947	321,443
25 to 44 years	2,414,408	545,914
45 to 64 years	1,065,107	388,933
65 years	252,925	165,230
	Per Cent.	**Per Cent.**
Under 5 years	10.	8.9
5 to 14 years	17.5	17.2
15 to 24 years	20.3	16.7
25 to 44 years	33.6	28.3
45 to 64 years	14.8	20.2
65 years	3.5	8.6

In this classification, however, the rural population consists of persons living in villages of 8,000 and less, and this 10% difference in the important age group—from 15 to 45—might be somewhat changed if the figures were reduced to 2,500 and over.

To make the improved correction for age grouping would require such an enormous amount of work on the part of the Division of Vital

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*Three classifications of urban and rural have been made and used as basis of 1913 rates.

1. Urban—All cities and six villages having a population of over 8,000.. 14.5
   Rural—Remainder of state 15.5
   (Crediting all institution deaths to urban made these rates 15.2 and 14.7.)
2. Urban—Cities and villages 2,500 and over 14.8
   Rural—Remainder of state 15.5
3. Urban—New York City 13.7
   Rural—Remainder of state 15.8
   [Crediting all institution deaths to New York City increased New York City rate to 14.2—decreasing the rate for remainder of state (which we call in this instance, rural) to 15.2.]

Statistics that it would hardly seem feasible at this time to make such a study. It is hoped, however, that in the future the Census Bureau may be able to furnish figures not only for population but also for mortality, and mortality rates at similar age groups for places with 10,000, more or less, and 2,500, more or less.

I desire at this time to express my appreciation for the assistance furnished to me by Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, Director of the Division of Vital Statistics, and to Mr. Beagle and Miss Porter and other members of the office staff, who have been of great assistance to me in preparing the material.

DISCUSSION: The discussion of the foregoing papers was participated in by Dr. R. K. Flannagan of Richmond, Prof. W. K. Tate of Nashville, Dr. Carrie Smith of Dallas, and others.

MENTAL DEFECTIVES

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE*

Alexander Johnson, Director of Extension, The Training School, Vineland, N. J., Chairman.

When we remember that the problem of mental defect as it shows itself in insanity, is among the oldest subjects in the forty years' program of the Conference; that thirty years ago the feeble-minded were introduced to this audience; that at almost every session since 1880, there have been papers and discussions about the epileptic; it may seem like hardihood on my part to accept the chairmanship of this Committee, if a committee is expected to show or tell anything new.

It happens, however, that, with a few splendid exceptions, the states of the Union are, apparently, as far from taking that care of the mental defectives which would be best for them and most economical for the community, as they were when Dr. Kerlin talked about the feeble-minded at St. Louis in 1884, or when Dr. Fish explained the colony plan at Indianapolis, seven years later. If the purpose of the Conference is to tell what ought to be done and keep on telling it until it is done, then the care of the mental defective is a live issue and one of the utmost importance. If those of us who have been working among the defectives for many years are right, the evils are great and growing—many of the methods of prevention, although difficult, are plainly recognized and every year that passes without these methods being put in full operation the task becomes more appalling and burdensome.

Recent Public Awakening

During the past four or five years there have been several important developments in matters concerning the mental defective. One of these has been that, owing, among other causes, to the work of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, we are beginning to consider the work with the insane, the epileptic and the feeble-minded not as separate problems, but as parts of one great enterprise. In several states commissions have been authorized by the legislature and appointed by the governor to inquire and report on provision for mental defectives. A notable instance of the kind has occurred in New Jersey. Following a volunteer committee which spent five years in the inquiry and greatly promoted research, much of which was very fruitful, a state commission appointed one year ago, has just made an exceedingly

*General session, May 9, 10:45 A. M.

valuable and interesting report, with some pertinent suggestions as to how the insane, epileptic and feeble-minded should be dealt with.

Several notable conferences have been conducted by the National Committee on Mental Hygiene in New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities, at which the three main departments of the subject, insanity, epilepsy and feeble-mindedness, have been treated together. A marked feature of these meetings has been exhibits of pictures, charts and diagrams, often with stereopticon illustrations, which have shown graphically the extent of the problems involved; methods of research and treatment; and what is specially valuable for the instruction of the public, the appearance of the different classes of patients and pupils, as they are variously called.

Another development has been the steady growth of a widespread demand for—and a determined effort to supply—that prevention which has taken the first place not only in public estimation, but equally in the minds of the doctors and other officials; and is now generally recognized as being infinitely more important and more hopeful than any possible attempt at care.

Out of the two last mentioned has come another development not quite so general but of great importance. This is in the practice of scientific research that shall tell us, first, the nature and the extent of the evils of mental defect; and, second, that shall disclose its causes so that we may know how to prevent them. To meet the insistent and growing demand for knowledge, new methods of testing the mentally defective have been devised. Psychology has found a new use far more practical than it has previously known. It is no longer a mere academic study; it has become a practical art. Psychology has been specially active with regard to the public school children. The medical examination of pupils, now universal in all the advanced communities, is rapidly being supplemented by psychical examinations. The scale for measurement of intelligence devised by Alfred Binet and made available for the English speaking world by H. H. Goddard of Vineland, New Jersey, is the best known and most generally useful of these psychical tests. Goddard's claim, based on the use of Binet's scale, that upwards of two per cent of school children in the early grades are defective mentally, at first received with ridicule, is now generally accepted as a conservative estimate. The results of these tests are seen in the numerous special classes for backward and defective children which are now rapidly becoming recognized as an essential part of every public school system. The desire for such classes has gone so far in New Jersey, that a state law now provides for such a class in every school district wherein fifteen children are found who are three or more years backward, and for every such class the state gives an annual subsidy of $500 towards the salary of its specially trained teacher.

Another to be mentioned among recent developments, and perhaps most important, has been the attention to the defective-delinquent. Re-

searches and examinations into the facts concerning this class are leading to a new understanding of the problems which they present. No juvenile court today is properly equipped unless it has a trained psychologist on its staff, who examines every child suspected of mental defect and in some cases, *every* child who is brought into court. Research has been carried into reformatories and prisons until we now believe that an important minority everywhere, and in some places an actual majority, of those convicted, especially among the juveniles, are so far defectives as to be irresponsible—as to be impossible of reformation—as to be unfit subjects for punishment: and, being all these, then also unfit persons to be turned loose on the community. The figures that have been presented by research workers are familiar to nearly every member of this Conference. I will not weary you with a lot of statistics but merely remind you that the percentages vary in reformatories for juveniles and for the younger adults between the lowest estimate of ten per cent and the highest of about six times that number.

State Action

Only one state has so far enacted any law for dealing with the defective-delinquents who are found in the reformatories. That state is Massachusetts, and even there the law is inoperative. But many states are considering the matter and there is little doubt that it is only a question of a few years' time until some practical measure will be taken.

So far the method of sterilization, although it has been legalized in twelve states, is in use only in one. It has been declared unconstitutional by a judicial decision in one state and in another was so declared by a governor whose word was accepted and the practice discontinued. Whether or not it is the better way, it seems certainly, at present, so far ahead of public opinion as to be unavailable.

One other important development, not, indeed, of a new idea, I must mention. The colony plan for the feeble-minded, first presented to the National Conference twenty-five years ago by Dr. Fish of Illinois, has secured, or is rapidly securing, general acceptance, especially for the trained imbeciles and morons. The best example of the colony is that at Templeton, Massachusetts, but there are others, some conducted by branches of state institutions and some independently. It is being admitted that the true work for the imbeciles and morons of the higher grade as well as for the epileptic, is first—training to usefulness, order and diligence, in the training schools and, next, segregation in industrial communities. Only the idiots are utterly incapable of useful training, and the imbeciles and morons can be trained to a marked degree of usefulness and at the same time given a life of happiness which a few years ago was only dreamed of by a few who were looked upon as visionaries. In this respect there are several im-

portant experiments now under way in New Jersey, but the results are not yet far enough advanced to be reported here. These are in the line of small local colonies, on cheap land, with a good deal of local interest aroused in their favor. Perhaps next year we may have a report about these that will be interesting.

The Committee propose to present to the Conference speakers who will discuss some of these new developments. At this morning's session a noted psychologist who has had a large experience in connection with the oldest juvenile court in the country, will tell us of the result of psychical examinations of juvenile delinquents. At the session on Tuesday morning we shall consider two of the chief causes—I think we may safely say *the* two chief causes—of insanity, feeble-mindedness and epilepsy, when we shall have two papers, one discussing alcohol and the other syphilis, as causes of mental defect. On Friday morning we shall have a paper on Defectives in the Juvenile Court by one of the best known and most capable of the many capable juvenile court judges, and this morning after the paper I have just mentioned and the discussion following it, the present chairman is to give a popular exemplification of the feeble-minded of various grades and some suggestions for their permanent care.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WORK WITH OFFENDERS FOR THE COURTS

William Healy, M. D., Director, Psychopathic Institute of the Juvenile Court of Chicago.

The main trend of our findings and the outlook now after five years' study of offenders in connection with courts is requested. It is plain that in a short paper only a few of the more prominent points can be touched. We must leave analyses and adequate descriptions for our larger publications. However, we can here discuss some of the outcomes and limitations of applied methods. In this summary fashion, taking stock may be wise just at this time when the practice of psychology is beginning to be exploited similarly to the practice of medicine. Also lack of knowledge in many quarters of this new work and, perhaps, the recent statements of a well known clinical psychologist to the effect that psychology (or at least he says pseudo-psychology) can render no aid in the courts, calls for review of the facts.

Concerning the part that psychology in its practical, applied, clinical aspects should play in court work, we may consider the following: View it as you will, there is no escape from the basic fact that conduct, social behavior, is a product of the mental life of the individual. The most direct driving forces of misconduct, therefore, are very properly to be regarded as material for study which comes well within the provinces of the science of mental life. (It must have been this which

led the great jurist and criminalist, Gross, to state that psychological valuations must ultimately become the basis of all criminal law.) An individual differential psychology is involved which requires knowledge of the bearings which many varieties mental conditions have upon action.

Began with Psychological Background

At the beginning of our work we were advised by the most eminent psychologists that the field was virgin. Everywhere we were told that the use of the standard apparatus of the laboratory, the ergograph, plethsygmograph, the chronoscope, all had no bearing on our problem, for the results from none of them had been found to be correlated with any traits or conditions which were of peculiar significance in offenders. Many hopes that had been expressed by those who ardently desired the rapid practical extension of psychology had not borne fruition. We were told that methods must be worked up and norms sought out. In other words, it was deliberately stated by many that neither classical nor experimental psychology had as yet anything to offer for dealing with this human problem. To introduce the usual and often complicated devices of the laboratory, which are for measuring and discriminating the simpler elements of mental life, would be, it was said, to delude ourselves and be in the position of misleading others. In accordance with our appreciation of this consideration we have all along proceeded by methods which seemed to have in them the greatest proportion of common sense, and most likely to show correlation between offending careers and characteristics possibly at the root of criminalistic tendencies.

Moreover, as time has gone on we have become more and more convinced that those who study offenders should seek not only for peculiarities and disabilities correlated with tendencies to offend, but also for potentialities, for special abilities which might be utilized for educational or occupational success. To grade the delinquent downwards is not sufficient. There may be the possibility of constructive work with him. As a matter of fact, some of the most encouraging results of our own efforts have come through the discovery that the offender was suited for something which he had never had the chance of doing, and that a corresponding adjustment of his affairs brought cessation of delinquencies. This has been even true with certain types of defectives.

Problems Concerning Use of Mental Tests

Early in working with our cosmopolitan population (and to a less extent the trouble would have shown itself among those of one language) we saw that any method of mental evaluation which was based largely upon language tests, whether or not given by such a questionairre method as that of Binet, was quite unfair. Language, our universal method of communication, does not cover all the social graces, all the social values, nor does adeptness in the use of it mean unusual general

ability. In fact, nothing has been any more striking in our findings than that some otherwise normal individuals have special defects in the use of language, and that some general defectives have such powers in manipulating words that they pass everywhere, even in courts, as normal and even bright. It was soon felt that over and beyond tests which involve the medium of communication, it would be most profitable to observe a performance with concrete material which possibly might be arranged to measure some of the socially most valuable mental qualities.

Such performance tests, emanating from several centers, have had a great growth in these five years, until now they are quite widely used. For work with offenders there is at present a wide range of tests to choose from. For practical clinical work even more tests are desirable, and it may be that some of those now used will be gradually discarded and replaced by others. It stands out very clearly that what one would like to know particularly about offenders is how they grade, not only in general intelligence, but also on tests which may possibly evaluate the powers of perception, of mental representation, of self-control, of the ability to learn by experience, and so on. Defects along these lines seem likely to be more nearly related to delinquent tendencies than any other we could name. Special educational and industrial disabilities may make for social failure and so may indirectly lead to delinquency. It is usually not difficult to ascertain the nature of these defects. A few steps towards discovery of vocational aptitudes can also be made by the use of tests.

We still think that the early advice to keep our testing methods simple and direct was thoroughly sound. It is evident that we can use with scientific safety the Binet scale for grouping young children and defectives up to the level of 10 years. Beyond this, by using a wide range of other tests, we can discriminate other subnormal groups who are either defective in general or in special abilities.

In the present state of our knowledge concerning methods, discretion is needed in the selection of tests. Those primarily adapted to one group may not be valid for another social or age group. We have just finished an interesting comparison of the results on a certain performance test in which college young women did much worse on the average than younger persons. We have all too little proof that tests worked up for children are equally valid for adults. It is proposed that we render decisions upon, for instance, findings by the Binet tests, and yet it does not seem likely by the sort of results we ourselves have been getting that they could be as fairly applied to adults as to children for the purpose of social diagnosis, of discriminating those who are bound to be unsuccessful. We must remember that no one as yet has given us the results of these tests as applied to hundreds of ditch diggers, or section hands, who in their lowly spheres form most useful members of society.

Factors Affecting Interpretation of Tests

When it comes to the interpretation of tests we need to exercise much discretion. It is most dangerous to proceed to rendering diagnosis or prognosis without knowledge of the individual's background in heredity, developmental history and social environment. Such items as previous illness, present physical condition, debilitating habits, and educational opportunities need to be noted. In our work the question of epileptic variations alone is frequently before us. We see very clearly that grave injustice to the situation may be done without taking such possible features of the case into account.

Very different phases of psychological work with offenders are taken up properly from the viewpoint of human conduct in general being the province of the student of human life. Quite the minority of offenders show mental peculiarities which can be learned by testing and then related to their delinquencies. Let us look at some comparisons of offenders as we have grouped them by most careful study. Our court work has been in the main to see the problem cases. Undoubtedly most of the suspected psychotic or defective cases have been selected and brought for study. We have made a series of a 1,000 recidivisits, repeated offenders, the average age of whom is about 15 years. These have been graded by mental tests most carefully and we have found the following:

Considerably above ordinary in ability	3 per cent
Ordinary or fair ability	55 per cent
Poor in ability	9 per cent
Mentally dull, but suffering from defective physical conditions, or disease, or bad habits, which may be the cause of the dullness	8 per cent
Sub-normal mentality, but not strictly feebleminded.	8 per cent
Feebleminded (moron grade)	9 per cent
Feebleminded (imbecile grade)	1 per cent
Psychoses, ranging from well marked cases of insanity to temporary, but well-marked mental aberrations	7 per cent

Proportion of Delinquents Who Are Feeble-minded

I have found in various parts of the country considerable doubt expressed in regard to various statements that have been made of the proportions of the feeblemindedness which probably would be found by studying juvenile offenders. Teachers, judges, and probation officers have scouted the idea that there was upwards of 25 per cent. feebleminded among the children who come before a juvenile court. Our own long investigation would certainly show far otherwise. But, of course, we have never seen all of the thousands of children which come into the Chicago court yearly, and so we have never been able to definitely answer the question of just what proportion is mentally defective.

This year I have asked the assistant director of the Institute, Miss

Bronner, to undertake at regular periods cross section studies of the population temporarily held in the Detention Home. These probably would average lower than if one could see every case which was brought into court, for frequently the most normal children who have been engaged in a single offense are not brought into the Home. The results which she is obtaining I shall merely hint at, but they serve to show that the psychological study of delinquency involves very much more than the discrimination of the feebleminded. Anyone who has observed the considerable proportion of 7th and 8th grade, and high school girls and boys who become severely delinquent will not be surprised at our findings. At least 91 per cent. of the girls and 84 per cent. of the boys have been found so far to group normal mentally, if we take the 12-year-old tests of Binet as a standard. Now, as a matter of fact, I am not at all inclined without further investigation to denominate anyone as mentally defective who cannot pass the 12-year-old tests, because of the obvious weakness of these particular five tests for judging such an important point. But still we have been willing to place this criticism for the moment aside. There are several details of this given study which might be interesting to discuss, but this will be done elsewhere.

The above statements are not offered so much in opposition to other estimates of the proportion of defectives among offenders as to show the possible variation of findings in different situations where delinquents may be seen, and to show the nature of the work of the psychologist in courts. We can easily see why institutions for delinquents contain a greater proportion of mental defectives than is found in court work, for obviously the brighter ones are handled under probation, are found positions, and succeed better on the outside because they have more foresight and learn better by experience. It may be that a larger percentage of the defectives will be found in studying older groups in court work. Perhaps the brighter individuals cease earlier to be offenders. I await with interest comparative findings from the newly established municipal court psychopathic institutes in Boston, and in Chicago. But of course fair general statistics can never be made without covering an unselected series of court cases, such as we have recently undertaken.

We must not find reason from the above figures to underestimate the exceedingly important problem of feebleminded offenders. From their ranks one has come to know some of the most frequent repeaters, some of the worst teachers of vice, and even some of the most adept and such skilled criminalistic occupations as burglary. To answer the problem of their care would be to relieve a strain on society that is not even suggested by a statement of their proportionate numbers among offenders. No one has been more surprised than we ourselves to find the extent to which morons are actively engaged in crime, and are even definitely the instructors of others. The general notion that this class is merely easily led is altogether erroneous.

The extent of our findings of a single disease, namely epilepsy, among our repeated offenders we have often commented on. We need only to mention that about 7 per cent. have been found afflicted with various forms of this trouble. After all, this is only what might have been expected from similar observations of others elsewhere. The psychic manifestaitons of this disease make the victim a fit subject of study by the psychopathologist.

Important Problems of Adolescence

Many of our interests have centered about the problems of adolescence. We all know that criminalistic tendencies, those which perhaps control the career of a lifetime, nearly always first show themselves before the 19th or 20th year. The physiological aspects of this period are the ones that have been most frequently dwelt on, but for our purposes they may be ignored except as they influence the psyche. Overgrowth and restlessness and other phenomena at this time do not directly create criminalism. They have first to affect the mental life which directs action. We have found a fair field for investigation here, and one that opens up whole vistas of possible usefulness. Various new points of departure for legal procedure are to be developed from data gathered concerning this period of life, not the least of which is criticism of that strange arbitrary discrimination under the law which says that boys at 17 and girls at 18 are suddenly responsible, mentally formed, able to properly care for themselves, when a few months or days previously they were not. Our studies show that these age limits were not based on practical observations of human beings.

Not the least interesting and therapeutically important part of psychological study of offenders is ascertainment of the mental mechanisms and mental content which stand in relation to delinquency. However it may be with older persons—and such experienced men as Parker in New York suggest that with adults this is a rich field for endeavor—we have studied many cases of criminalistic tendency in young people in which the whole trouble centers about some psychically untoward experience or some mental conflict. From this was developed a definite anti-social grudge, or at least an anti-social attitude. These cases, well understood, present some of the most curable causes of crime.

We must pass with bare mention such data as those on obsessional mental imagery and the formation of mental habits, both of which psychical phenomena play a considerable part in driving towards delinquency. To appreciate what sets the mental machinery turning out anti-social deeds we have to dig deep into many human experiences and many mental activities.

Intensive and Extensive Study

It was easy to be seen at the beginning of the work that there would be value in both extensive and intensive studies. The former

would give a survey of the field which might lead to establishment of definite knowledge of the larger needs of the situation, would perhaps point the way to better legislation and public provision for various classes of offenders. The intensive work would furnish better understanding of types and the possibilities of their treatment. Then we soon realized that the careful and prolonged study of individual offenders was a rational preliminary to working up statistics from which general conclusions could be safely drawn. Time has justified this opinion. Nothing is rasher than to make general statements about social needs upon the basis of tests, observations and figures that have not been proved to solve the point at issue.

As an incident to the work with offenders the psychologist in court is occasionally asked about the reliability of witnesses. We have been gathering data upon this point in hundreds of cases by some tests, and find the matter a very difficult one to generalize upon. In this we agree with various foreign students of the subject. The ability to be a good witness is a highly individual matter, and frequently involves the conditions of a given occasion, upon which tests do not throw any light. Occasionally from psycholgical study one can render a strong positive or negative opinion concerning individual capacities, but much more frequently it seems to us that no safe opinion can be rendered.

Value of Early and Continued Study

We would still maintain, as we ever have done, that the greatest hope for amelioration of the heavy burden of delinquency is in very early studies and early understandings of individual cases. Not only for scientific purposes, but also for practical treatment the young individual with delinquent tendencies is best handled. Not entirely, since some social offenses may first arise in late adolescence, but in a large share of cases some of the most valuable criminological work can be done by specialists in child study. Even in early periods of life intensive studies must be made, especially of children of the psychopathic type. We are more than glad to see the rapid development of clinics for this purpose all over the country.

One word more about method: those who early suggested to us that intensive, continued study of a dozen offenders of a dozen different types would be worth more than a thousand short examinations spoke from a strong standpoint. Continuation studies are most valuable. They are necessary not only for giving understandings of types, but also for so understanding the individual that proper social adjustment of his case can be made. Our work shows plainly that except in the case of the grossly defective a short cross-section study is absolutely inadequate for the work in hand, namely, scientific treatment of the offender.

As we continue to see it then, the purpose of psychological work with offenders is nothing more or less than the understanding of the causes of misconduct. By no other methods will such causes be known,

and those who fail to reckon with the fundamental psychical conditions and processes which underlie delinquency will never get far in developing better methods of treatment. Psychology in that field is perfectly willing to be judged by results, and that is the best self recommendation that it can offer.

The application of well rounded and safe psychological studies in court work (not the pseudo-psychology that our friends decry) offers to the law the important addition of a scientific method. It presumes to gather in all the available facts that bear on the conduct in question, to set down opinions of diagnosis and prognosis, and then to follow these up in connection with any treatment given to see how correct they may have been, and to offer the chance of such readjustment as may be necessary. There is a direct study, then, of predictability. Now this is exactly the method of every science that aims at self improvement. Unfortunately this scientific endeavor at self improvement has heretofore not been the standpoint of the law. Nothing has been any more striking to us than our observations on this point.

Through the opening avenue of practical studies of mental life and conduct applied now to offenders in connection with court proceedings, we see every reason to believe that the outlook may be much better for dealing with the whole problem of delinquency and crime.

The Chairman of the Committee then presented an illustrated lecture which he called:

The Feeble-Minded in Picture and Story

as follows:

The term "Feeble-Minded" is now used as a generic term to include all classes of mental defectiveness except the insane. The three main classes are idiots, imbeciles and morons, who are divided by the Binet system as follows: Idiots are those who have a mental capacity similar to that of a child below three years of age; imbeciles of children between 3 and 8; and morons of children between 8 and 12. Those who test above 12 are not usually considered to be defective.

Pictures of members of the three main classes were shown, and others of mongols, cretins and moral imbeciles. Several of the tests were exhibited, including the ataxiagraph, stereoagnos, the form board and a few of the Binet tests. The lecturer then threw upon the screen heredity charts of 12 different individuals, also showing pictures of the subjects. Certain pictures of groups of defective girls, some of whom are safe in the protecting care of the institution and others of whom have been exposed to danger with disastrous consequences. After those there came pictures of school house, school gardens, kindergarten, school rooms, play grounds, work shops, garden and farm and an interesting series of individual boys and girls who have received training and are now self-supporting by their labor. Incidents in their careers were related both before and after they had received training which showed the practical application of the system of care recommended.

The last part of the lecture consisted of descriptions and views of some of the more interesting colonies, especially those at Templeton, Massachusetts, and Menantico, New Jersey. The argument for colony care to be applied to all imbeciles and morons after training was em-

phasized. It was claimed that it is possible that these people who if neglected would lead lives of misery, ignorance, idleness and vice; under proper, kindly and firm control may be given lives of industry, innocence and happiness, not only to their own very great benefit, but still more to the enormous benefit of the community.

Mental Hygiene
Section, May 12, 9:00 A. M.

MENTAL DEFECT IN RELATION TO ALCOHOL WITH SOME NOTES ON COLONIES FOR ALCOHOLIC OFFENDERS

Everett S. Elwood, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

Alcohol has long been the source of many of the most difficult tasks of those engaged in promoting human welfare and improving social conditions. The drunkard's family has ever been the insoluble problem in home relief, public and private. The drunkard's children are the despair of the child-caring agencies. Those who are engaged in the newer lines of preventive work find themselves face to face with alcoholism. The recent mental hygiene movement for the prevention of insanity recognizes alcohol as the greatest single cause of mental breakdown. The still more recent eugenics movement for the prevention of mental defect finds alcohol not only the most probable cause in a limited number of cases, but also the most dangerous ally of the mental defective.

When I was first asked to prepare a paper for this Conference, the subject given was, "Insanity in Relation to Alcohol." To make the subject harmonize with the remainder of the program, it was changed to "Mental Defect in Relation to Alcohol." This change was accepted with the understanding that we should interpret mental defect to include the different forms of insanity, as well as the different grades of congenital mental defect.

Definition of Terms

Insanity, it must be remembered, is not a single disease, but the popular term for a large group of very different diseases. Alienists define more than a score of distinct active mental disorders or diseases. Some mental disorders are functional, others show marked organic changes. It is very rare that a mental disease makes itself manifest in an individual before the age of sixteen, usually not before eighteen. Approximately 20 per cent. of mental disorders are permanently cured by medical treatment and hospital care, an additional 30 per cent. improve sufficiently to warrant the discharge of the patients from treatment, while the remaining 50 per cent. are incurable, never leaving the hospital for the insane after their first admission.

Mental defectiveness, on the other hand, manifests itself before the age of twelve. It consists in retarding or checking the develop-

ment of the brain in the growing boy or girl. We recognize three grades of mental defect, the idiot, who is mentally less than two years old, the imbecile, whose mental development corresponds to that of a normal child between two and seven years of age, and the high grade imbecile or moron, who is mentally between seven and twelve years old. Mental defectiveness, except in rare cases, is incurable by any means now known. The best treatment consists in custodial care with industrial training which accomplishes three highly desirable results: prevents the mental defective from reproducing his kind, makes his life as happy as it can be made, and makes him as near self-supporting as possible.

Alcohol and Mental Disease

Alcohol plays a much more prominent part in the production of some of the twenty or more mental diseases than it does in others, although any poison which has so marked an effect upon the nervous tissue as does alcohol if taken into the system regularly must be a contributing factor in the production of a large number of mental disorders other than those types which are now recognized as being attributed chiefly to alcohol. Of the whole group of mental diseases there are three known as delirium tremens, alcoholic epilepsy, and alcoholic dementia, which are caused only by alcohol. In addition to these, two other mental diseases, namely, acute hallucinosis and the polyneuritic psychosis (Korsakoff's disease), are caused by alcohol in an overwhelming majority of cases. These five mental disorders are sometimes grouped under the term of "alcoholic psychoses." According to the report of the New York State Hospital Commission, 10 per cent. of the 5,700 admissions to the state hospitals during the year ending September, 1912, were suffering from alcoholic insanity in one form or another.

In addition to being the cause of alcoholic insanities, we find alcohol a contributing cause in many mental breakdowns of various types. The last annual report of the New York Hospital Commission states that in addition to those suffering from the alcoholic insanities, 5 per cent. of those admitted last year owed their insanity to alcohol as the chief cause, making a total of 15 per cent. of all first admissions whose mental disorder was brought about by the use of alcohol. In addition to those cases where alcohol was the direct cause, 9 per cent. were intemperate in their habits, thus making a total of 24 per cent. of first admissions who owed their insanity directly to alcohol, or who were habitual users of the drug. This 24 per cent. contains three times as many men as women. The importance of these facts cannot be overestimated and should be thoroughly familiar to every boy and girl. In the little pamphlet entitled "Why Should Anyone Go Insane?" which has been distributed in large quantities throughout the State of New York, and which is endorsed by six of the leading experts in mental diseases in New York City, it is there stated that

30 per cent. of all men entering our state hospitals and 10 per cent. of all women, are suffering from conditions due directly or indirectly to the use of alcohol.

This statement of the percentage of insanity caused by alcohol in New York State will be found to vary considerably from figures compiled in other states and countries. A further analysis of the figures for New York State shows that a larger percentage of alcoholic insanity per hundred thousand of population comes from the cities than from the rural districts, consequently we should expect to find a lower percentage of insanity caused by alcohol in a state whose population is largely rural.

In speaking for the state of Massachusetts, Dr. Owen Copp says: "I find in looking over the admissions to the institutions for the last year that the assigned cause of insanity was intemperance in more than 15 per cent. of the cases, and that more than 10 per cent. of them were affected with alcoholic insanity." Dr. Sterns of Hartford, Connecticut, stated that 17 per cent. of the admissions to his hospital were caused by the use of alcohol. Speaking for Great Britain, Dr. Clouston, a prominent alienist, reports that for the years 1874-78 an average of 15.5 per cent. were "alcoholic lunatics." In the years 1889-98 the average was 21.5 per cent.; in 1899, 22.5 per cent.; in 1900-1, 24.5 per cent.; in 1902, 28 per cent. These averages were for total admissions. Professor Kraeplin, in 1902, said: "It is well known that in the asylums for the insane in the German Empire 10 per cent. of the patients have been committed on account of mental diseases due to alcohol. In some institutions the number is as high as 30 per cent., and even these figures do not include numerous cases in which alcohol has been an exciting, and not the primary cause of the trouble."

These reports from different states and countries support the general conclusion that an average of at least 10 per cent. of insanity, known as alcoholic insanity, is caused only by alcohol. In an additional 5 per cent., alcohol played a chief role in the production of the mental breakdowns; in many other cases it was an assigned habit disorder, undoubtdedly promoting the mental breakdown. This gives us a conservative total estimate of 20 per cent. in which alcohol is the direct or indirect cause.

Heredity and Alcoholic Insanity

In considering alcohol as a cause of insanity we must bear in mind the close relation which heredity bears to the subject. We have still much to learn regarding heredity. The figures for New York State show that in the year 1911, 51 per cent. of all admissions to the State Hospitals had a heredity showing an outcrop among blood relations of one or more cases of insanity, nervous disease, epilepsy or alcoholism. In the year 1912, 41 per cent. only showed such heredity; a reduction of 10 per cent. This reduction indicates to those who have made a study

of heredity that different methods must have been used in securing the histories of patients in the two years quoted. Of the strictly alcoholic insanities coming to the New York State hospitals 10 per cent. of them suffered from a constitutionally inferior make-up, or were mentally defective in the minds of the examining physicians before the use of alcohol began. It should be stated that a psychopathic heredity is prevalent in a larger proportion of the alcoholic insanities than is prevalent in the insane population in general. A very valuable study is being made under the direction of the New York State Hospital Commission in an effort to discover the part played by heredity and bad social conditions as causes of alcoholism and the so-called alcoholic insanities.

Alcohol and Mental Defect

The part played by alcohol in the production of mental defectiveness, including idiocy, imbecility and feeblemindedness, is very difficult to estimate from our present meager facts, and the opposing opinions of different authorities. Statistics collected independently by several investigators show that the parents of nearly 50 per cent. of defective children were alcoholists. This does not mean that 50 per cent. of those children were defective because of alcoholic parents. We cannot say without further study how many of the children would have been normal had their parents been abstainers. In a large number of the cases the parents were defective and this mental weakness led them into alcoholic habits.

Dr. Fernald says: "It is not easy to definitely prove the effect that alcoholism has on the mental condition. I should say that the great majority of the fathers of our patients use alcohol, although not all to excess. I suppose that the majority of the social class to which these people belong also use alcohol more or less freely. Any statements which one might make in regard to the influence of alcohol on feeblemindedness to be of value would have to be checked up with a control investigation of an equal number of cases where there were no feebleminded children." Dr. Martin W. Barr considers that approximately 6 per cent. of mental defect is caused by alcohol.

In England, Shuttleworth and Beach believe that it is the cause of 16 per cent. In Norway, according to Ludwig Dahl, it is a pronounced cause. Ruez observed idiocy common among the miners of Westphalia, who, living apart from their wives, return home on holidays and then generally get drunk. Delasiame says that at Cereme, whose wealth is in its vineyards, the inhabitants in consequence of a ten years vine disease were forced to remain sober, and of children born during this period, mental defect was appreciably lessened.

On the other hand in Scotland and on the coast of Normandy where whole villages, prior to the setting out of the men for the fishing grounds, get drunk at once, one would expect in nine months a crop of idiot

children, but such is not the case. Bezzola and Martmann state that examinations of the birth dates of idiots and imbeciles in Switzerland show that conception occurred in a large proportion of cases at seasons of the year when the celebrations of certain festivals were accompanied by much intoxication. It is said that this is recognized by the population and that such children are known in certain districts as "rauschkinder" ("jag-children").

Professor Demme found that the direct posterity of 10 families of drunkards amounted to 57 children; 25 died soon after birth; of the remainder 6 were idiots, 5 dwarfs, 5 epileptics, 1 each had chorea, chronic hydrocephalus, hair lip, and clubfoot. Two of the epileptics became alcoholics. In 10 normal abstaining families, among 61 children, 5 died soon after birth, 4 suffered from curable nervous affection, and 2 had congenital defects; 81.9 per cent. were sound in mind and body during childhood and youth, while only 17.5 per cent. of the children of the alcoholic families were normal.

Prof. Hodge showed that of 23 puppies born of dogs given alcohol with their food, 11 were born dead, 8 deformed and 4 appeared normal. Of 45 puppies born of dogs given no alcohol, 41 were normal, a percentage of 90.2 against the 17.4 per cent. of normal puppies born to the dogs taking alcohol with food.

While it cannot be denied that the toxic action of alcoholism in the father may be a direct cause of idiocy, one must also consider the associated cause; namely, the consequent condition of the mother. In a certain museum are casts of the heads of 7 microcephalic idiots; the father, keeper of a public house, a man of some intelligence, was nevertheless a dipsomaniac, causing his wife constant worry and anxiety. These children were not only conceived in drunkenness, but grew into being under abnormal conditions. The father was later deprived of drink, and a child perfect in every way was born.

We should not neglect to state that recent studies by the Francis Galton Laboratory of Eugenics, London, point to directly opposite conclusions. The weight of evidence, however, is in favor of the relation between alcoholism and mental defect as indicated above.

It is held by many psychiatrists that no single cause of imbecility and idiocy, except mental defectiveness in the parent, can compare with alcoholism in the parent. Intemperance of mothers during pregnancy is thought to be particularly likely to result in mental defect, epilepsy, or other neuropathic conditions in the offspring.

Alcohol and Mental Efficiency

The effect of alcohol upon normal mental processes and mental and physical efficiency of the normal individual will cast much light upon its effect upon the mentally defective. Professor Kraeplin, one of the leading physicians of the world, undertook an investigation of the psychic effects produced by drugs, with a view to gaining a clearer

insight into the nature of mental diseases. He undertook to produce artificially simple sets of psychic derangements by the use of chemical substances such as bromide, caffein, alcohol, cocaine, chloral, etc. The disturbing effects of alcohol proved especially striking, so much so that Kraeplin decided to devote particular attention to this widely consumed substance. As a result of his studies, he has reached the conclusion that alcohol has a leading influence on psychopathic degeneracy. The conclusions which he obtained from a long series of carefully performed experiments upon individuals from various walks of life, who were more or less accustomed to the effects of alcohol, were as follows:

"Unlike ordinary food, alcohol, when taken in moderate quantity on an empty stomach, has two distinct effects on the muscular system: a strengthening one and a weakening one. During the first brief stage after it is taken, the strengthening effect dominates; the alcohol probably being utilized as a food by the exhausted body, but no sooner is the first stage over than the weakening effect becomes more prominent, the alcohol probably acting injuriously upon the nervous system.

"Moderate amounts of alcohol, taken with a meal, affect a very considerable lowering of the capacity for doing muscular work. The widespread notion that drinking with meals helps a laborer to do his work is false.

"Moderate drinking retards to a very considerable extent the activities of life that are intermediate in complexity between purely muscular and psychical work.

"Moderate drinking reduces considerably an artisan's efficiency. Its effect is cumulative and the losses caused by it increase as time goes on.

"Moderate drinking reduces the rapidity with which free association of ideas are formed in the mind. Here also its effect is cumulative. The notion that alcohol stimulates a person to his mental work is surely not corroborated by the facts. Free association of ideas is affected by moderate daily drinking even more than the simpler habitual associations. The effects of alcohol on free association of ideas increase with its use.

"Ordinary memorizing is greatly retarded under the influence of moderate daily drinking. This conclusion is also corroborated by a set of 27 experiments, carried on by A. Smith in 1895."

Separating the Mental Defective From Alcohol: A Solution

From these conclusions reached by Professor Kraeplin, and from what has been said previously as to the important part played by alcohol in the causation of mental defect and disease, it is evident that the best solution lies in keeping the mental defective away from alcohol or, better still, keeping alcohol away from the mental defective. The marked extension of local option territory from which the saloon has been banished and the growth of state-wide prohibition of the liquor

traffic indicates that an ever-increasing majority of our people are becoming inspired by such a true philanthropy that they are willing to deny themselves the so-called "pleasures of the cup" for the sake of their weaker brothers. When we consider the mental defect, the poverty, the crime, the physical suffering and disease caused by alcohol, we should hesitate to boast of our belief in the brotherhood of man, of our high state of civilization and our great philanthropies if at the same time we cling to the pleasures, the privilege, and the so-called personal right of indulgence in the use of alcohol.

Those communities which do not keep alcohol away from the mental defective should make provision for keeping the defective out of temptation by means of hospitals for the insane alcoholic, training schools and industrial homes for the mental defective and farm colonies for inebriates.

This brings me to the last phase of my subject, which must be covered very briefly.

Farm Colonies for Inebriates

It is not only the social worker whose burden is increased by the habitual drunkard as he contributes very largely to the burdens of the courts and the police authorities. In the great majority of cases the drinker is arrested, brought to court and sent to the workhouse for a longer or shorter term only to come out at the end of his sentence and repeat the performance. A few states and cities have accepted the belief that many habitual drinkers are more diseased than criminal, and by effective medical treatment and care extended over a period of several months, or even two or three years, the result in many cases is recovery and reformation. Authorities on the subject of alcoholism are quite agreed that although certain cases are hopeless, there are many chronic alcoholics who may be saved to themselves, their family, and the community by hospital care amid congenial surroundings separated from the temptation of drink. This has resulted in the development in several states of farm colonies for inebriates.

The first attempt to treat alcoholism as a disease was made in New York State over sixty years ago. In 1859 at Binghamton, New York, the first inebriate asylum in the world was opened for patients. This institution did valuable service for twenty years when, due to mismanagement, it was turned over to the state for use in caring for the insane.

The State of Massachusetts has maintained a very successful hospital for the treatment of inebriates at Foxborough for over twenty years. Dr. Neff, the superintendent of this instituion, ably describes the needs of such a hospital as follows:

"The area selected should offer certain natural advantages; in other words, the land should be undeveloped, allowing for considerable work for the inmates and affording an opportunity for co-operation with

the Forestry, Agricultural, and other state commissions. This in my mind is an essential part of our educational scheme. The acreage should be as large as possible and permit of future extension.

"The buildings which are necessary for immediate occupancy are the different service buildings, which can be enumerated as follows: An administration building, a reception ward, and a small hospital for the treatment of emergencies; and for purposes of economy and efficient administration these buildings, with the ordinary service building, should furnish a central group. The cottages, which are units, should be sufficiently spread over the large area of land to permit of differentiation and segregation of the types. The ideal cottage or unit has its own kitchen and dining room, and the ordinary household duties are performed by the cottage inmates, who are responsible to the medical director for its care and proper administration. The cottage, or colony, is the pivot center of our scheme. The cottage intended for hospital cases should care for a maximum number of fifteen, and the patients in each cottage should be temperamentally congenial. These hospital cottages should be as widely separated as possible, not only for the purpose of securing complete differentiation, but in order to encourage competition and a healthy rivalry, which is an important part of the educational system. Each cottage, as before stated, will be cared for largely by the patient occupants.

"The cottages composing the detention colony, for the supposedly incurable inebriates, should accommodate a maximum number of twenty-five, and can be more closely grouped together, allowing for a more economical administration, but permitting a modified although less complete segregation than is possible in the hospital colonies.

"The cottages for female inebriates should be arranged practically in the same manner. Another requisite which should be considered is the inauguration of clinics or detention hospitals in cities or towns. In these adjunct hospitals should be treated cases of acute alcoholism which voluntarily presented themselves for treatment or which were brought in as emergency cases. These hospitals or clinics for uniform management and the transfer of patients, should be administered under the same board of trustees and the same medical director as the parent institution."

Following the lead of Massachusetts, the states of Iowa and Minnesota have established and successfully maintained hospitals exclusively for the treatment of inebriates. Other states have appointed commissions for the investigation of drunkenness with power to advise on conditions and remedies. Maryland, Connecticut, Ohio, and Indiana and New Jersey are actively concerned in such investigation. Michigan has reported favorably on the feasibility of a state farm, has purchased a tract of 800 acres and will soon start the construction of the cottages.

In this connection, we should call attention to the importance of after-care work with recovered cases. A year or two at the hospital

colony may result in the recovery of the inebriate, but he will need friendly guidance and suitable employment to keep him from slipping back into his former bad habits.

Conclusion

In summarizing the relation of alcohol to mental defect, we can say that at least 20 per cent. of all insanity is caused directly or indirectly by the use of alcohol. A certain amount of mental defect is the result of alcoholism in the parents, and its resulting effect upon the environment of the child. A thorough study of the part played by alcohol as a cause of mental defect is greatly needed at the present time. Alcohol is the most dangerous ally of mental defect, and should be kept from the mental defective.

So long as we permit the public sale of intoxicants in the majority of our states, we must provide an ever-increasing number of hospital accommodations for the care of those suffering from the alcoholic insanities, custodial institutions for the care of the mentally defective and hospital colonies for the inebriate.

SYPHILIS IN RELATION TO INSANITY AND OTHER KINDS OF MENTAL DEFECTIVENESS

J. H. Fox, M. D., Assistant Physician, State Insane Hospital, Asylum, Miss.

The name by which this disease is most often recognized in all languages was first employed by Hieronymus Fracastorius, who in the year 1521 composed a poem in which a herdsman named Syphilus was afflicted with some mysterious malady by the god Apollo, for giving divine honors to the king. The disease of syphilis has been claimed by some to have existed in pre-historic times. Such evidence as exhumed bones which exhibit lesions said to have been of syphilitic origin have been produced to prove these claims. Much mention is made in Biblical history of a plague that some writers have been so bold as to suggest was meant by that part of the second commandment which says, "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Without having any actual proof it is very easy to believe that the downfall of Rome and Greece may be largely attributed to the constitutional effects of this disease incurred in the practice of debauchery and riotous living. History also tells us that syphilis was first introduced into Europe in 1493, after the return of the fleet of Columbus from the West Indies. But there has been no positive proof as to whether it originated in the Indies or was carried there by earlier settlers.

But it matters little where or when the disease was first known to historians, it is well known that its baneful influence has been widespread for many ages, and as a result, society harbors a plague that produces classes which become a burden upon the community. The natural tendency of the human race is to produce a set of beings who are well formed and vigorous, but when syphilis has placed its indelible stamp there are procreated individuals who are mentally and physically unfit and are destined to drag out a miserable existence and doomed to an early death. Unfortunately most of the victims of this malady owe to ignorance rather than intention the debt they so dearly have to pay. There are men and women who with their middle class prudery dare not pronounce the name of syphilis. All of this mass of misery and ignorance is covered over and clamped down by a taboo of silence, imposed by the horrible superstition of sex-prudery. Thinking people cannot fail to realize the need of a radical change in our method of education. Dr. Eliot, former president of Harvard University, said, "The policy of silence in matters pertaining to sex has failed disastrously."

Disease Transmissible

Syphilis is a race poison and its marks are not alone left upon the brain of the parent but are transmitted through the blood to the second and third generation. Heins once said that a man should be very careful how he selected his parents. We have positive proof that inherited syphilis is often the causative factor in the production of insanity, feeblemindedness, epilepsy and many of the destructive diseases of the nervous system. The progressive paralysis of childhood is one of the results of hereditary syphilis.

How often is the pomp and glory of the marriage ceremony turned into tragedy and blighted hopes by the bride receiving an infection that will bequeath to her offspring an inheritance of incapacity. There is nothing so beautiful in the world as the birth of a healthy, normal, wonderful mite of life, but think of the horror we have when we behold the dreadful physical and mental monstrosities, infants of syphilitic parents. Visit any children's hospital and you can readily pick out the child of syphilitic parentage. The hydrocephalic heads, old faces with parchment-like skin, are distressing to look upon.

The sad part of this is that we have no cure for these poor unfortunates. It is true that syphilis in the main can be cured, but unfortunately the average individual will not persist in the treatment long enough to obtain the necessary cure. Another reason why we have so many direful results from this disease is that frequently the victim falls into the hands of venereal quacks who exert more energy in bleeding him of his money than they do in purifying the blood stream. Our men and boys should be taught from early childhood that immoral living is very liable to result in the contraction of syphilis and it can-

not be too often quoted that over the door of every immoral resort might truthfully be written, "Incurable insanity may be contracted here."

Degenerative Effects

The ravages of syphilis bring about a degenerative condition of the arteries of the brain and as a result of this weakening of the vessel walls, a rupture may occur and to the board of vital statistics another case of apoplexy is reported, predisposing cause not given. It is a well known fact that some of our most distressing cases of depressive mania are a result of a syphilitic neoplasm or gumma that occurs in the cortex of the brain. The presence of this tumor pressing upon the brain substance produces an active mania.

By far the most dreaded of all brain diseases is that of paresis or "softening of the brain," and carefully compiled statistics tell us that all general paresis has been preceded by syphilitic infection, usually insufficiently treated. The mortality tables also tell us that in the year 1911 there were 134 deaths from smallpox in the whole of the United States, while during the same year there were 590 deaths from general paresis in the state of New York alone. Statistics also tell us that 22.5% of the men and 5.5% of the women admitted to our insane hospitals from the city are paretics, also 8% of the men and 2.5% of the women from the country admitted are paretics.

The onset of paresis is so insidious that a mistaken diagnosis is frequently made. There are today men holding such positions as railroad engineers, switchmen and the like, in whose hands are held thousands of human lives, who are in the first stages of paresis. Naturally cases such as these are startling, but anyone familiar with insane hospital work will tell you that very frequently paretics are admitted who have just been discharged for neglect of duty or whose mental condition had been made known by some mistake or blunder that has caused pain or the loss of life to some one. The picture of the last days of a sufferer from general paresis is almost too pitiful to be drawn. He passes from the stage of indifference and impaired memory through the stage of delusions of grandeur to the final stage of dementia. When he has progressed this far we have a complete mental and physical wreck, untidy and filthy in his habits, helpless, subject to convulsions and a horrible object to behold, to whom death is a relief.

Public Education the Only Remedy

The only hope for victory over this great social scourge is enlightenment. When the public comes to understand its real character and knows the penalties for violation of sexual hygiene, then and then only, can we begin to stem the tide that is steadily and surely filling our asylums and other institutions with "Damaged Goods." We should begin early with our children and honestly instruct them as to the dangers of lapses into adultery; by education strike the tinsel from

the woman of loose sexual practices and expose the pitiful creature beneath.

Let us deny the child no truth that can serve him. Not legislation, nor fairy tales, but education is the solution of this problem. Violations of the health of the body are moral sins for which no remedy is so effective as the simple knowledge of the truth. "We shudder as we read the grim words of the Jehovah of the ancient Hebrews, and yet not all the learning of modern times has availed to deliver us from the cruel decree that the sins of the father shall be visited upon the children."

DISCUSSION: The discussion of papers on Mental Hygiene was participated in by Mr. Ellwood, Mr. McConlogue of Iowa, Mr. Patterson of New Orleans, Dr. Fox and others.

Defective Delinquency
Section, May 15, 9:00 A. M.

DEFECTIVES IN THE JUVENILE COURT

Hon. George S. Addams, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Cleveland, O.

It is not the function of the juvenile court to supplant all other agencies dealing with the problems of childhood. It is, rather, the place to which children are brought when other agencies fail or lack the legal authority to do what should be done. The court diagnoses the case and brings together the child and the agency or person most capable of assisting it. A few years ago some of the advocates of this court thought it an easy means of salvation for the race. When one generation of children had been redeemed by the magical power of the juvenile court there would be no more wickedness. But it has not worked that way. Each new generation must meet its moral problems, and the court needs all the aid which the community affords to strengthen and upbuild its wards, because it is with the weak and inefficient, to a large extent, that this court deals, and it is becoming increasingly evident that this is so of all courts, and of industrial schools, reformatories and penitentiaries, as well as of charity organization societies and many other social agencies.

Workers in these fields have long known that feeblemindness was a tremendous burden to the race, but it is only since the Binet test has come into general use that the extent of the problem has begun to be appreciated even by those who are close to it. It is apparent that the courts, in common with other social agencies, have been working in darkness.

Necessity of Individual Treatment

At our meetings in years gone by we have discussed the cause of crime and delinquency. By some it was attributed to environment and

by others to heredity. The fact is each case must be separately treated. In every city can be found scores of families with which courts have been working but without avail. In a case I have in mind almost all the organized forces of the community have given their best efforts in an attempt to bring the family back to normal conditions. Thousands of dollars have been expended and persistent and untiring personal service given, but at the end of five or six years the condition is not only not improved, but, with each recurring birth, is becoming more complicated and involved. There are now children in reformatories, institutions for feebleminded, schools for defectives and prisons.

Scores of other cases respond to a similar treatment. Investigation shows that the failures are frequently due to lack of mental capacity. As Lowell says: "The defect in their heads is just absence of mind." The treatment which the court prescribed and which the social agencies applied was good. It is like calomel—generally harmless and effective—and therefore a good thing to prescribe when in doubt; but we have acted too much on doubt and the day is at hand when a closer diagnosis is demanded. Through our ignorance we have interfered with nature's laws; we have coddled the weak without benefiting them. Instead of being forced to the wall, they were preserved to propagate their kind.

Knowledge is spreading and when it becomes general more intelligent treatment will be demanded. And in this work the juvenile court is to play an important part because it is the agency which organized society uses to determine what is to be done, and in no other place is the problem crying more persistently for solution.

The use of the Binet scale has shown that among those who have been brought to juvenile court a second or third time the percentage of defectives is exceedingly high; in reformatories it varies from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent. Dr. Healy found traces of epilepsy over thirty times as prevalent among one thousand repeaters as in the average run of men. Even without a mental examination it is apparent to any judge that defectiveness is common among habitual truants; it is common among prostitutes, and a fruitful source of illegitimacy. When a boy does not like school and quits at the fifth or sixth grade, and at the beginning of life's labor goes from job to job, remaining in one position but for a week or a month, it at once awakens the suspicion of defective mentality. When a judge remarks that the boy has been in court before, his mother says: "Yes, but that was only for not going to school." From the judge's viewpoint, this makes the matter the more serious. It indicates a temperamental inability on the boy's part to adjust himself to his environment.

Plan of Treatment

What, then, should be the policy and practice of the court in dealing with this question? The answer must, of course, depend upon the

local situation, and the provision which the community makes for the care of its unfortunates. Some courts are today well organized to meet this situation. They have at their beck and call physicians and experts in mental and nervous disorders who not only point out the mental defectives, but, by careful study of family and environmental conditions, are able to suggest the proper treatment, and they have at hand institutions equipped to give the treatment required. On the other hand, in less populous communities, where there is little crime and no poverty and juvenile court cases are rare, when occasion does arise for expert knowledge it is generally lacking, and if present, of little real value because the facilities for proper treatment are not provided by the state. It is therefore hard to suggest a plan which will meet with these varying conditions, but some general principles and practices can be agreed upon.

Every juvenile court judge should have at his call a physician. Backwardness is frequently due to physical defects or lack of proper nourishment. Any physician worthy of the name is competent to advise in such a case, and when such causes are removed the child will, in a proper environment, become normal. But the average physician knows little of mental disorders. His course in the medical college has only scratched the surface here and there. The diagnosis of feeblemindedness requires the expert, and such men, as a rule, can be found only in the large centers of population where there is constant demand for such service.

Courts in small places, however, can generally secure the services of persons capable of giving the Binet test; and while no border-line child or high-grade imbecile should ever be permanently committed with such a test, only, as a basis, it does give the court a most helpful knowledge of conditions. Such knowledge is supplemented by the child's school record. This is especially so where the school authorities have recognized the importance of the problem; and pertinent facts of this nature are often revealed by the parents if they have been approached in the proper manner by the court or probation officer. However, too much credit should not be given to the statements of parents that their child's shortcomings are due to head injuries received in infancy. Facts concerning the family history are, as a rule, helpful. The court should then avail itself of the facilities at hand, and where the facilities are lacking the judge should use every means of publicity at his command to educate the public and awaken a sentiment which will procure the needed relief.

Values of Custodial Care

Unless the child's environment is exceptionally good, the best disposition is generally custodial care. Defective children are not, as a rule, bad; but they are apt to become bad because too much is expected of them. Their conduct is often a blind protest against an order of

things they do not comprehend. They are often objects of ridicule if among normal children and they lose their self-respect; they become discouraged and lose ambition; they want to leave school; they become sullen and unhappy. This leads to the formation of bad habits, particularly if they are physically active. Whatever is bad comes to the surface. By unruliness they seek to attract the attention which others procure in a different way. The mingling of normal children and defectives in school is a detriment to both classes, because they require different kinds of treatment. Boards of education are just beginning to understand that the enormous expense which is caused by children repeating grades is due, in large measure, to the cause of which we speak.

On the other hand, most feebleminded youths under proper custodial supervision are well behaved, easily managed and happy. Many can be taught simple tasks. As a rule, the morons are willing workers. They can frequently be made self-supporting. When, in addition to the above, it is remembered that from 70 per cent. to 80 per cent. of feeblemindedness is inherited, the need of institutional custodial care becomes apparent.

About twenty-five of the states have institutions for the feebleminded, but to almost all of them the commitments are voluntary. Children can be removed at the will of the parents. This, of course, should be changed, and the mentally defective should be committed on the same terms as the insane; they should be released only on the recommendation of competent state authorities.

The remedy, however, to some extent, lies within the power of the juvenile court which can, by its journal entry, parole the child to a probation officer or some competent person to be placed in such an institution, and, with such a court order, the parents would have nothing to say about either the commitment or release; and the child's welfare would not be determined by either selfish or misguided affection. This power of the court, however, is seldom exercised.

But When the Institution Is Full—

If, as is generally the case, the institutions for the feebleminded are not large enough to meet the demands of the community, it becomes the duty of the judge to select for commitment those who are most dangerous to society, and first among these is the girl of child-bearing age, because she is the most likely to reproduce her kind. According to Dr. Goddard, feebleminded women are three times as likely to marry as feebleminded men, and they are much more likely than normal women to have illegitimate children. They are the objects of pursuit of licentious men, while no moral woman is physicaly attracted to a feebleminded man.

Where, as is generally the case, the majority of these children must be cared for at their homes, the judge should select from his probation

officers one, preferably a woman, who has a keen sympathy for this class of unfortunates, and should develop in her a special aptitude for this kind of work. A resourceful woman can accomplish wonders in this way. It will then become her duty so to organize the forces of home and community as to guard, protect, encourage and uplift her wards. By her close contact with the situation she can sense danger and warn the court in time to prevent disaster. Repeated contact will familiarize her with the institutions which care for such children. She can advise the court of the resources at its command, and by her familiarity with those who need and those who help, she will become most valuable to all concerned.

In any state there will be a large number of judges who will have little or no knowledge of this branch of their work, and this is especially true in states like Ohio where politics rather than fitness is so often the determining factor, and where judicial positions are regarded as plums to be passed around. The mistakes of such judges are numerous and disastrous. Superintendents of state institutions can cite examples by the score. But even among well-intentioned, capable judges there is great lack of uniformity of treatment.

Novel Plan of Commitment in Ohio

To remedy this evil Ohio has adopted a novel scheme. After July 1st, 1914, commitments to state institutions are to be made, not directly, but through the State Board of Administration. This board is to assume the guardianship, consider the needs of the child and assign it accordingly. Any child already committed may be transferred to another institution or to a family home. In order that it may act intelligently, the Board is to maintain a psychopathic clinic, or bureau of juvenile research. Such board is further empowered to lend the aid of such bureau to any public or charitable institution.

Workers are now being trained in the various state institutions and children are being tested. Of 100 consecutive commitments to the Boys' Industrial School only 17 were found normal; the balance were border-line, backward or defective. There were thirty cases of recommitment and of this thirty none was in the normal group. Further inquiry developed that:

29 had been in children's homes;
10 had received charity outside of institutions;
5 had parents in infirmaries;
9 had parents who received charity outside institutions.

The first plan was to build a receiving institution in connection with the psychological department of the State University where these preliminary studies could be made. An insufficient appropriation delayed this plan, and more deliberate consideration may lead the board to abandon it entirely. In this event, commitments will be made to the Board of Administration at the institution which the court thinks best

meets the needs of the particular case. The juvenile research work will then be made at the various institutions and transfers will be made as the advisability therefor becomes apparent.

When the Ohio plan is put into action, many incidental advantages will appear. It will be a distinctive advantage from an administrative and economic standpoint when the distribution of money and of children among the various state homes is made by this board. Under the old law the board has had to provide accommodations at the institutions to which judges committed. Tests have shown that a large number of feeble-minded are now in homes designed for normal children, therefore, under the new law the pressure at the home for feebleminded will be the greatest. The board will feel this pressure and relieve it. In other words, the new cottages will be built at the institution for feebleminded, where they should be. The removal of sub-normal children from the industrial schools will relieve congestion there and make room for the normal children for whom these schools were planned. This will result in great saving, because it costs from 20 to 50 per cent. less to care for feebleminded than for normal children. In corroboration of this, I refer to a recent study by Dr. Hart of the cost of the care of children in the various New York State institutions.

It will be noted that the Ohio law does not become effective until after the child has been brought to court. It might, therefore, be wisely supplemented by the addition of certain provisions of the New Jersey statutes. That state, from its treasury, pays a portion of the tuition expense of defective children. This not only insures the right kind of teaching, but it makes it to the advantage of the local authorities to find these children. Once identified, every agency that has to deal with them can act intelligently.

DISCUSSION: The discussion of Defective Delinquency was participated in by Mr. Page of Saskatchewan, Mr. Bradley of Minneapolis, Judge Addams, Mr. Alexander Johnson, Mrs. Benjamin West of Memphis, Mrs. Schoenfeld of Little Rock, Mr. Davenport of Baltimore, Mr. Mason of Northampton, Massachusetts, Mr. Lawrence of Boston, Miss Chambers of Little Rock, Mr. Jones of Ohio, Mrs. Amigh of Birmingham, and Mr. Eddy of Baltimore.

STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR

The evening session of this Committee was attended by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Memphis in a body.

Introductory Statement*

Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary National Child Labor Committee, New York City, Acting Chairman.

This is an important session in the history of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor. The first committee on this subject presented a report at the Conference four years ago. It followed that with a report three years ago, both leading up to a specific, definite declaration as to certain minimum standards that should be advocated by members of this Conference and urged upon the public. Those standards were presented at the Cleveland Conference, and referred, as you may recall, to minimum standards of wages, hours, safety and health, housing, the term of working life, and industrial insurance or compensation. Last year at Seattle special emphasis was laid upon certain of these planks, and it was urged by the president of the Conference, Mr. Tucker, that effort should be made to secure the co-operation of public officials in making real the standards that ought to appeal so definitely to the conscience and intelligence of the general public. He also urged that one important function of those engaged in the various activities represented at this Conference is to see that public officials do their duty. It is not enough that laws be passed to secure the standards on the statute books, both state and federal, advocated by the committee of the Conference, but it is clearly the duty of the general public to see that their public servants, who are maintained as a burden upon the taxpayers and rent payers of the country, do their duty and make these standards real.

According to the report of the Committee on Organization today, the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor holds its final session tonight. There is no provision for this committee next year. This we regard as a satisfactory and complimentary attitude toward the committee, for it is our interpretation that while there are certain social evils that may continue for years to exist, this committee, during the five years of its active life, has laid down certain fundamental principles which constitute the basement floor of our industrial organization, and it now becomes our duty to put these principles into effect.

In the report of the committee for this year Mr. Neill emphasizes again the necessity of these standards. We may say with satisfaction that no new declaration is contained here. We declare that we have

* General Session May 14, 8:00 P. M.

already placed before the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and through this Conference have placed before the ninety million of people of America such a platform for the social organization of industrial world. If you will visualize these for a moment you will realize in laws and practice the declarations laid before them there is no use preaching any further. We urge you during the coming year to use your influence in every place and through every agency to see that these standards are maintained. The substance of this report maintains that all these social evils connected with our industries have a big inter-relationship, that there are inter-locking social liabilities in the industrial world. If you will visualize these for a momnet you will see how they relate one to another. Draw an imaginary circle in which you will find various arcs, named industrial inefficiency, low wages, unemployment, vagrancy, bad housing, intemperance, industrial diseases, early death, child labor, illiteracy, poverty. It is our contention if you take one of our citizens at any point in this vicious circle he is likely to come in contact with all the other social misfortune named in this list. The industrial inefficient is a man who probably was employed at a premature age, without educational opportunities, the child of poverty, of a poor home, poorly housed, and brought up in unsanitary condition. He entered industry inefficient and remained inefficient through life, and his life is usually brief. He was the first to be thrown out of employment when business was slack because he was the least profitable, and he was the last to be taken on again when business picked up. He was subject to diease, his wages the lowest possible, and when he becomes the father of a family it is his children who are most quickly beset by the dangers of child labor. His children are taken out of school before they have laid the foundations of an education. They become the industrial inefficients of the next generation, and start the circle again.

It gives me great pleasure to present to the Conference the report of the committee which will be printed in the Proceedings, and then to introduce the speakers of the evening.

COMMITTEE REPORT

Charles P. Neill, Chairman, New York City.

In previous reports presented to this Conference, the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor has discussed at length various requirements that should be struggled for in setting up standards of living and of labor; and at the last Conference it laid down a broad and comprehensive platform dealing with this general subject.

It has seemed to the Committee that in its report for the present year it would be well to hark back to certain fundamental propositions, which from time to time, unfortunately, need to be reasserted and re-

emphasized. The Committee, therefore, at this time wishes to invite your adherence to the proposition that no standard of living and of labor should be accepted as proper in any community that does not recognize the maintenance of that normal family life which is at once the foundation of any sound political system and the basis of all healthy social progress.

There may be differences of opinion amongst different schools of thought as to what is "woman's proper sphere," or as to what are the proper boundaries of her activities. But upon one proposition, concerning woman's work, your Committee holds that there cannot be two opinions among right-minded people. And this proposition is, that a woman, with an able-bodied husband and a family of young children, belongs in her home attending to her household duties and rearing her children and not in a mill, factory or workshop.

It may be doubted whether any American community could be found that would not give its assent in principle to this proposition; but the ugly fact remains that in a large number of communities this same proposition is repudiated in fact, and that industry has made such inroads upon normal family life that it is a thing unknown to thousands upon thousands of working families. It is an ugly and abnormal condition both of living and of labor when thousands, and tens of thousands, and even hundreds of thousands of families exist in which both the mother and the father are compelled to work every day of the year upon which they can secure work in order to maintain in material comfort their family of young children.

An Indictment From Common Observation

An altogether depressing sight to any right-thinking person and one that is a glaring indictment of our industrial system, is to be seen morning after morning in most of the large industrial centers of the more thickly settled portions of the United States. We may take as an example any of the large mill towns of the East. One can stand on the streets of such a town in the dark of an early winter morning, day after day, and see hundreds of parents emerging from their tenements and hurrying along under the shadows of the street lamps leading little children, and in many cases even carrying babes in arms, to leave them under the care of some one for hire while both the mother and the father hurry to their work in the mills. The same sight can be duplicated in the early dark of a winter's evening, when the parents can be seen bringing their children back from these children's boarding houses to their own homes. Thus, from morning till night, week in and week out, and year in and year out, babies and children too young to go to school, are left without a mother's care, except for the few hours between the close of work in the evening and bedtime.

In some instances, these babies and little children are taken to the country on Sunday afternoons by their parents and left with families

there until the end of the week, when the Saturday half holiday permits the parents to go out and bring them home. In these cases, only for twenty-four hours in a week are these little children of tender years under the charge of their own parents.

These are not isolated or exceptional practices. On the contrary, they typify the family life, or rather the absence of family life, that is the lot of tens of thousands of working families in the United States. It is because this condition is widespread and because it is one that is growing with the growth of certain forms of industry, that the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor urges upon the attendants at this Conference that the basic standard of living upon which every community should insist without faltering and without compromise is a standard that will permit the normal family life; and that it further urges that we should not give up the view that the normal family life is one in which the husband and father is the sufficient breadwinner, in which the mother is free while she has a growing family to stay at home and care for that family, and in which the children, while they are of school age, shall have every opportunity to avail themselves of whatever school facilities the community offers.

It need not be pointed out to this Conference how charity workers have increasingly accepted the principle that needy families should as far as is practicable be kept together and the family life maintained, and that the family is to be broken up only when other resources fail. But what the Committee wishes to point out is that a practical or a partial breaking up of families is going on rapidly among working families who are not dependents and who in no way come under the care of charitable organizations. It is just as important that this principle of family life be maintained and insisted upon.

Unreasonable Standards Not Sought

It is not of course contended here that every occupation in every industry should pay what might be called a "family living wage." It is clearly realized by the Committee that in every industry there are subordinate occupations and unskilled tasks suited to young and inexperienced workers that do not justify such a wage as has been referred to. We do not forget that children go to work from fourteen years upward—and the pity of it, in some states, at a still earlier age—and that the work upon which they begin and in which they spend their earlier years is of a kind that does not and cannot, and need not, pay a living wage, in the sense even in which this would be applied to an adult worker with a family. The Committee realizes also that there is an army made up of hundreds of thousands of young women workers who, for a few years, between the time when they are grown and the time when they marry and assume the responsibilities of married life, are in the ranks of industrial workers. It is not argued that their training, or the character of the work they do, or social needs, demand that they be paid what has above been styled a "family living wage." But, on the

other hand, there is a vast field of industry in which the labor is and must be performed by men with wives and families of little children; and in any intelligently organized social system the great standard industries should furnish employment to this class of men on such a basis of remuneration as would enable such a worker to support his family in comfort by his own efforts during those years from marriage until his oldest children are able to contribute their share towards the growing needs of the family.

It is bad enough and evidence enough of a serious social and industrial maladjustment that in some of our great basic industries mothers should have to abandon their little children and stand side by side with their husbands in the ranks of breadwinners in order to support their families; but at least the mothers are grown, have the strength of adults, and are merely working in one place where they do not belong rather than in another where they unquestionably do belong. It is infinitely more pitiable and more shocking that in this perhaps the wealthiest, the most richly dowered with material resources and the most progressive of the nations of the earth, little children of tender years should be permitted to be denied the opportunity for an ordinary education and forced into the ranks of the breadwinners and compelled to take upon their shoulders the economic burdens that belong to men.

Until a system has been set up that will keep the mothers of young children in their homes and not in the mills, and that will keep little children in their homes and in their schools, we cannot rest satisfied with our standards of living and labor.

A comparatively recent decision of the United States Supreme Court has given a sweeping sanction to the right of the state in the interest of social well-being to prescribe by legislation the conditions under which women wage earners may be required to work. The Committee suggests, therefore, for the further consideration of this general session of the Conference, the protective standards that every community should insist upon for those of its women who must enter the ranks of the wage earners and the protective standards for children who, having finished their schooling, have also been enrolled in the ranks of the industrial army.

The matter of these standards will be discussed in the two papers immediately following this report.

PROTECTIVE STANDARDS FOR WOMEN WAGE EARNERS

Jean Gordon, Southern Secretary, National Consumers' League, New Orleans, La.

I think it is very kind for such a large audience to come out this evening, because I am sure if Mr. Alexander Johnson should insist on applying the Binet test to us we would be declared defectives,—for

after a week of addresses such as we have had on every social topic, I am sure our brains are addled. I know mine are.

I hate to talk about child labor. Every time I attend one of these meetings to talk on child labor the subject seems more cruel; but it is my part in life, the last few years, to have to present to southern audiences what is being done for the women and children, particularly in the South.

If we are going to accept the decision as returned by the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Brewer being the spokesman, "that woman is the race and that the state has a perfect right to surround her with all protection possible in order to protect the race," and if we are going to accept Josephine Goldmark's dictum in her splendid book Fatigue and Efficiency, which says that "a tired person is a poisoned person, poisoned by her own waste products," then must the state recognize, if she is to be preserved, that she must surround her motherhood with every possible protection in order that the race may be kept virile. It has seemed to me that Nature has had a special spite against the labor into which the women and young girls of our country have been sent. There is no better breeding place for tuberculosis than the spinning room or the weaving room of a cotton mill. There is usually room in every discussion for differences of opinion, but it is not to be disputed that you cannot make cotton except in a wet, moist atmosphere, which any doctor here will tell you when added to the dust laden atmosphere, makes a splendid medium for the spread of tuberculosis. You cannot spin cotton into fine white cloth unless it is done in moist, wet rooms. Another place we find so many young girls is in laundry work, where again you find the same wet, moist conditions, with the added hot air which comes from the gas, as most of the irons and machines are heated with gas. In the tobacco industry we find young girls sitting all day long in a moist atmosphere. As she sits handling the moist tobacco leaves she becomes impregnated with the poison until you can detect the odor of it in her hair and body. There she becomes a nervous wreck before she has a chance to get out into life at all.

People Do Not Know Conditions

I have always contended that the reason we have so much labor of women and children out in industry under conditions as they are is that it is because very few of the people who have any influence to create legislation know the conditions,—at least they never see them. I have often wished I could awaken the so-called influential people of the city of New Orleans and get them to stand on the corner of Canal and Decatur streets at about half past six in the morning and see that army of three and four thousand young girls from fourteen to eighteen and nineteen marching to the candy and cracker and bag and tobacco factories, and to the laundries. Unfortunately at that hour the people who

represent the class who are before me this evening are just about turning over for their last forty winks and when the seven o'clock whistle blows those girls have already started their day's work, and there they stay and work until six o'clock in the evening, and when they pour out again and scurry across Canal street to their different homes you and I are seated around our well filled dinner table and so we do not see this condition, and few people have the power of imagination. You have to see the picture before you can understand it. This is the reason we have allowed young women and children to be used in industry as we have allowed them in these past few years.

I am not here to advocate a "back to the home" movement; that will never be. Women have gone out of the home into the industries of the world forever. The changed industrial conditions which have come about have dragged women out of the home, and it is not, as so often you hear men and women say, that girls go into industry in order to buy silk stockings and willow plumes at $3.50 a week! Go with me into the dressing rooms of factories and see the poor, pitiful, cheap clothing hanging there,—their best generally. It is industry which we have to improve for the women. The women have gone out into it never to return to the home, and we have to see that industry is not going to ruin the mothers of this country. In the old days—it is not so long ago, either—the woman in the home was the great manufacturing agent within her four walls, but today all that has been taken away, and she can no longer stay in the home, and make her living. She must go out to do it, and we must see that proper standards are thrown around her.

Tedium and Monotony of Work

Take the young girl that goes out of her home at about half past six in the morning at the latest. She must be in the factory at about six-forty-five in order that the working clothes will be on and she will be at her machine ready to start when the whistle blows. Take it in the knitting mill—I wonder how many of you ever saw a stocking made. There is no industry that requires keener sight or quicker work than that. The stocking leg is knitted in long strips, snipped off by shears into proper lengths whenever a foot is to be knit on to it. Each girl has about six little machines with hundreds of very fine needles. She must bring this stocking leg up through the machine and then make each stitch fit on to its corresponding needle on the little round machine. It requires keen sight and very attentive work, because if one stitch slips its needle then you have a slipped stitch stocking, and that is of no account, and the girl is charged up for that much waste. When she has got every stitch on to its corresponding needle she starts the lever and the foot is worked on. In the meantime she has been putting the stocking on the other five little machines and the process goes on and on, the same wearying process all day long. It is marvelous to

watch the dexterity with which the little hands get the stitches on—the nervous tension that very soon shows in their drawn faces bending over those little machines.

When we talk of reducing the hours of work to ten a day so many seem to think that is ideal. But we have to remember that that means an eleven hour day in the factory. It is ten hours of *work*. An hour for lunch is added. The girl has to leave home at least half an hour before seven in the morning and won't get home until at least a half-hour after the hour she is let out of the factory, making a twelve hour day away from home. We hear so much about home influence. As I look at these girls in industry in the city of New Orleans I often stop and wonder what is to be the future of the workingman's home. When I read accounts of the twenty-seven thousand deserted families in New York I have sympathy for the men who deserted. I would have deserted too if I had had to eat some of the cooking and live in some of the homes that are the result of having little girls go into industry at fourteen and fifteen years of age, with no training for the most important function of their lives, because this idea that home-making is not just as much a science as bookkeeping or office-keeping is a very great mistake. The knowledge how to get a good meal does not descend upon you with your wedding veil, by any means. You have got to be trained for it. And the marvelous thing to me is how many of them do as well as they do.

The American Workingman's Home

If we are to preserve this great workingman's home we in America have always talked about and to have the wives and mothers we want the American women to be, we must say to industry that industry must be made fit for our young girls to go into. Most of the girls, I find in factories in New Orleans, are between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Generally at about eighteen they marry. They may marry well or badly, but they generally come back to the factory a few years later either as wives with husbands to support, or deserted wives, or divorced wives, or widows. The vast majority, however, ranges between fourteen and eighteen. They are all day doing one little thing, with no change, no development either mentally or physically, and that is what we are expecting to get our mothers and our wives and our American homemakers from. Take the girl that goes into a laundry. She has not even the advantage of finishing one piece of work. She cannot even iron a whole shirt any more. It is all this little piecemeal work that develops nothing that is wearing our girls out. Therefore, in asking for better standards for our working women I hope this country will rise and with one demand say that a girl shall not be sent into industry until she is at least sixteen years old,—and remember, that means only finishing the fifteenth year,—because they come for their work certificates on the birthday.

Better Hours

Furthermore, comes the question of better hours. We want to get at least an eight hour day for our working women, as most of our working men have got for themselves. Of course that has come about through the union, with the ballot to enforce their demands, and I have always said that if I could get this suffrage question and child labor question settled, I would start another association—yes, for the prevention of cruelty to the overworked American men in offices and professions and other occupations. In the meantime we must get something done for the girls, as they are too young to go into unions. A girl is very individual at sixteen, and cannot be made to understand the advantages of the union. If this great American public will say that we will not stand for the girl going out of the home in the grayness of the morning and coming home in the darkness of the night, away from everything that may influence her for good, we can bring it about, but it is the selfishness of a part of our people. That is the reason I object to talking in halls. Everybody here I am talking to knows as much as I do about this matter. We ought all to be standing out there in the streets, reaching the men and women who won't come here, who won't read the things we write. That is where England has shown her superior sense. You can spend a most delightful afternoon in England going from one corner to another listening to every ism on the face of the earth. They reach the common people. If we could do that in America, and thus reach the men who vote on these questions we would have settled this question of child labor reform very much sooner.

Higher Standards

Now, the question of the minimum wage. If there are any industries that are so poor that they cannot pay young girls and women livable wages then let those industries go to the wall. America can get along without them. We said in the legislature of Louisiana when the wail went up that if we passed the child labor law in 1908 the fish industry would have to go,—if you cannot can fish and oysters and shrimps without canning little children we can get along without your products.

Another point in this connection of a higher standard is that of the factory inspector. The most important standard in regard to child labor legislation is the kind of factory inspector you have. There is no line of work in which men and women can better serve humanity than as factory inspectors. I do not blame the manufacturer for being frightened at the average factory inspector. There is no place where injustice to industry could be done so easily. But if we made the demand that his position should be given only to men and women high in social, moral and educational standing in the community there would be no better work that this Conference could undertake than to raise the

standards of factory inspectors. The average inspector is not what he should be.

Then there comes back of the whole thing the question of the ballot for working women. There is where more help will come to you than from anywhere else. The workingwoman knows what she wants, as the workingman knew what he wanted, and, while the younger children will not be able to exercise the franchise, the older women will know what they have come through and by having power to enforce their demands they will get better conditions. Furthermore, when we have women in our legislative halls it will make it easier for us to get higher productive standards.

Children Versus Shrimps

I must tell a little shrimp and oyster story. It interested me at the Louisiana legislature, the different ways men and women regarded these questions. The men looked at the child labor legislation from the point of view of how it was going to affect the industry of the state; the women looked at it from the viewpoint of the child. We had presented our bill and had met with great opposition from the oyster and shrimp people, who were absorbed in their efforts to get the shrimp and oyster industry of the Gulf of Mexico protected. We agreed with their bill heartily and told them we believed in the protection of shrimps and oysters. We said to them, we will help you pass a law for the protection of shrimps and oysters, and then of course you agree with us that the little boys and girls of the coast should be protected too. "Oh," they said, "that is different. How is it going to affect the commercial interests of Louisiana? This is a growing industry and we must not do anything to hamper it." We said, "But don't you think the little boys and girls ought to be allowed to grow up just as large and fine as you are working so hard to allow shrimps and oysters to grow? You cannot catch shrimps under four or five inches long, and cannot dig oysters until they have lain there a certain number of months or years. Don't you think boys and girls ought to be allowed to grow, and to play enough and sleep enough and learn enough to make them fine men and women?" But that was different! And that is what I keep saying all over the land, that no one class of people can legislate for another class of people,—mothers have to legislate for their interests and their children's, and working women for themselves. No banker would leave his interests to be legislated upon by the workman, no more than the workman would leave his interests to the mercies of the bankers.

To sum up, the things we must do are to keep the girl out of industry as long as possible, get her shorter working hours, get her a living wage, get her a respectable, intelligent factory inspector, and get her the ballot,—and she will solve the rest of the problem for herself.

CHILD LABOR AND THE HOME

A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C.

In considering the technic of the various social reforms for which this Conference stands, it is just as well now and then to go back to first principles and consider the assured foundations upon which our work for human welfare rests. Not only are there continually coming to the front new ranks of social workers to take the places of the veterans who have long fought in the cause of humanity, but the veterans themselves may sometimes gather new strength for the battle, when they consider that their work is not detached from the solid substructure of the experience of all the generations of mankind, that they are not building in the air, but upon a rock. The work of child labor reform is not merely destructive of an existing industrial system, which makes the child the breadwinner; it is not only constructice, but it is restorative of normal family life.

We shall all agree with the statement that the family is the unit of our civilization, of the state as well as of the church; that the hopes of this great nation for future prosperity and peace, for the happiness of all its people and for its being able to furnish to the nation an example of material and moral well-being, as it did furnish an example of constitutional liberty and free government to the world of a century ago, rests finally upon the perpetuity of the American home. Whatever, therefore, tends to disrupt the home, to destroy the norm of the family life, in which the husband and father is the bread-winner, the mother the home-maker and the child-teacher, and the children themselves abide securely in the shelter of the home until they are prepared for the larger life of the world, is destructive of civilization itself; for the primary function of the home is the protection of the young. There are, indeed, low forms of animal life, like the medusa, which spring out into the heroic life the moment they are born; but as we ascend in the scale of animal life we find more and more development of this function of the home, the protection of the young. We see in marine life the salmon turning in from the salt sea, leaping the dams and climbing the water falls of our fresh water streams until they can find the still protected shallows of the far interior, fit to be a home for their little ones; and then, the life work of the parents ended with this supreme endeavor, their lifeless bodies float idly down the streams again. The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests. The helplessness of the young is the demand for protection that compels the rearing of a home. Nature has endowed the weaker animals with extraordinary cunning in hiding from those who prey upon them the place of privacy and shelter where the young are brought forth and nurtured during the period of helplessness. And it has been pointed out by our scientific men that

the higher we ascend in the scale of animal life, the more helpless are the young at birth and the longer is the period of their preparation for the adult life. When we come to the human animal, the same necessity demands the preparation of a home for the shelter of the child; the protection of the mother was incidental to the well-being of the child.

We are still forcibly reminded of the fact that this is the New World in which we live; that the country of which we are patriotically proud is still raw and immature in its civilization. It must be expected that the American home shall share the instability of our restless commercial and industrial life, especially since through the development of transportation facilities the separation of children from the parental roof by the width of a continent may mean as little as a separation by state lines did one hundred years ago. It will probably be another century before a family name will be associated with a certain city or county, or state, as it was in the early days of this Republic and in colonial times. In some of our southern states it is still possible to tell by a family name at least the section from which the family has been scattered abroad. When I met a Venable from Idaho, I told him that his people came from Prince Edward County, Virginia, a fact which he afterwards ascertained to be true; and when I saw that Lamar Cobb was a representative of the United States Government in its far Southwest, I knew he came from a distinguished family in Georgia. So certain names are associated with Boston, Massachusetts, and with Charleston, S. C. But the representatives of these families are scattered from either Portland to the Gulf. Even these, however, are the exceptions. It is the exception when a young man settles down and marries in the community in which his father lived, unless such community be one of our largest cities, and the demands of our commercial and manufacturing life tempt the young to wander from the old roof-tree—may compel them to do so.

Child Labor Blocks Progressive Evolution

All the more reason, then, that there should be a home for every child during the period of preparation for manhood or womanhood; that it should be a normal home with decent standards of living; that child labor, that reversal of the process of nature by which the child supports the parent, instead of the parent the child, should be abolished from this land of ours. The child labor system is one which cuts across the whole beneficent tendency of the evolutionary progress of our race, because it cuts short the period of child-like dependence and forces the child to become a man or woman too soon. We have come through our study of the child labor problem to the position that child labor is not so much a result as a prime cause of poverty. There is only so much work to be done. In our present industrial system, save where the workers have become strong enough through combination to protect

themselves against too great exploitation, the wage scale is based upon the necessity of the family for a bare subsistence.

We are beginning to correct this through the minimum wage system; and in this regard the states of the far West have taught a valuable lesson to the older states of the East and South. We have come to the conclusion that the pay-roll has become public property; that an industrial establishment which does not pay sufficient wages for the support of the individual worker in comfort and decency, is not a blessing but a curse to the community. We shall presently reach the position that the establishment which does not pay the main bread-winner of the family, whether man or woman, sufficient wages for the support of the family, for the education of the children, in conditions of decency and comfort, with opportunities for rest and recreation, is a type of industrial establishment that does not deserve to survive on American soil. But as long as we have the present system we are confronted with this fact, that the wages paid the children of the family, however small, help to raise the standard of living at least to that of bare subsistence, and inevitably lower the standard of wages for the individual worker.

Two Children's Industries

Let us take two illustrations of this tendency, one in which the wages for the children are a mere pittance and another in which they are high, considering that it is the labor of children which is demanded and supplied. Numerous investigators found in the tenement house factories of New York City for example, in the home which poverty had turned into a workshop, that the children, even when compelled by school attendance laws to go to school, supplemented the wages of their parents by working until late in the night at the miserable pittance of four or five cents a day. Yet five cents a day is thirty cents a week, is a dollar and twenty cents a month; and this small addition to the income of the family sometimes enabled the family itself to stand in the position just above that of dependence upon society. But the point is that this was the most economical arrangement for the employers of labor. Instead of having a factory near enough to the workers to insure their atendance, paying a large sum in rent, light, power and heat, and fulfilling the restrictive conditions of modern factory laws, the employer sent his work to be done in the city tenement, allowing the worker to pay for rent, light and heat, and to use his human power with the wages of the children thrown in to allow the family to survive; and no way has been found to stop this abuse, save to abolish home manufacture altogether. It would probably not have been done save for the peril to society that came from contagious diseases fostered in these ill-lighted, crowded tenements, and thus spread to the more or less innocent purchaser of the goods.

Or, take that other industry which has always been conspicuous for

the employment of women and children for long hours at low wages, due to the helplessness of the workers, the textile industry. One of the facts developed through the studies of the cotton mills of the East and of the South, under the direction of the Chairman of this Committee, Dr. Charles P. Neill, then Commissioner of Labor, shows that the children of the cotton mills got high wages for children. Out of 32,000 employes whose pay envelopes were studied, 17,000 received less than $5 a week and out of these 17,000, 8,000 were children under 16 years of age. While at the other end of the wage scale, 882 children under 14 earned less than $2 a week, 1,700, 14 to 20 years earned less than $2.00 a week, and 1,085 operatives over 21 years of age earned less than $2 a week. There were 1,733 children under 16 earning between $2 and $3 a week and 1,712 operatives 16 years and upward earning the same wage.

Educate a Child and Spoil a Mill Hand

It seems clear enough from these statistics that in this case the wages offered to the child may form a considerable part of the family income, and thus tempt the parents to forego the opportunity for their children of an education. But child labor means family labor, whether the family is working together in the home workshop of New York City, or in the cotton mill in one of the Carolinas. All the potential bread-winners are at work. And I should not be surprised if it were not in the back of the heads of some of the employers of these children that the child labor system is of greater advantage to them than the mere securing of cheap labor. When you have a mass of children entering employment without education, you have a mass helpless to remedy conditions for themselves, for the adult who was once a child worker is generally a child always in all save years and physical stature. Not only so, but he is doomed to the ranks of the unskilled workers, and is unable to seize an opportunity for bettering his condition by leaving those ranks.

One of the great apostles of education in North Carolina, the late beloved Charles D. McIvor, once said to me that the cotton manufacturers of his state were changing the old proverb, "Educate a negro and spoil a field hand," into this: "Educate a white child and spoil a mill hand." Nor do I suppose that the employers of child labor are less intelligent than the members of the labor unions, and the labor unions for a half century have known that the child labor system depressed wages. If $12.00 a week is absolutely necessary to the support of a father and mother and two children under fourteen years of age, the cotton factory must pay the father $2.00 a day, and get only one worker in the mill; but if the father can be paid $1.00 a day as a weaver, the mother 50 cents a day as a spinner, and the two children can average 25 cents a day as doffers, we have the same amount of wages for the family and four workers instead of one. It too often happens that with the mother and the two children earning $2.00 a day themselves, the father is able

to loaf on the job, and carry dinner to the workers in the mill to establish his demand upon their wages when Saturday night comes around. In the meantime, what has become of the home?—what has become of the central idea of the home, that of protection for the young and of preparation for adult life?

What a revolution we shall have to effect in some of our industries before the normal home can be re-established, with the father the bread-winner, the mother the home keeper and the child-teacher, and all the children, old enough, attending school. And yet this is the goal toward which we shall strive, and the abolition of child labor under 14 years of age, or, according to the standard set by this Committee on Standards of Living and Labor two years ago at Cleveland, under 16 years of age. With a million children under 16 years of age taken out of competitive industry, we have solved the problem of the unemployed, save for those who are unemployable; unless we have to consider another problem of the over-supply of American laborers through unchecked immigration, though even in that case, with children under 16 years of age compelled to remain at school, we shall not so soon overtake the increasing demands for labor in America with the enlargement of our commercial and manufacturing activities.

Pensions to Mothers

Still another measure of child protection, intimately related to the child labor problem, is that of the care of the widow when the home has been deprived of the male bread-winner. Perhaps we should look a little deeper still and so regulate our industrial life as to make fewer widows through deaths by accident, and adequately to compensate them when work accidents occur. We have been slow at coming to the conclusion in this land of ours that it is even cheaper for the taxpayers, to say nothing of the welfare of the children and the joy of the mother, that we bend our energies toward keeping the home, which death or misfortune has so sorely touched as to deprive it of its main bread-winner, from being altogether disrupted. It is cheaper to pay the mother to bring up her children than it is to place them in an institution. It is certainly better for the mother not to be deprived of her children, and it is ten-fold better for the children to have the influence of a mother and the environment of a home, rather than have an institutional stamp placed upon them. And so I take issue with some of the leading spirits of this Conference, whose judgments we all respect, in the matter of widows' pensions or mothers' compensation laws, or by whatever name the system is called, which gives to the mother the opportunity to keep her children at home while preparing them for service to the state, the mother of us all.

I have read with careful attention the arguments that have been made against this system. I am not opposed to relief work by private means, but I am aware of its inadequacy. I am by no means in love

with the dispensation of relief through public agencies as they are too frequently conducted. I am aware of their inefficiency. But I deem it the chief work of private agencies to teach efficiency to public agencies; and I deem it the duty of all good citizens to demand efficiency in government. If a government is not able to conduct a department for the public relief of mothers with children to raise, who otherwise would be dependent upon society, then let us organize our government so that it would be fit to do this thing. We cannot argue from the inefficiency of existing conditions, when we, the people who make the argument, are primarily responsible for such maladministration. Doubtless many crude laws will be drawn, as they have been drawn, for this purpose; doubtless there are opportunities for private graft and for political debauchery; but I have sometimes thought that the worthy social workers of our two largest cities have been inclined to predicate their unfortunate political experience as the customary and usual thing for all the cities and states of this nation. I hope the time may come when all kinds of relief, which we sum up in the word charity, shall be administered by the state as efficiently as it is now done by private agencies, and as adequately as public funds will allow; and that the good citizen will be concerned only in the payment of his fair share of taxes and in using his time and energy in seeing that public funds are efficiently administered.

The Law in Oklahoma

If I may be allowed to relate a personal experience, I unwittingly contributed to the agitation of this matter of pensioning mothers from state funds. When I went to Oklahoma, at the invitation of its leading citizen, now the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, to meet with the first legislature of the new state, my special duty being the writing of the child labor and school attendance laws, I was met with the problem, what will you do with the children of the poor widow whom these laws will deprive of the wages of her children now necessary for family support? I had known of the work of the scholarship funds raised in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, St. Louis, and New Orleans; and with my philosophy of government, that the state should do for its citizens as rapidly as possible what private agencies now do in the matter of relief, I wrote into the compulsory school attendance law of Oklahoma the principle of the scholarship fund, the money to be paid out of the school funds of the state to parents who were found, after due investigation, to be dependent upon the wages of their children, as a reward for the attendance of the children upon school. I received my full share of criticism for having enlarged the area of outdoor relief, and I was somewhat abashed because of my respect for the judgment of my fellow workers in New York City. But I have since come to the conclusion that outdoor relief is simply a convenient phrase upon which to hang indiscriminate denunciation of a system, and that in this case outdoor relief

meant the keeping of the children within the walls of the home rather than an institution. I afterwards found that, while I thought I was original, the state of Ohio had a similar though forgotten law upon its statue books; and we all know what has been the history of the mothers' pension movement in the last two years.

So it seems to me in conclusion that these four things hang together in raising the standards of living and labor and developing the normal type of home: first, the abolition of child labor; second, the establishment of the minimum wage; third, adequate compensation for industrial diseases and accidents, with their prevention in increasing measure; and fourth, compensation for mothers.

While preparing this paper, men were marching into Vera Cruz and had to shoot down their fellow men to protect themselves. We have had a great celebration in New York of the heroism of the nineteen Americans who yielded their lives, with the President the chief speaker. Next we shall pension their relatives. It seems to me unanswerable, though the argument has been used before, that if war is yet necessary and we encourage the enlistment of soldiers by promising a pension to those who are the potential takers of life, risking their lives and yielding them for the cause of their country, surely we should not hesitate to pension, if that be the right word, the mother who has gone down into the borders of death herself as the bearer of life into the world, from whom society demands the rearing of children in decency and comfort with due regard to their education. Speaking for myself, if there is such a thing as social justice, I do not know a finer example of it than this.

PROTECTIVE STANDARDS FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN OREGON

Rev. E. V. O'Hara, Chairman, Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission, Portland, Ore.

It is the purpose of the present paper to discuss the protective standards for women workers set up in Oregon by the act of the legislature in 1913 creating the Industrial Welfare Commission. The leading feature of that act is its provision for the fixing of a minimum wage for women workers. Heretofore this problem could be discussed in America only from a theoretical standpoint, but with the enforcement of the rulings of the Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission the subject has passed into the realm of experience, and it is from that standpoint that we are chiefly concerned with it here.

The Oregon law is contained substantially in the first section of the act which declares that it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors within the state of Oregon for unreasonably long hours or under conditions, sanitary or otherwise, detrimental to their health or morals, and it shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the

state of Oregon for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health and that it shall be unlawful to employ minors for unreasonably low wages. A commission known as the Industrial Welfare Commission is created for the purpose of determining in particular occupations and localities what hours, conditions and wages are actually prohibited by this law; and, it is further provided, that there shall be no appeal to the courts from the decisions of the commission in matters of fact.

Oregon Procedure with Mercantile Establishments

It may be well to outline the mode of procedure prescribed for the commission in arriving at its determinations. In any occupation in which the commission considers that the wages, hours or conditions of women or minor employees are at variance with the provisions of the law, it is authorized to call a conference of employees and employers and representatives of the public to investigate and report on the matter. Thus, the commission called a mercantile conference in Portland composed of three representative employers in the large stores, three saleswomen and three persons well known in the community, but neither employers of women nor employees. To this conference, composed of these nine persons, the commission submitted the following questions:

(1) What are the maximum number of hours of employment a day and a week consistent with the health and welfare of women employees in the stores of Portland?

(2) What is the minimum amount per week required to maintain a self-supporting woman employee in the mercantile business in Portland in decent but frugal comfort? and, finally,

(3) Is the employment of women in the stores of Portland after 6 P. M. reasonable and consistent with their health and welfare?

The conference to which these questions were submitted, organized and investigated, and after repeated meetings returned a unanimous report to the commission stating that 50 hours a week should be the maximum hours of work and that $9.25 a week was the minimum amount required for decent subsistence, and that night work was unreasonable and prejudicial to the health and welfare of the women workers. On receipt of this unanimous report, the commission reviewed the findings of the conference and accepted them, and called a public hearing at which all persons interested were invited to appear before the commission and present their views on the subject under consideration. At the public hearing, which was duly advertised, a large number of interested persons appeared, the tendency of whose testimony was to substantiate the recommendations already made by the conference. The commission then issued an order making these recommendations mandatory. By the terms of the act this order became legally binding after sixty days.

Constitutionality of Law Attacked

Meanwhile, a similar conference had been called to discuss wages and hours in the manufacturing industries of Portland and in due course, an order based on the unanimous report of the factory conference was issued by the commission fixing 54 hours a week as the maximum hours and $8.64 a week (that is 16c an hour) as the minimum wage rate in the manufacturing establishments in Portland.

A paper box manufacturer in Portland sought to restrain the commission from enforcing this order on the grounds that it interfered with his constitutionally guaranteed rights of contract and took his property without due process of law. The injunction requested was denied by Judge Cleeton of the circuit court and the case was carried on appeal to the Supreme Court of the state where the arguments for and against the constitutionality of the act were well briefed and ably presented. On the 17th of March, 1914, the supreme court of Oregon unanimously concurred in a comprehensive decision, written by Justice Eakin, sustaining the constitutionality of the act.

Another suit was subsequently brought against the commission in the name of an employee of the Paper Box manufacturer, who figured in the first case. The Oregon Supreme Court again considered the question and on April 28th handed down a second decision, written this time by Chief Justice McBride, emphatically re-affirming the previous opinion of the court. The case has been appealed to the court of the last resort. Armed with the double barrelled decision of the Oregon Supreme Court, we are now hopefully engaged in marshalling the argument for recognition of the human element in human labor before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Four important legal questions were raised: First, and most fundamental, whether in view of the 14th amendment to the federal Constitution, it lay within the competence of the state to interfere with the right of private contract to the extent of fixing minimum wage rates for women workers. Second, whether the legislature in creating the Industrial Welfare Commission had attempted to delegate its own legislative powers. Third, whether the establishment of different minima in different localities did not amount to class legislation, and finally, whether in denying the right of appeal to the courts from the decision of the commission in matters of fact, the legislature had not infringed upon the constitutional right of citizens to a due process of law in defense of their property.

Exercise of Police Power

The first question involved a discussion of the nature and extent of the police power of the state. The court adopted as its definition of police power the view that "Police power is the name given to the inherent sovereignty which it is the right and duty of the government or its agents to exercise whenever public policy in a broad sense demands,

for the benefit of society at large, regulations to guard its morals, safety, health, order or to insure in any respect such economic conditions as an advanced civilization of a highly complex character requires." The court further observed that it could not declare the act in question unconstitutional as an exercise of the police power unless it were palpably obvious that it had no real or substantial relation to the public health and welfare. The court took judicial cognizance of the "common belief and common knowledge" that inadequate wages have a detrimental effect on the public welfare. There are ample judicial precedents for upholding the constitutionality of state regulation of the hours of women's employment, and the court concluded: "Every argument put forward to sustain the maximum hours law, or upon which it was established applies equally in favor of the constitutionality of the minimum wage law as also within the police power of the state and as a regulation tending to guard the public morals and public health."

The second question raised was concerning the delegation of legislative authority. Of the nine states which have passed minimum wage acts one, Utah, has avoided this issue by writing into the law itself the flat minimum wage to be paid. Owing, however, to the fluctuation in the cost of living at different times, in different occupations and in different localities, it has been seen that such a legislative enactment can hardly be satisfactory. It is moreover in conflict with all foreign experience. The creation of a commission to determine the wages suitable under varying circumstances has been judged the most practicable method and, consequently, the question of the constitutionality of such a commission is of high importance for wage regulation. The courts have recognized that while a legislature cannot delegate its legislative power, it can appoint a commission to determine the conditions under which a law passed by the legislature may be enforced. Such are the railroad commissions in the different states.

Legislative Power Not Delegated

The Oregon minimum wage act was drawn with the direct view to meeting this question and the bill was shaped parallel to the acts creating railroad commissions. The first section of the law declares that certain things shall be unlawful in the state of Oregon, and fixes the general standards which must be observed by all employers of female labor. There is then created an administrative board with authority to investigate the facts and make rulings upon which the enforcement of this law will depend. It is extremely improbable that the courts would have upheld the constitutionality of the statute if the act had failed to declare the law and had simply created a commission to fix a discretionary minimum wage. This is an extremely important matter, as negligence in regard to it may be fraught with disastrous consequences.

The Supreme Court disposed of the plea of class legislation by

pointing out that the law required all employers of women in the state to pay their workers a living wage. That a living wage might vary in different localities and occupations was no defect on the part of the law.

Due Process

The constitutionality of the law was attacked finally on the grounds that it makes the findings of the commission on all questions of fact conclusive and, therefore, takes the property of the employer without due process of law. This clause was inserted in the act to prevent needless litigation which would keep the orders of the commission tied up in the courts and practically nullify the purpose of the law. The Supreme Court held that "due process of law merely requires such tribunals as are proper to deal with the subject in hand. Reasonable notice and a fair opportunity to be heard before some tribunal before it decides the issue, are the essentials of due process of law." Attention is called to this provision of the Oregon act especially in view of a section in the minimum wage act of another state, which specifically provides that the courts shall have power to review the thousand and one details of evidence which formed the basis of the commission's decision notwithstanding the obvious utter impossibility of it in courts of law with their rules of evidence entering into a consideration of such economic minutiae.

Rulings Summarized

The rulings issued by the commission may be briefly summarized. The minimum wage for experienced adult women in any occupation throughout the state has been fixed at $8.25 a week. In the city of Portland, experienced women employed in mercantile establishments and offices may not receive less than $9.25 a week, and in manufacturing establishments in Portland, the minimum is $8.64 a week. For inexperienced adult women, the minimum for all occupations throughout the state is $6.00 a week. The maximum hours of woman's labor in Oregon has hitherto been sixty hours a week. The commission has reduced it to fifty-four, and Portland stores are permitted to employ their female help only fifty hours a week. The minimum lunch period in manufacturing industries in Portland is forty-five minutes. Nightwork for women after 8:30 is prohibited in all mercantile, manufacturing and laundry establishments throughout the state, and in Portland it is prohibited in mercantile establishments after 6 P. M. Special investigations are now going forward concerning the laundries of Portland and the fruit canning business of the state, and further rulings covering these industries may be made during the coming year.

While it is too early to draw final conclusions concerning the operation of these orders there are certain obvious consequences which may be noted. The prohibition of night work for women in the stores of

Portland has been an unmixed good. Three thousand girls who have hitherto been employed Saturday nights to a late hour are now dismissed at six o'clock and the few stores which were strongly opposed before the change now realize that their trade has not fallen off but has simply been equalized throughout the week. These hundreds of girls whose late Saturday night employment deprived them of preparing for a Sunday holiday now have one real day of rest in the week. The rise in wages of experienced workers has been very marked. Hundreds of office girls who have been receiving $35.00 a month were advanced to $40.00, which is the minimum requirement. Likewise in the stores a notable improvement is observed. In manufacturing establishments where payment is by the piece rate, we have not yet been able to find out definitely how far the readjustment has been effected.

Unregulated Wage Scales Eliminated

One important consequence of the rulings is the elimination of unregulated wage scales such as that of a certain fruit-packing plant which was responsible for labor disturbances in Portland last fall which cost the city more in actual cash and in the growth of class antagonism than the entire plant could be worth to the community in a score of years. The establishment of wage standards is largely doing away with the secrecy of women's wage schedules which has been so important an element in bringing about the existing demoralized conditions in women's wage rates. The ruling of the commission in regard to maximum hours has resulted in lowering the hours of work from sixty to fifty-four a week, and of bringing under the law certain occupations such as cashiers in moving picture shows, whose hours had never been regulated before. It has been the policy of the commission to act conservatively and with great moderation in the issuing of orders and it has accepted no recommendations from the conference that were not unanimously agreed to by all elements in the conference.

A result of the minimum wage legislation which is making itself felt is a rising interest in the training and education of apprentices. The commission has ruled that a year of experience in any occupation entitles an adult woman to be considered experienced in the sense of the law and therefore entitled to the minimum wage. In some occupations this maximum will doubtless be lessened as time goes on; but in others, such as retail stores, a year's training may certainly be required before enforcing the minimum for experienced workers. During this period it is evidently of great importance both to employer and employee that the training of the apprentice should be directed toward a high degree of efficiency. Thus we have the movement for continuation schools in the department stores which will doubtless spread to other industries.

Effective Argument for Minimum Wage

A word may be said here concerning the policy and principles which are found most effective in urging minimum wage legislation. There have been many states in which the connection between inadequate wages and immorality of women have been strongly played up, but it is interesting to note that in no state where this agitation has been carried on have they succeeded in securing wage legislation; and this for two reasons. First, because it is a question whether inadequate wages are to any large degree a cause of women going into a life of immorality and, secondly, because such an agitation is a gratuitous insult to the thousands of underpaid women workers whose co-operation and support is absolutely necessary if we are to succeed in arousing a favorable public opinion. The more substantial argument for this legislation is that underpaid women workers are denying themselves the necessities of life in order to lead lives of virtue; that they are living on one or two meals a day, are denying themselves clothing necessary to maintain their health and are huddled in rooms devoid of light, of ventilation, of heat. These are the facts which investigation reveals and they are facts which arouse public opinion of a permanent sort in favor of minimum wage legislation.

Just as the whole body of workers must be supported by the entire body of industries, so it is right that in each industry the wages be sufficient to maintain the workers in health and frugal comfort. An industry which does not pay its employees enough to purchase the necessities of life is a parasite. It makes its profit not from legitimate commercial enterprise but is subsidized by the workers. If any business is so necessary to the community that it must be maintained by a subsidy, then in the name of decency and humanity let the subsidy come from the public treasury and not from the earnings of working women and the homes of the poor.

Marble-Cold Policy in Industry

One may see on Broadway in New York the tallest office building in the world, erected by a corporation with stores in every considerable town in the United States. I saw it the other day, its gilded roof, its wealth of marble and plate glass proudly reflecting the rays of the noonday sun. As I gazed in admiration at the splendid edifice there was arrayed before my mind's eye the great army of women employees from the Atlantic to the Pacific through whose days of toil the nickels and dimes had been collected to rear that magnificent building and who received for their service the princely recompense of four dollars a week on which to keep body and soul together. I do not single out this particular corporation for special opprobrium, but as being typical of the whole range of industries which are being subsidized by their underpaid workers. That wonderful building seemed

to me aptly to symbolize the characteristics of all parasitical employments. Its gilded roof was a figure of the gold that had been coined from the life-blood of toiling women; its cold marble told of the stony-hearted policy that is dead to every consideration but the amassing of material gain and the plate glass pictured the transparency of the whole hideous, hateful falsehood of the economic theory which sees in human labor no qualities inherently superior to merchandise.

The consequence of such a judicial decision as that given by the Oregon Supreme Court cannot be easily overestimated. It is writing into the fundamental law of the land a proper view of labor, namely, that human labor is not a mere commodity like corn or cotton. I have listened to an eloquent lawyer pleading in one of our courts that just as the price of hogs at the slaughter house is regulated by the law of supply and demand, so likewise the same law should control the wages of our women workers upon whose physical strength and moral character depend the perpetuity of the race and the future of humanity. The right to a living wage vindicated by this judicial decision is the right of a human being to develop his personality, to work out his spiritual destiny, to be what the word human implies.

If a business cannot pay its rent and interest on borrowed capital, the burden is passed on to those who can. No sympathy is extended to a firm which fails because it cannot meet the demand of the landlord and the money lender. But because it is proposed to make a living wage a first cost on industry great consternation is expressed for the business failures which are threatened as a result. But the claims of flesh and blood are not to be subordinated to those of property. For it is not written in the decrees of eternal justice nor can it longer be successfully maintained in a code of human laws that the owner of land or other capital is to be recompensed while the laborer by whose efforts both the one and the other have been rendered fruitful shall be denied food and clothing for his body and a roof-tree to shelter his domestic hearth.

Social Insurance
Section, May 11, 9:00 A. M.

AMERICAN PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL INSURANCE

Frederick L. Hoffman, Statistician, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, N. J.

Within recent years the subject of social insurance has attracted increasing attention in the United States. To a large extent this interest has been artificial, stimulated by European experiments in social legislation, aiming at a compromise with the aims and ideals of the Socialistic Labor Party. The subject was first officially considered by our government in a report on compulsory insurance in Germany, published by the United States Department of Labor in 1893. The author

of the report was Mr. John Graham Brooks. This work was followed in 1898 by a treatise based upon personal investigations into European systems of social insurance by Prof. William Franklin Willoughby, then of the United States Department of Labor. In 1901 the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Massachusetts published a carefully prepared report on the insurance of workingmen, with special reference to European countries. In 1908, Prof. Charles Richmond Henderson of the University of Chicago published a large volume on Industrial Insurance in the United States, which title is somewhat misleading, in that the work practically constitutes a treatise on social insurance effort in this country, including the work of local relief societies, benefit features of trade unions, insurance by fraternal societies, pension systems of the federal government, the states and municipalities, as well as railways and other corporations.

During the last decade the United States Bureau of Labor has issued a number of special reports on the social insurance systems of European countries, including two large volumes on workmen's insurance and compensation systems in Europe, in 1909. The same Bureau has issued special bulletins on civil service pension systems in foreign countries. In 1908 the Bureau issued an exceptionally interesting and valuable report on workmen's insurance and benefit funds in the United States, which constitutes an introductory treatise to the subject of social insurance from an American point of view.

Two years later, the Russell Sage Foundation, realizing the increasing importance of workmen's insurance, had a special study made of the subject in European countries, by Messrs. Lee K. Frankel and M. M. Dawson, with the co-operation of Mr. Louis I. Dublin. In the same year, a small volume on Social Insurance, a program of social reform, was published by Prof. Henry R. Seager, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University, the outcome of the Kennedy Lectures of 1910 in the School of Philanthropy. In 1912 the American Association for Labor Legislation created a special Committee on Social Insurance, which matured in the First Annual Conference on Social Insurance, held in Chicago, on June 6th and 7th, 1913. The presiding official of the Conference was Prof. Wm. F. Willoughby, author of the first American treatise on workmen's insurance, issued in 1898. During the year 1912, Mr. I. M. Rubinow delivered a course of fifteen lectures on social insurance before the New York School of Philanthropy, subsequently published in book form by Henry Holt & Co., in 1913.

Additional to these convincing illustrations of an active and growing American interest in the subject of social insurance, reference may be made to the consideration of the subject by the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly of the state of Wisconsin on "The Affairs of Life Insurance Companies" in 1907; a volume on State Insurance as a Social and Industrial Need, by Mr. Frank W. Lewis, published in 1909; a treatise on Insurance and the State by Prof. F. W. Gephart, published in

1913; and an address on Economic and Political Considerations of State Insurance in the United States, 1860-1908, on the occasion of the International Actuarial Congress, held in Vienna in 1909, and another on American Public Pension Systems and Civil Service Retirement Plans, on the occasion of the International Actuarial Congress, held in Amsterdam, in 1912. Finally, mention requires to be made of the report on accident prevention and relief, based on an investigation of the subject in Europe, with special attention to England and Germany, together with recommendation for action in the United States of America, by Messrs. Schwedtman and Emory, for the National Association of Manufacturers, published in 1911.

Action in America

The foregoing brief outline of our national interest in social insurance, extending over a period of more than twenty years, is sufficient to emphasize the urgency and practical utility of a thoroughly qualified and strictly impartial study of the entire subject from an American point of view. The fact must not be overlooked that within recent years far-reaching changes have been introduced into our governmental policy in dealing with certain insurance phases of the labor question, as best illustrated in the establishment in the state of Massachusetts in 1907 of a system of savings bank life insurance and annuities for the benefit of wage-earners; in the state of Washington of a compulsory system of state industrial accident insurance in 1911; in the state of Massachusetts, of the compulsory establishment of an Employers' Mutual Insurance Association; in the state of South Dakota of a State Mutual Aid Association, in the state of Wisconsin of a system of State Life Insurance, etc. The most recent proposition is for the establishment of a system of Post Office life insurance and annuities, after the manner of the English Post Office insurance system, established in 1864, and the Canadian government annuities act of 1908.

There is no common agreement as regards the term "social insurance," which, being of German origin, had reference originally rather to social and economic conditions quite at variance with those prevailing in this country. Most of the established systems of social insurance are as yet in an initial or transitional stage, excepting possibly that of the German Empire, although even in that country unemployment insurance has not yet been brought within the scope of social insurance, as generally understood. The term "social insurance" comprehends more than wage-earners' insurance, for even in the German Empire within recent years salaried employees have been brought within the scope of workmen's insurance legislation. In England the recently-established system of national health insurance does not include old age pensions and workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, although both are strictly within the scope of social insurance legislation. On the other hand, the British act includes unemployment insurance,

although at the present time limited to a number of thoroughly well-organized trades.

Definition of Social Insurance in America

Social insurance in the American sense may be said to comprehend all efforts, methods and means to provide, in conformity to insurance principles, a sufficient pecuniary protection of wage-earners and others in moderate circumstances against the economic consequences of industrial accidents, disease, whether general or occupational, incapacity for work, whether temporary or permanent, partial or complete, but the result of accident, disease or physical infirmity, and finally, dependence in old age resulting from sickness, infirmity, or even improvidence and personal neglect. Additional thereto, the conception includes the economic security of widows and orphans of wage-earners killed or injured in the course of their work, and the financial support of mothers during the period immediately preceding and immediately following childbirth. Finally, and as a most recent development, the term includes unemployment insurance. In the sense of this broad and comprehensive definition, social insurance, from an American point of view, includes any and all forms of insurance protection, established for the benefit of wage-earners and other persons of small incomes, regardless of the fact whether the provision is on a compulsory or a semi-compulsory basis, or whether voluntary or involuntary, provided, however, that the cost of the system is met, wholly or in part, by the state or the employer, or both, with or without supplementary contributions from the beneficiaries. Under this conception, all forms of private insurance, or strictly voluntary insurance, where the entire cost is paid for by the beneficiaries, would lie outside of the scope of social insurance, but it requires to be taken into account that it is rather the aim than the method which characterizes social insurance, and where there are obvious and vast social benefits resulting from any particular form of wage-earners' insurance, it would not seem an undue enlargement of the term to bring such institutions or methods within the scope of the present inquiry.

In the sense of this definition, the following American methods are referred to as typical illustrations of wage-earners' insurance, more or less conforming to the concept of social insurance in the more narrow and restricted European sense of the term:

1st, National and international labor organization benefit funds;
2nd, Local labor organization benefit funds;
3rd, Railroad relief funds;
4th, Establishment benefit funds;
5th, Hospital funds and corporation medical service;
6th, Industrial benefit societies;
7th, State and savings bank insurance;
8th, Civil service pension funds;

9th, Corporation service retirement and service disability allowances;

10th, Industrial health and accident associations, whether corporate or fraternal;

11th, Group insurance, Industrial insurance, etc.

In a more restricted sense, social insurance is defined by the Bureau of Labor as "The methods of organized relief by which wage-earners or persons similarly situated and their dependents or survivors, become entitled to specific pecuniary or other benefits on the occurrence of certain emergencies. The right to these benefits is secured by means of contributions from wages, or by the fact of the insured person's employment, or by his citizenship or residenec in the country. The various forms of social insurance may be designated as

1—accident,
2—sickness,
3—maternity,
4—invalidity and old age,
5—unemployment,
6—insurance for widows and children.

In other words, as stated before, it is rather the aim or the object of social insurance than the method, which conditions the precise meaning of the term, but for the present purpose it would seem advisable to adopt the more comprehensive American viewpoint, than the more restricted definition, based exclusively upon European experience.

American Schemes Entirely Voluntary

The foregoing outline conforms in a general way to my discussion of wage-earners' insurance problems on the occasion of the First National Conference on Social Insurance held in Chicago in 1913. The result of that investigation may be summarized in the statement that to a large extent the aims and ideals of social insurance in the sense of the previous definition are met by existing institutions or methods in the United States on an entirely voluntary basis, either by sole contributions of the wage-earners or the joint contributions of employers and employees. Modern American methods of service retirement and disability allowances, provided on a non-contributory basis by large industrial corporations come strictly within this group, in that in its final analysis any and all such plans or methods constitute a form of additional compensation. The primary object in each and every case is to prevent destitution on the part of employees entitled as a matter of social justice to the most considerate treatment on the part of the employing corporation or the state. In each and every case the ideal is attained by a certain provision of moderate amount supplementary to the provision made by the employee in his own way and at his own cost. As said in the announcement of the establishment

of a plan of service retirement allowances for the employees of The Prudential Insurance Company of America: "The entire cost of this plan will be paid by the Company, and no contributions whatsoever will be required of its employees. The plan is not intended to provide for full support in the event of disablement, but is established to provide, in a systematic manner, a reasonable amount of pecuniary assistance to deserving and disabled employees."

This point of view is strictly in conformity to American democratic ideals, which preclude either compulsion or patronizing philanthropy on the part of the employer towards employees, even in so urgent and important a matter as adequate pecuniary provision in the event of sickness or old age.

American Problems

Some of the more pressing social problems of labor are not, however, adequately met by systems of this kind. Foremost among these is the question of adequate *workingmen's compensation* in the event of industrial accident or industrial disease. The importance of such compensation for occupational diseases was brought out in an address of mine on the occasion of the last annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. The social justice of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents is no longer questioned by any one familiar with the facts. There also is not the slightest reason for believing that there will ever be a reversion to the earlier doctrine of employer's liability. It must be obvious to any one that the laborer injured in the course of his employment either by accident or occupational disease is of right entitled to compensation, and that such compensaition should be equivalent to the changed pecuniary needs of the laborer's economic condition resulting from an industrial accident or industrial diseases as the case may be. Considered from this point of view, most of the compensation paid under existing statutes, particularly where there is a maximum limitation of the amount payable to $10 a week, is insufficient. The foremost consideration of the state is to prevent needless destitution on the one hand, and needless lowering of the attained standard of life on the other; and a workman injured in the course of his trade by no fault of his own is of right entitled to full and adequate protection against the economic consequences of the injury or disease suffered, as the same may affect himself or his family, or both. The problem of adequate workmen's compensation is, therefore, the foremost problem in social insurance, from an American point of view, and much work requires to be done to enlarge and perfect the doctrine, which even today has only been accepted by some twenty odd states, representing, however, much more than half of the wage earning population.

The second most important social insurance problem is that of *old age pensions*, more or less inaccurately so-called, or a stated pe-

cuniary provision for wage-earners on the attainment of a given age, when it is assumed that the wage-earning capacity has come to an end. The pressing portion of the problem is limited largely to civil service employees, including under that term, teachers, policemen, firemen, life-saving service, railway mail service, civil service of federal government, and, to a more limited extent, the civil service of the states, counties and municipalities. There can be no question of doubt but that economically the retaining of a disproportionate number of aged and inefficient employees is a distinct detriment to the public service, though prompted by the most humane and just considerations. I have had occasion to discuss this problem of pensions and retirement allowances in an address delivered before the last International Actuarial Congress, in which I advanced the conclusion that the required retirement on a pension basis should be on the contributory principle, in conformity to the facts and conclusions and recommendations made to the President of the United States by Mr. Herbert D. Brown, of Washington, D. C. I am strongly convinced that non-contributory old age pensions, as best illustrated in the English old age pension act of 1908, are economically as well as socially a serious mistake. The amount of economic dependence in old age in this country is relatively small. The experience of all countries in which non-contributory old age pension laws are in force is to the effect that a large class not in need of such pensions is deriving the chief share of benefits from existing plans. The experience is, furthermore, to the effect that the cost of such pensions is invariably considerably more than originally estimated, and that the burden has become a serious one to the taxpayers and a hindrance to the social and economic progress of the nations affected.

A far more just and economically sound invalidity and old age pension system is that of Germany, under which joint contributions of equal amount are made by the employer and employees, plus a subsidy from the Imperial government. The chances of abuse are naturally very considerable in the case of invalidity pensions and the introduction of any such system requires to be safe-guarded with the utmost care in attention to matters of detail.

Pensions to Mothers and Children

The third problem, that of *pensions for widows and orphans*, is as yet in its initial stage even in European countries where strenuous efforts have been made for a number of years to bring about the enlargement of social insurance principles to include the widows and orphans of wage-earners, irrespective of the fact whether the widowhood or the orphanage was the result of industrial accident and disease or due to general cause not connected with the conditions of employment. The rapid growth of the widows' pension idea in this country during recent years emphasizes the apparent desire to substitute a systematic form of state poor relief for the more or less varying conditions and

methods under which widows and orphans are relieved or provided for through private charitable or philanthropic agencies.

My views in this respect coincide entirely with those of Mr. Edward T. Devine, whose forceful protest against the hasty adoption of widows' pension schemes by the several states is on record in the proceedings of the first National Conference on Social Insurance held in Chicago in 1913. There can be no question of doubt but that much requires to be done to remove the vast amount of social discontent resulting from ill-adjusted economic relations which with crushing force and weight fall upon the widows and orphans of wage-earners seriously injured or killed in the pursuit of their more or less hazardous occupations. Every workmen's compensation scheme on the basis of social justice requires to be enlarged to include a certain, though moderate, provision for the pecuniary needs of widows and orphans of injured wage earners for the period of economic dependence, even though such dependence may be prolonged for the remaining life time of the beneficiaries. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation some time during the year 1913, and a provision to this effect is incorporated in the industrial insurance law of the state of Washington, and as far as known, the amount of pecuniary support provided has met the reasonable requirements of the existing situation. It may be a question, however, whether the support is sufficient for many cases where the earnings of the wage-earner were considerably above the average as largely affected by the low-paid employments.

The problem of *sickness insurance* on a compulsory or semi-compulsory basis is not as yet a pressing one in the United States. The propaganda for the adoption of a system of compulsory sickness insurance on the part of the several states is, in my opinion, entirely artificial, and not called for either by the economic needs of the existing situation or by the higher considerations of social justice. The problem has not even been successfully solved by existing voluntary institutions, largely because of apparent absence of an urgent need for such pecuniary protection of wage-earners, in view of the relatively high rate of wages prevailing on the one hand and the relatively short duration of sickness on the other. With, however, a rising standard of life and an increasing cost of living, the demand for sickness insurance is becoming more pressing. But it would seem distinctly to the advantage of wage-earners, as brought out in the address by Mr. Thomas Lynch, on the occasion of the last meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, that experiments of this kind should continue to be made, without interference by the State, by labor organizations, by insurance societies and companies, etc. As a conspicuous illustration of the good results of a carefully worked-out plan of voluntary sickness insurance, the well-established method of the International Cigar Makers' Union of Chicago may be referred to as an illustration of a successful

method of meeting the needs of wage earners in the event of sickness through the co-operation of employers and employees. The long-established Benefit Funds of the Cambria Steel Company and the Bethlehem Steel Company may also be mentioned in this connection.

Maternity Insurance

Maternity insurance is as yet in a very experimental stage. It is doubtful whether such insurance can be provided for on a voluntary basis, because of the peculiar conditions which confront married women in industry in the event of pregnancy. Efforts are being made throughout the civilized world to prohibit by statutory enactment the employment of pregnant women for a given period before and after childbirth. The adoption of such laws naturally suggest as an alternative the protection of such women against the pecuniary consequences of motherhood, if only out of humane considerations for the mother and the child. The British plan of a lump payment of thirty shillings in the event of maternity to insuring women under the provisions of the national insurance act suggests the direction which legislation of this kind is likely to take, at least in the near fture, and as an initial step towards still more adequate provision in a matter which must needs be of the most serious concern to the state. There is considerable likelihood, however, that far-sighted and humane employers will of their own account and at their own cost provide for the comfort and pecuniary needs of employed women during a reasonable period before confinement and for at least four weeks thereafter. Even if only half wages were paid during this period and if in addition thereto the qualified services of a physician and visiting nurse were provided, a much-to-be-desired assistance would be rendered and an infinite amount of good would result not only to the mother but to the child, which constitutes a potential wage-earner of the future.

The sixth social insurance problem demanding consideration from an American point of view at the present time is *unemployment.* In view of the fact that with the single exception of the United Kingdom no other country has been successful in establishing an entirely satisfactory system of unemployment insurance, or, for that matter, any system at all, it is not necessary to enlarge upon the insurance features of this phase of the social insurance agitation. It may be pointed out, however, that as far as the facts are understood, the British unemployment insurance act has in actual experience during the first year of operation been quite satisfactory. But the test of experience cannot be considered a sufficient length in that real strain and stress would occur during a period of prolonged unemployment, plus a persistent downward trend of wages. A further test would occur during an exceptional period of sickness, since during the year under review both the conditions of employment and health were exceptionally favorable throughout the United Kingdom. The American Association for Labor

Legislation has rendered a real service in this connection in providing a translation of a recently published summary account of unemployment insurance institutions in European countries, which is particularly suggestive to American students of what is bound to become a problem of increasing importance.

In its final analysis social insurance *aims* always at the *prevention of destitution* and the needless *lowering of the attained standard of life.* For that reason *any and every form of social insurance* is of considerable practical importance to those interested in the administration of public charities or private agencies of relief. It may not be out of place, therefore, to recall that as far back as 1902 the National Conference of Charities and Correction appointed a committee on compulsory insurance, the report of which foreshadowed much of the subsequent development of the agitation in this country. The most successful solution of the problem depends upon the *intelligent* and *sympathetic co-operation* of *all who are interested in the social* and *economic welfare of the wage-earning element of the nation:* for in this matter, as in all others, no problem is ever settled until it is settled right.

THE RIGHT OF THE WORKER TO SOCIAL PROTECTION

Charles Richmond Henderson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Charity is the historic root of all social justice. "La justice est l'amour guide par la luminiere. Car las lois justes sont les vrais rapports des choses" (Sully-Prudhomme). For long centuries the Church was the sole social agency for expressing the voluntary altruistic impulses of the peoples. Only gradually, step by step, did the State, which the Church had taught by precept and example the universal obligation of brotherhood, assume this huge task and distribute the burden more equitably and surely over all citizens in proportion to their ability. After some tentative efforts, beginning in the fifteenth century, this tendency took substantial and authoritative form in the English Poor law of 1601.

Rise of Industrial Groups

The rise of the Industrial Group, or the wage-earning operatives, is the mark and product of the Industrial Revolution, which began in the late Middle Ages with the emancipation of the serfs and resulted in the demarkation of a "class conscious" body of citizens with certain interests and ideals peculiar to themselves. The group of citizens has, after a long struggle, won not only freedom from personal servitude and the right to make the labor contracts of full freemen, but they have also won the franchise which gives them a share in the direction of governments.

"Earth's monarchs are her peoples
And her serfs stand up as men."

It has slowly become manifest to all thinking people that community sympathy, which once necessarily took the form of a gift of superior to inferiors, must reincarnate itself in another shape. Community sympathy, solidarity, fraternity, are ancient charity raised to a nobler level, freed from all marks of personal or class inferiority, and, therefore, asking for a new baptismal name.

It is this world movement of thought, motive and action which explains the insensible evolution of this National Conference of Charities and Correction. Excellent men of a former generation have looked upon this revolution with some anxiety and have occasionally lifted their voice in protest. Men who live in the circles of officialdom, whose minds are occupied rather exclusively with the routine of administration of institutions for the custody of the insane, the dements, the epileptic, the pauper and the criminal, come to feel that this is a part of an everlasting order, and that these evils are inevitable.

It was the charity organization people and the residents of settlements who, for the most part, first caught from contact with the wage earners struggling upward, the enthusiasm for a new order. Hence this Conference, as several presidential addresses and various speakers have pointed out, has become an ally of the members of the Industrial Group. Without forgetting those who have given up the struggle, without deserting the helpless, we catch up the banner of solidarity and march with that growing army of men and women whose radiant faces are turned toward the dawn of a better day when misery and abject dependence, and debasing servility, and whining mendicancy, will be no more.

Social Politics

At this exalted stage of evolution, we have allied ourselves, consciously and on principle, with those who favor *social legislation.*

Many of us have not the right of admission to the trade unions which are banded together for collective bargaining and other economic advantages. We know their necessity, we approve their best ideals; but our callings exclude us from direct participation.

We must find our place and do our part for solidarity in a field where *all* citizens, irrespective of calling, or special pecuniary interest, or class prejudices, can unite on equal terms, as citizens of the nations, as co-operators in a common task of humanity. This is the field of "social politics" in the modern sense of the word; the noblest sort of politics and free from any taint or suggestion of partisan or class bias. It is not "*class* legislation" in which we are interested. The exploited child laborer, the overworked woman at the loom, the miner or the sailor, is first of all a citizen of the republic, and in him the nation rises or declines. In protecting the health, the income, and the culture of the toilers we are fortifying the defenses of national vitality, power

and glory. When in a half-civilized country a defenseless citizen of a great nation covers his heart with the stars and stripes and makes a brilliant target for bandits, his life blood, as it flows to enrich alien soil, drains the arteries of us all, and the wrong done him in the lonely station is done to all of our hundred million people. And so when a wage earner suffers needless injury, or slowly decays from hunger, or is brutalized by ignorance, his soul's misery is the curse and shame of all; and the forces of land and sea are marshaled to his defense.

The tasks of social politics are too vast and complex for us to discuss in this hour. The subject of *prevention* of accident and disease alone might well engage us now as it has done on previous occasions. But when the science and the wit of man have been exhausted in the effort to ward off injuries, mutilation and weakness, the hour comes to each worker when he must succumb to the inevitable. With unerring certainty the mathematician and the actuary display before us the average number of persons who are sure to be disabled in a year by accident, sickness, invalidism, old age, unemployment, or death, and who with their dependents must have community assistance.

Social Insurance

Social politics, therefore, while not neglecting prevention, must organize *social insurance*, the subject of our present discussion.

The essential principle of social insurance has come into distinct relief already in the sketch of its historical origins; it is an *act of solidarity on the part of a nation of equals in citizenship.* It is the declaration of a people determined to be just, determined not to enjoy the fruits of labor in a period of unexampled material prosperity and leave their laborers to chance.

1. *Accidents.* The first step in this program of social politics which is now unfolding before our eyes is insurance against loss of income from accidents. Gladly would we avert from the toilers all danger of loss of life or limb from the swift knives of woodworking establishments, the crushing hammers of the steel mills, the merciless collisions of freight cars, the falling roofs of coal mines; gladly would we preserve the manly mechanic for the sweet affections of his home and the support of those who are dear to him. But we cannot always do this. What we can do is to provide income for him and his family, and to make this income a first lien on the product of the industry. This is the aim of the new compensation laws which have already been adopted by various states and which are sure before long to be adopted by all.

Neither the name nor the method of compensation laws is wholly satisfactory. The word compensation retains some flavor of the ancient individualistic liability law which set up a claim of the workman against his employer for personal negligence and wrong. These new laws still make the individual employer liable to the individual sufferer. But

what if the employer fails in business, becomes bankrupt, and the injured man lingers on in life a helpless cripple?

Would it not be far better to drop all these antiquated notions of individual liability and provide at once by law for social insurance funds, under state protection, with all the guaranties for security which actuarial science demands? There is danger lest we satisfy ourselves with doing something which falls far short of the best, and even of what satisfies reasonable claims of justice and welfare.

The battle for accident insurance is practically won since employers, employed, and the disinterested public have established the compensation laws, and secured judicial interpretations which give them standing under the Constitution. There is reasonable ground for hoping that these laws will be developed until they meet all the requirements of the best standards.

2. *Sickness.* But now we must begin a new campaign. What we have achieved is but an earnest of what we have yet to accomplish. The loss of income from disease is vastly greater than that from accident, serious and tragical as that is. Tuberculosis, for example, and typhoid, conduct multitudes of independent toilers down into the shame of eating the hard and sour bread of charity.

The charity societies are in a position to sound the alarm on this subject, for their records are eloquent with the statistics of pauperism arising from sickness. Here again preventive medicine has the highest claim; but insurance also is necessary, for doctors are not omniscient and for a long time to come they must confess their failure when they have exhausted their resources.

3. *Invalid and Old-age Pensions.* The fact that so many intelligent and philanthropic people have permitted themselves to imagine that the so-called "mothers' pensions" are anything but a dangerous form of poor law, reveals the backward state of public opinion on social insurance.

Some of the great corporations have earned praise for establishing retiring allowances for faithful employes worn out in their service. They deserve credit for all they have done, and we do not wish to criticize their motives. But private pension schemes are at best rare, unreliable, exist at the caprice of employers, and are under private control; they give no legal claim or guaranty. If a man for good cause leaves the particular employer he loses this benefit. Such gratuities cannot, therefore, satisfy the modern demand for social insurance which rests upon radically different principles. No system which makes a wage-earner more dependent on the employer can permanently meet the criticism of the modern world. Only when the old-age pension or invalidity insurance becomes public, universal, and gives undisputed legal right to indemnity, will the modern social conscience be satisfied.

4. *Unemployment* insurance also is knocking at our door. The too common theory that unemployment is due chiefly to the laziness of wage-earners has been exploded. Any man who is intelligent

and is willing to look at the facts can know that unemployment on a vast scale is due in large degree to the inability or neglect of employers and governments to adjust production to requirements. The organization of industry is still crude, awkward and full of defects, and the result is widespread misery and ruin. Our best and most numerous customers for manufacture and commerce are our working people, and hundreds of thousands of them are regularly deprived of means to purchase commodities because they are discharged by regiments, or because their wages are too low.

The defect being social, the remedy must be public, and the remedy must include both improved distribution of labor and insurance of steady income when all means of prevention are exhausted.

A few years ago this idea was rejected as visionary; but now it is actually embodied in the law of government of our Mother Country; Great Britain has led the world.

5. *Widows and the Fatherless* have had from time immemorial a first lien on charity; and they must ever kindle our sympathy and desire to help. But old methods are now outlawed; we hear the call of a wider and wiser justice. The earnings of a man must not only meet the needs of his active life and declining years, but they must provide for his widow and children during the period of dependence. This is the principle on which rests the new factors of the German law of social insurance, and the demand for similar legislation in all countries which pretend to be civilized.

6. *Educational Methods.* Laws are a mode of popular thought and of concerted volition; they are born of education. If we desire a democratic commonwealth to act we must first make it think, not in a cloistered vacuum, but in an atmosphere of reality. The people of the United States have left multitudes to misery or death because they did not know. We must be crusaders of knowledge.

DISCUSSION: The discussion of Social Insurance was participated in by the chief speakers, and also by Mr. Patterson of New Orleans, Mr. Hexter of Cincinnati, Mr. Leonard of St. Louis, Miss Gardiner of Grand Rapids, Mr. Grainger of Kansas City, Mr. Marsh of New York City, Mr. Atkinson of Boston, Miss Edwards of Dayton, Mr. Kelly of Memphis, and others.

Agencies for Establishing and Maintaining Standards
Section, May 12, 9:00 A. M.

LEGISLATION AS A MEANS OF ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR

John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City.

It has been more or less popular in certain quarters during the past year to minimize the value of legislation. The Industrial Workers of the World, true to their principle of direct action, have scorned appeals

to legislatures as worse than useless. "Scare-crows that scare no crows," "gold-bricks" and "narcotics" they have called those laws enacted for the protection of labor. The uncompromising leaders of revolution are not in sympathy with the slow, more quiet campaigns of education aiming at social reform.

In part, at least, this apparent reaction against legislation is justified. Our representatives in the state legislatures and in Congress, even with carefully worked out proposals, have sometimes been most exasperatingly slow and even stupid. It is sufficient to mention one familiar instance—the twenty-year fight of Andrew Furuseth and his union for safety at sea.

It must be admitted, too, that formerly much proposed legislation was ill-considered and even if passed could not be enforced. Sometimes, too, the fault was with politics in office, and sometimes it was the fault of backward-looking judges. In spite of these discouragements, however, the attitude of the great body of the workers has been favorable to legislation.

The eighteenth century historian, you will remember, found the workers placing their chief reliance upon the law. In fact, trade unions were first organized in England to prosecute violators of the statutes fixing wages and regulating apprenticeship. Their fundamental purpose was the maintenance of the existing legal standards.

Then there came that twenty-five years' struggle against the efforts of the ruling classes to outlaw workmen's organizations, and when, in 1825, the Act forbidding combinations was finally repealed, the political economists came quickly to the rescue of the employers with a doctrine of *laissez faire* which for nearly two generations more held the leaders of public opinion enthralled, and sustained an employer Parliament in its opposition to the demands of labor.

For a time, therefore, efforts of workmen before legislative committees brought little result. The cards of economic reasoning had been stacked against them, and for the most part also they had no vote. This was naturally the period of the development of fighting organizations.

The sympathetic philanthropists—the so-called visionary high-brows of that time—were the first to recover from the spell of *laissez faire*. They became the pioneers in a new era of legislation to establish and maintain standards of living and labor. Although frequently misunderstood, even by those for whom they struggled, their unselfish, untiring warfare against the brutal employment of children and women, against industrial accident and disease, furnishes a record of constructive statesmanship to illumine the path toward social justice. As early as 1862 Ira Steward of Boston started a legislative campaign for the universal eight-hour day. The philosophy he expounded and the campaign of education conducted by scores of organizations under his inspiration made a profound impression on the American labor move-

ment. The National Labor Union, the predecessor of the Knights of Labor, endorsed Steward's plan and brought about the enactment of abortive laws in half a dozen states before it established the first labor lobby in Washington and secured the federal employees' eight hour law in 1868.

From that time on, representative leaders in the movement for legislation pointed out the lurking fallacy in the *laissez faire* doctrine "all the more dangerous", they said, "because of the artful manner in which it is attempted to place the legislature and the working population in a false position in relation to each other".

American Labor Approves Legislative Method

In these days of activity at Washington it is not necessary to emphasize the point that legislation is one of the means by which American trade unionists now seek to attain their ends. Each session of Congress considers an increasing number of labor bills. Every state legislature is besought by organized labor to pass or to kill measures according to the wishes of trade unionists. For the most part, to be sure, they concern themselves chiefly with laws designed to protect their own organizations, but of their interested approval of labor legislation there can be no question.

The two principal groups which now oppose labor legislation are the stand-pat employers and the vociferous church-storming agitators of the I. W. W. Strange bed-fellows indeed are these, but nevertheless they supplement each others' efforts in opposition to the establishment and maintenance of legal standards of living and labor.

Their motives are not the same. Their reasons for opposition to legal methods are quite different. The reactionary employers, on one hand, know that in spite of probable long time gains in efficiency, it does cost money now suddenly to transform a human slaughter-house into a safe place for men to work in. Under the urge of impending legislation one large corporation boasts that within four years it has reduced accidents 66 per cent, at a cost of $4,000.000.

The I. W. W., on the other hand, scoffs at labor laws—"scare-crows" that "scare no crows"— and maintains that all labor legislation is specially designed by the capitalists to chloroform the workers.

But the vast majority of citizens in this country are interested in legislation from a different point of view. Less than 3 per cent of the total population and less than 8 per cent of those gainfully employed, and only about 13 per cent. of those employed in trade, transportation and manufacturing, are unionists. The social welfare view, it must not be forgotten, comprehends all of the people, even unto future generations.

There is now less confusion concerning conditions which need to be remedied than at any other time, probably, in the last quarter century. We have facts. We know evils. We can recognize practical

remedies. The Social Standards for Industry outlined by this section in June, 1910, at the Cleveland Conference are sufficient to indicate the possibilities of agreement. We are here and now chiefly concerned with methods or with agencies for establishing and maintaining those standards.

Reasonable human beings in their efforts to establish standards of living and labor will wish to have each suggested standard carefully considered in order that if approved it may be maintained. From the general welfare point of view, which method, in the long run, is likely to prove the best agency for establishing and maintaining reasonable standards?

Three Methods of Progress Examined

We may consider briefly the characteristic features of three active forces, as represented by syndicalists, the trade unionists or collective bargainists, and the labor legislationists. Each one has its own special function.

First we have guerrilla warfare as practiced by the syndicalists. Out on the firing line among the neglected and unskilled they are able to give dramatic expression to the cry of the oppressed masses. They direct attention to conditions which must be changed. But they are unable or unwilling to maintain standards. They even agree again with the stand-pat employers in denouncing collective bargaining as well as labor legislation.

Collective bargaining, as the second method, does hold temporarily the protective gains made by the trade unionists. But important as such gains have been, there is no assurance in ordinary collective bargaining that the interests of the general public have been taken into account. Furthermore the standards agreed upon through collective bargaining are frequently not uniform for even a single trade in a given state. Finally there is little guarantee of the permanence of such agreements even with strong organization on both sides. The condition is at best one of armed peace.

The legislative method, theoretically at least, combines most of the features desirable in an agency for establishing and maintaining standards of living and labor from the general public welfare point of view. The problem that concerns us here as a nation, Professor Commons declares, is "not so much the struggle of a class to dominate others as a working partnership of classes in government and industry."

The prevention of occupational diseases, for example, is too great an undertaking to be left entirely to individual action. It cannot be left to the worker, who, even when not ignorant of the danger, is driven by necessity to his task. It cannot be entrusted to the employer whose principal business after all, under competitive conditions, is to secure profits. It cannot be left to medical treatment alone, for prevention and not after-care is the remedy. Not only on account of the

magnitude of the problem but also because of its nature, the prevention of occupational diseases is properly a function of government.

In the development of our civilization from the individualism of primitive savagery to the modern complexity of industrial society, we have created many perplexing social problems. When individuals worked singly and in a very real sense "minded their own business", it was possible for the individual worker to adjust himself or his surroundings to suit at least his own best judgment concerning personally agreeable and healthful conditions of temperature, humidity, fresh air and physical strain. But when factories were built and large numbers of people came to work under artificial conditions over which they themselves had little or no direct control, there was created a very different problem. Conditions of temperature and humidity and purity of air and labor strain, were often prescribed by the most convenient, the most rapid, and the cheapest process of manufacture from the standpoint of selfish or thoughtless employers. To help to change this narrow, selfish point of view is one of the chief problems of social workers and of the labor legislationists.

Legislative action, however, in promoting industrial hygiene does not mean that private or voluntary efforts of the workmen, or of their employers, or of their physicians, or of social workers, shall be in any way minimized. On the contrary, such voluntary efforts will be vastly encouraged.

Legislation Facilitates Investigation, Education and Administration

It must be obvious to any thoughtful person that in preventing unnecessary occupational diseases we must have investigation, education and administration. These three requisites can in a democracy best be secured through legislation.

Investigation is expensive. But through legislation we can set aside ample funds for scientific study. In New York state during the years 1912-1913 the legislature appropriated $160,000 for the factory investigating commission, in addition to the usual sustaining funds for the permanent departments of health and of labor. The state labor department alone receives over $600,000 a year. It should not be forgotten that careful investigation has formed the basis in recent years for an important extension of the use of that legal protection included under what is known as the police power of the state.

Education is expensive. But through legislation we can provide the means for the necessary dissemination of facts gained by investigation. The publication of the preliminary reports of the factory investigating commission in New York has given a remarkable impetus to the task of providing sanitary work places. Reports on occupational diseases issued by the state bureau of labor statistics have stimulated wide interest among the manufacturers and wage-earners. The law requiring the reporting of occupational diseases has pointed out sore

spots in industry and has resulted in valuable co-operation between physicians, social workers, employers, employees, and factory inspectors.

Administration is essential. Protective devices often involve the expenditure of large sums of money, and, under conditions of sharp competition and cheap labor in an industry, the humane and careful employer, even though in the vast majority, may be placed at an unfair disadvantage in dealing with his less conscientious business competitor unless there is uniform enforcement of sanitary regulations. It is only through the uniformity of regulation, which legal enactment alone can secure, that the more progressive and humane employers can themselves be protected from less scrupulous competitors who would otherwise often fail to provide expensive safe-guards, and it is only through compulsory regulations that the health of the employees of these unscrupulous competitors can be protected.

The use of the legislative method, it must be admitted, necessarily involves a slow and gradual process. If its advocates are to be successful each important proposal must be preceded by careful investigation to make sure that it will accomplish what is desired. Moreover there must be reasonable assurance that enforcing devices are at hand, and finally that the proposal after a campaign of education will be accepted by the public as reasonable, for otherwise it will almost surely not be enforced against interested opposition.

Fortunately in recent years the principle of co-operation instead of clubbing has been stressed. The creation of administrative commissions through which representative interests participate in the development of protective measures, has resulted very naturally in better enforcement. At the same time, for the protection of workers against the accident hazards of industrial life, there has swept over the country the first great wave of social insurance, with the resulting demands for "safety first." Campaigns for insurance against sickness, invalidity and unemployment, are close upon us. The success of such social insurance depends upon an element of compulsion. Those most in need of insurance must be compelled to secure it. Then, too, continual pressure must be imposed upon those in a position to remove or reduce industrial hazards. The most important result of social insurance is the *prevention* of accidents, sickness and unemployment. Voluntary co-operation under a form of indirect legal compulsion is effective. For this purpose labor legislation is essential.

It is natural, it is inevitable, that with the growth of democracy there should come increased use of what the Webbs call the "method of legal enactment." As salutary checks like the initiative, the referendum and the recall are developed, and as the extension of male suffrage and the granting of woman suffrage confer upon the people wider political rights, wage-earners may confidently be expected to apply their new political powers to the solution of their industrial problems. Making good use of poltical democracy may hasten the coming of industrial democracy.

There must be more opportunity for safe and ennobling work, for the leisure to live the life of an earnest, happy citizen. To this end there must be developed and defended a sane and progressive general welfare point of view. No one who has ever had anything serious to do with labor legislation, with preliminary investigations of working conditions, with the conferences of men of many kinds around the table drafting bills, with the planning of educational campaigns, with written and spoken appeals, and with the final enactment of laws, will ever fail to see in the legislative method, conservative and slow as it is, one of the most promising, the most constructive, the most permanent of all agencies for establishing and maintaining just standards of living and of labor.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR ESTABLISHING STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR

Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York City.

We need in every state of the union local branches of the national organizations represented in the Conference. When, for instance, we try to establish new Consumers' Leagues in southern states, we are often met with the suggestion that it is undesirable to form a new organization; that existing agencies can add the new task to the work they are already doing.

For years we acted upon this suggestion and spent effort and money upon starting Consumers' League Committees in women's clubs and other pre-existing organizations.

The net result has been unsatisfactory. A committee of an alien organization cannot, in the nature of things, identify itself effectively with the Consumers' League. Its first allegiance is inevitably elsewhere. Reports are made to the city or state federation of women's clubs, or even to the general federation, and the expense of sending delegates to the annual meetings of the State and National Consumers' League is felt as a burden.

In the absence of these reports and these delegates we do not know what is being done locally. We do not get the names and addresses of newly elected officers. We have no means of knowing what particular stimulus each local group needs, because all these things are automatically reported to a different national organization whose first concern is not with them. Before long, therefore, drowsiness, sleep and death of the committee follow, and the opportunity is lost.

When, after such an experience, we strive to form a separate organization, the difficulty is aggravated by the failure of the initial experiment. People remember that, but not the causes of the failure, and are unwilling to try again on the normal basis.

Other national organizations share this experience. It is constantly urged that chambers of commerce and boards of trade might well do all that is needed to educate the consuming public. We are asked to consider the valuable help given by chambers of commerce to the shop-early campaign. This is, however, one of the rare cases in which the interests of the chambers of commerce and boards of trade and those of the Consumers' League are obviously identical. Whenever an early *closing* campaign is substituted for the slogan, Shop Early, it becomes altogether problematical how far the helpful co-operation can continue.

Throughout the southern states there is a new interest in social and industrial affairs among college students, clergymen, women's clubs and leading citizens. The task of the social worker is to enlighten and organize this new interest, to save it from falling a prey to confusion such as that of Mr. Stiles and Mr. Dawley, who still recommend the employment of children in cotton mills as an antidote to hookworm infection!

For the long future of social work in the South this is a movement of extraordinary importance. In Miss Mary Richmond's informal conferences of officers of national organizations there is an invaluable aid for the task that confronts us, that of forming everywhere a local nucleus of persons interested in the lines of activity of the standing committees of the Conference.

DISCUSSION: The discussion of addresses of Dr. Andrews and Mrs. Kelley was participated in by Mr. Marsh of New York City, Mr. C. W. Williams of Cleveland, Mr. Neustadt of New York City, Dr. Andrews, Mrs. Kelley, Mr. Leonard of St. Louis, Father O'Hara of Portland, Oregon, Mr. Beard of Hoquiam, Washington, Mr. Lovejoy of New York City, Dr. Wishart of Grand Rapids, Dr. Devine of New York City and Dr. Eaves of Birmingham.

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

The Use of Leisure*

Harriet E. Vittum, Acting Chairman of the Committee; Head Resident, Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, Ill.

I am in an attitude of humble apology for even daring to stand in Miss McDowell's place. However, I am glad to be the bearer of her message of greetings and to express her regret; and to bring as far as I am able the message she had meant to bring of the "Use of Leisure," as we find it in our efforts toward Neighborhood development along play lines.

During the last ten or fifteen years we have thought out more or less carefully the play of children and have directed large numbers of them into a wiser and safer use of their playtime—at least this has been done for the children of the so-called unfortunate classes. As to the children of more favored communities, I am reminded of a story told by Dr. John Timothy Stone of Chicago, in discussing whether the children of the rich or the children of the poor were more in need of care. As Dr. Stone passed down one of Chicago's most beautiful boulevards one spring morning, he saw a small boy of five or six sitting on the stone steps of a house. His elbows were on his knees, his head in his hands, and his face was a picture of woe. On the pavement in front was his nurse with a hoop which she was trying to coax the boy to roll. Dr. Stone could not resist the appeal of the boy's silent misery and stopped to say, "Brother, you don't seem happy." The boy shook his head without looking up and said, "I'm longing for my freedom." If as we sometimes think, "poor little boys" have too much freedom, perhaps it seems to establish somewhere an average of independence in thought and action.

In contrast to the wail of the overwatched child, I might cite the philosophical acceptance of "things as they are" of a group of little uncared for future citizens of Chicago's most congested quarter. Four or five of them had evidently been discussing seriously the affairs of life as a visitor passed and heard the apparent leader of the group, drawing himself proudly up to the somewhat dwarfed height of his eight years, say, "See, poor children don't get much to eat, but how healt'y are they!" Our playground and recreation centers with their play leaders, story tellers, Boy Scouts and Campfire groups have served large numbers of little people and are pointing the way to a rapid

* General Session, May 11, 8:00 P. M.

solution of problems of children's play. But the use the working boys and girls, the young men and women, the fathers and mothers of the great congested communities with which social workers are concerned, make of their leisure, has as yet received too little attention.

The Conditions of Leisure

In the first place, *when* is their leisure? In a little book called "Worship and Work," in which Mrs. Barnet has gathered together some beautiful bits from the unpublished writings of Canon Barnet; there is a page devoted to the "Needs of the Industrial Classes," and there he says, "there must be regular leisure, daily leisure, in which after work they may be able to use their minds and their bodies." Must we not see to it first that there is leisure, regular leisure? Surely a working day short enough to give every worker a bit of leisure at the end of each day's work, a week which includes one day's rest in seven in which to check up and make a new attack on life, and a working year which includes a holiday in the country where re-creation may really begin, are not too much to demand for every one of the world's workers.

And then, where and how our workers live may have some bearing on the use they make of leisure. Every human being needs some time and some place where he may go occasionally into the silence. On another page of "Worship and Work," Canon Barnet urges us to open the minds of the industrial classes to see the meaning in both *silence* and noise. Where in our noisy, overcrowded tenements may one even discover that there is silence? We have all heard such statements as that made by the janitor of a Chicago settlement who spent a few days in the country, helping to arrange a boys' camp. When he returned from what had been his first visit to the real country and was asked if he had enjoyed it, he said, "Yes, except I couldn't sleep at night—the bugs made such a noise." We can never attune to silence the ears of the tenement dweller. Is it too much to ask that some day there will be in every home a place where silence may be found?

Again, given time and very little money for leisure, how may they be invested? We have perhaps provided means for the use of both, but how? For the young people, the dance halls, the moving picture shows, the pool rooms with here and there as yet only occasional oases in the desert of destructive agencies, the recreation centers, settlements and schools. We know that the saloon dance hall with its dirt and bad air, its suggestive music, its liquor permit, which in some places (as in Chicago) permits the selling of liquor until three o'clock in the morning, its surroundings of bad cafes and disreputable hotels, can never recreate. We know that the pool rooms are ever open to the young boys as to the older men, and are schools of crime. We know the moving picture shows which in Chicago alone are patronized by 150,000 to 200,000 people each day—40 per cent of them children under fifteen,

exploit for the personal gain of the owners and operators the leisure of the masses. For men there is besides all these the saloon, the only place perhaps where he can for a small price feel sure of a welcome, where there is to be found the daily paper, a few neighbors and a place for his leisure. For the tenement mother, what?

We Choose the Recreation Conditions for the Poor

Not by bread alone can man live, and if we provide such means only for the investment of the leisure of the poor, we can scarce blame them if they accept the invitation offered by those who control the great processes of city life. Two years ago, four young murderers, neighbors of mine, were hanged in Chicago—one before he was yet twenty-one years old. When the mothers of these boys were interviewed and asked where their boys spent their evenings, the mother of Tommy Schultz, the youngest of whom I have spoken, said, "I don't know. I have eleven children; I know my kitchen, that's all. Maybe he was by the saloon on the corner, maybe by the hole under the railroad. I didn't know he was a bad boy." The saloon and the dugout under the viaduct had always been open and had beckoned to Tommy Schultz, but the splendid schoolhouse right across the street from Tommy's home had been closed for him since he left it at 14 to go to work. Tommy did not choose the saloon and dugout—Chicago chose them for him.

Again, quoting Canon Barnet, "A mind is kept clean not by being swept and garnished, but by being filled with things that are lovely." He asks us to take people to the country and fill them full of the beauty of nature, of the flowers and the birds and the trees, to make them know by the beauty of the country that there is One whose beauty covers the earth. This is possible for some, though not yet perhaps for all; but through the moving picture, that remarkable but misused educational asset, it is possible to take to the people in the crowded walks of life not only the numberless varieties of murder, robbery, debauchery, but also every message from the mountains and valleys, the wind and the sun and rain, the lake and the river, the bees, the flowers, the trees and all the imagery of nature.

A little nine-year-old boy once selected as the most significant moment of his two weeks in a summer camp, a two weeks filled with hikes, pie-eating contests, base ball games, hayrack rides; his first view of the horizon. In the picture show, the line of coming together of the saloon and sky may give place to the coming together of the earth and sky. In the picture show also might be seen the wonderful pictures of all the ages, from all the galleries. A tired, hard-working man once said in looking at a beautiful picture in a loan collection brought to his neighborhood, "Why, it is a pleasure and a resting at the same time." The saloon would not be so popular if something else were provided. Justice Day of Manchester, England, once said, "A drink is the cheapest way out of Manchester." Let us provide other and

better cheap excursions out of the grind and monotony of tenement life. "Every joy is a gain, and a gain is a gain, however small." It is hard to get a neighborhood united for work, but for play it is easy. May we not if we will, play our way, men and women, boys and girls, along paths of joy and beauty to citizenship, to neighborliness—to real brotherly love? Robert Louis Stevenson knew this:

"Happy hearts and happy faces
Pleasant play in pleasant places,
That is how in ancient ages,
Children grew to kings and sages."

MISS VITTUM: It had been Miss McDowell's plan in arranging the program for this meeting to have the subject of recreation and social progress discussed from several standpoints. First, recreation from the standpoint of the church,—Rev. Harry F. Ward, Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

THE CHURCH AND RECREATION

Rev. Harry F. Ward, Secretary Methodist Federation for Social Service, Evanston, Ill.

One result of the social service movement in the churches already has been to change the attitude of the church toward recreation. That attitude, at least in so far as the Protestant churches are concerned, has been almost entirely negative. Recreation has, in the history of religion, had its uses. The dance and the drama have served their religious purposes, and it was perhaps because of their association with other religions that Christianity largely debarred these and other forms of recreation. And then when the Christian church did begin to perceive faintly the religious values in recreation there came the Puritan movement, and the later evangelical movement, which turned the face of the church sternly against all forms of recreation.

That attitude, in the last ten years, has been changed, and slowly but surely the churches are coming over to a positive ground in the matter of recreation. One evidence is the increasing use of church property, not simply in industrial neighborhoods, but in rural communities, for social and recreational purposes. They used to teach that a church was a place where the Gospel was preached and the Sacraments were administered, and that was about the total use of church buildings. There is a good deal of justification in that criticism of the I. W. W. speaker whom I heard on the streets of a western city. He was paying his respects to the various institutions of organized society and finally got to the church. "What is the church?" he said, "Nothing but a ghost house, a building to house a ghost, and the ghost has lots of room inside

and is warm and comfortable, while we poor workingmen have to sleep in a ten cent lodging house or on the street." As long as we engraved upon our churches simply "To the Glory of God," there was some justification for such remarks, but now we are inscribing "To the Glory of God and for the Good of Man." Before long we will put another inscription there, and it will be "To the Glory of God, and therefore for All the Uses of Man," or, rather, "For the Use of Man, and Therefore to the Glory of God." The church people are no longer scared to death at the idea of using church property for some other purpose than worship. I have known the sexton of a rural church refuse to give the keys to his pastor because the pastor proposed to open the church for recreation. Of course that day is passing, and we are beginning to understand that in the church building folks may eat, and work, and play, and in case of necessity even sleep. The church building is more and more to be used for all purposes of human welfare.

An Element of Self-Defense

The church in opening its buildings to recreation and social purposes has not been fully aware of all the implications involved. It has been acting from a motive of self defense largely, trying to fight fire with fire, trying to protect itself from improper commercialized amusements, trying to safeguard its own young people, and there will be for some time in many neighborhoods need for the use of church property for social and recreation purposes just as by the same token shall school property be used increasingly for that purpose. All leaders of social progress realize that the conduct of recreation by the church is only a temporary matter and is only justifiable as a stimulus to force the community to do its whole duty. Inevitably the church is being led into the necessity of providing recreation for its own young people, in order that they may not be destroyed by improper amusements. The churches are coming to find out they cannot protect their own young people from commercialized recreation simply by providing recreation on their own church property. Unless they see to the protection of all of the children of the community they cannot effectively protect their own. It was pathetic recently to see Jewish rabbis pleading for the lives of the gunmen of their faith, when religion had failed to defend its own young people because it had been inadequate in the presence of the weaknesses of the community life, in the presence of the vicious means of recreation and the worst influences of the life of the children of the streets. We have come, in the churches, to see from the workers in the field of recreation, the waste and destruction of the useful forces of the community, not simply from the permission of improper commercialized amusements, but from the failure of the community to constructively organize the leisure life of its young. As the churches face the necessity of providing recreation for the young, we are beginning to understand the religious necessity of that movement and if the church has any con-

tribution to make today to the great recreation movement of this country it is to point out to the people its religious values and its religious necessities.

Religion is concerned today with character rather than with creed, with conduct rather than with ordinances, and we are learning from the people who are studying the question that there is no stronger means for the building of character than to take hold of the desire for recreation and to use it constructively. There are many maxims telling how to discover the real character of a man. We have been told he is to find it from his friends, from his books, or from his servants. But if you really want to know just how religious a man is—play golf with him, or go camping with him. Then you will have an intimate acquaintance with the character of his religion. Religion is not simply for the development of individual character, but for the development of the community. Religion is set for a social goal. We are beginning to understand that there are two great forms of association of the people in which the forces of community religion are developed, in which are generated the higher energies of life, the spiritual capacities, those impalpable, indefinable characteristics that make the soul of a people. They are developed chiefly by two forms of association —when people gather together for worship and when people play together. In both those associations do they develop those community qualities of the spirit and soul and life which enable them to face the sterner constructive tasks of life, and it is because of the religious possibilities of the universal instinct for play, of the elemental instinct for recreation, that the organized social service movement in the churches today is trying to lead the churches to support the community recreation program.

Recreation in the Social Program of the Church

The church has taken its stand for the right of every individual child to that educational and moral development which comes from the play life. In the platform adopted by over thirty denominations we find that one is to stand for the fullest possible development of every child, and that particularly by the provision of proper education and adequate recreation. The churches today, at least the social service movement in the churches, are trying to teach the membership that they must stand for the development of all the inalienable rights of all the children of the community, and that among those is the God-given right to the development of the play faculty, and to all the educational and moral advantages that come out of the cultivation of that faculty. You cannot leave recreation simply to the family or to the church. The church has no more desire to assume the task of providing the recreational life of the community than it has to assume the control of any other part of community life. It would be just as dangerous to try to put the leadership of the recreation of the community into the

hands of the church as to try to put the control of the city into the hands of the church. It must be the function of all the people and not any group of the people, no matter how well fitted that group may feel itself to lead us. We are insisting that the community must provide adequate and proper recreation for all the children of the community.

We have in this industrial age of ours sinned twice deeply, almost past repentence, against childhood. The first offense was when we permitted children to be worked for profit. For that sin we have repented and are determined to absolve ourselves. But there is another sin like unto it—I think, sometimes, just as great—and that is that we are forcing in many of our industrial communities the children to play for profit, that before the child can satisfy that inalienable right to play it must come with a coin in its hand and pay for it. We have turned over every one of our recreations, indoor and outdoor, to the hands of private gain. We have made them the instruments of greed. And the largest single source of destruction, of community waste, that comes from modern recreation is that recreation has become commercialized and that under the drive of the profit motive, seeking larger patronage, it panders to the lower taste of the community and then degrades those tastes in its desire for profit. There are some aspects of our modern life from which I am willing to eliminate profit at once. In the allied field of recreation and vice it is high time we eliminated the profit motive.

Provision for recreation, if it has the educational and moral value ascribed to it by the students of play life, is no more a private function than the provision of education. I would far rather the energy of any community be directed to constructive provision for recreation than toward the regulation of privately controlled recreation. It is doubtful if we can ever make privately controlled amusements what they should be. All the time you have to be on guard, watching to keep it within proper limits, for all the time the drive of that profit motive is against you. I should prefer to spend that energy in constructive development of recreation by the community. It is the only way ultimately by which we can get at the problem. We cannot simply rescue our children, but we must turn our attention to constructive control. We have for example the enormous possibility of the motion picture. I grant all that has been done by private enterprise and the difficulty of control by the community, but if it were taken and used constructively, how much would it bear upon our own life! Granted all the difficulties of taking the first steps into the constructive field of community control of recreation, it seems to me the nation which has built the Panama Canal might compass the task. And just as fast as the social tasks involved in that had been conquered we could turn the energies thereby developed to the larger constructive tasks of social welfare that lie before us.

More Abundant Life.

It is the recognition of this possibility which is behind the attitude of the leaders of the social service movement in this field today. If we can develop community recreation for the adult as well as for the juvenile, if we can learn to play together as a people, we shall be developing new sources of life in our people. If our task from the standpoint of religion is to develop a social religion, to develop a community constructive force which shall carry over into the whole of life—one of the constituents in that community religion must be play. We have in our modern industrial cities temples of worship; we have dungeons for work—many of them, and waste places for play—many of them. We are turning our determination to making temples of work as well as temples of worship. We are putting the play spirit back into the very tasks of life, into the industrial processes, but equally important is the provision of temples of play, where the whole community may gather together and develop the springs of life and the higher forces of life.

There is a vision in the ancient book which needs to be called to the ears of our religious people, and to be shown to their eyes. It is the vision of one of the old prophets come back from the land of exile to build again the walls of his city. When that had been done he saw that they must bring the old people and the young people and the children and have them build the community life, for it was unwholesome and lonely. He looks into the future and sees the City of God as some day it is going to be—"I see the old folks sitting in the sun"—and you can measure the religion of any city by its treatment of old age at the one extreme and its treatment of childhood at the other. "I saw the children there—the streets of that city shall be full of the children playing in the streets thereof." In the oriental city there was no traffic in the street—that was the center of social life, and right in the heart of that community the prophet sees the playing of the children. And so the purpose of the social religion of our time, among other things, must be to put the play life right at the center of the city, to see that the community builds there its temples of recreation along with its temples of work and temples of worship, that there as the people play together, old and young, they may develop qualities of energy and courage, of life and soul, which shall enable them to carry through the more strenuous, higher tasks of life, which shall elevate the community to its highest possible development.

MISS VITTUM: As you know, we had expected to have the settlements represented by Miss Addams, but last night Dr. Taylor told you it was impossible for her to be here but that Miss Lathrop would take her place. This afternoon we were shocked to hear that Miss Lathrop had been called to Washington and could not be with us tonight. Our good friend, Mr. George A. Bellamy, of Hiram House, Cleveland, has come to the rescue. Mr. Bellamy knows probably as much about recreation in a congested neighborhood settlement as anybody in this country, and it is a great pleasure to have the subject discussed by him. I am exceedingly grateful to Mr. Bellamy that I am able to introduce him at this session.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS: THE SETTLEMENT

George A. Bellamy, Hiram House, Cleveland, Ohio.

If there is any one law that history has taught regarding the success of nations, it is that the nation that uses well its leisure time has contributed to all posterity elements of value; the nation that wastes its leisure time sinks into degeneration and decay. Our own civilization is subject to the same test. We cannot escape it. It is inflexible. If we use well the leisure time of the people, we too shall contribute elements of strength and permanency to our civilization. If we dissipate and waste this leisure, we too shall sink into degeneration and decay. Science says that it is necessary to have an antitoxin for diphtheria, for scarlet fever, for tuberculosis. Many are the lives that have been saved and the hearts made glad because physicians have found such antitoxins.

Will we not find the laws of the spiritual life similar to those of the physical life? May we not also in our search to overcome evil find an antitoxin for vice? Think of the honor, the virtue, the character resultant from such a discovery! Think of the gladdened hearts of the fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters have grown into decency, of the gratitude of persons matured whose natures are positive and forceful in their search for good, but whose lives would have been wasted because of dissipation, had not some social physician found this antitoxin for vice!

I am wondering tonight if we have not already found such an antitoxin. Has not the result already been attained? Have we not a prescription which, when intelligently applied, does serve as a substitute for vice? I have been thinking of that beautiful character, Miss Addams, who was to present to you tonight the settlement viewpoint of this great subject of public recreation. Has she not given to us a prescription which is scientific and which has been tested and found certain in its cure? She has said, "Recreation is stronger than vice and recreation alone can stifle the lust for it". Wherever and whenever decent recreation has had a chance, there have resulted idealisms and interests that have excited and expanded life, not narrowed and debased it.

Recreation the Primary Issue of Our Generation

It is an interesting fact that every decade has brought forth some new problem which has insistently pushed itself forward and ultimately taken the lead in the great questions of the day. I should say that during the last decade politics are becoming the great issue, so that at the present time there are probably no questions which command such enthusiasm as political issues. It is an easy matter to get 18,000 men with an unlimited amount of enthusiasm at one of our great

political conventions. Almost any ward politician can get up a most enthusiastic meeting over some local political question. If you will permit me to prophesy for the next decade, I should say that its great question will be the question of public recreation—what the people will do with their leisure time. It is well that this is so, for much is the evidence indicating that our civilizaton is dying at the heart and will last no longer than other civilizations unless some substitute is found for the dissipation which weakens and destroys the human life. Should the people sense the redemptive and creative power of the right use of their leisure, no prophet could foretell the glory and force that would move our civilization.

The children of the last generation were close to nature—hunting, fishing, swimming, nutting, learning nature and her ways. Excitement and delight filled their playtime, giving them great physical, mental and moral activity. The modern city conditions have tended to eliminate all such experiences. Aside from opportunity offered by commercial recreation, the vast army of citizens in a city find their play and recreation in the street. It is not that the street necessarily needs to be bad, but it is bad because of the lack of law, of anarchy, of unrestraint. The discipline of the street is usually the discipline of the baser element of the community. Wherever the policeman enforces the city law, the discipline runs contrary to common sense and the encouragement of respect. It is like the discipline of the old woman who said, "John, go out and see what James is doing and tell him not to do it".

A school child has forty-seven hundred and thirty-three hours during the year for play as compared with nine hundred and twenty-five hours during the year for school attendance. This playtime is the character time. The ideals, virtues and moral fibre of the child, which make the man, will be determined far more during the forty-seven hundred and thirty-three hours than during the nine hundred and twenty-five hours. The city children cannot spend these forty-seven hundred and thirty-three hours as did our parents when they were children. If they are crowded into the street, and for want of better things to do are compelled to stand on the corner, to sit on curbs, and are offered no useful employment for their fleeting moments, or wholesome physical activities for the development of their muscles, then we must expect the result of the street's training which is unerringly destructive of life.

The Play of Children in the Streets

In a survey of some of the Cleveland streets, the children were found doing the following things: Battering saloon doors, chalking suggestive signs on buildings, throwing mud at street cars, sitting in windows, sitting on curbs, standing around corners, bumming around aimlessly, gang fights, telling bad stories, touching girls, looking at pictures of women in tights on bill boards, wearing suggestive

buttons, carrying suggestive pictures, smoking cigarettes and chewing, peeking into immoral houses, watching arrests, watching man shot, stealing fruit, coal, brass, iron, candy, money, "roughing"; gambling with money, dice, cards, buttons, marbles, beer bottle tags, pitching pennies, pieces of pasteboard, milk bottle covers, or anything that will pitch; drinking whisky, beer. In addition to the things mentioned, children play decent games which have been handed down from adults, which have been learned on the playground, or which have been made up by the children themselves, but they are not nearly so numerous as the harmful things which the children do.

By no means will all the recreation and play of the children and adults be found in the streets. Commercial enterprise has recognized the intense craving of young and old for relaxation, for pleasure, and has organized all kinds of allurements. Some charge admission fees, some make their profit after the patrons have entered. The survey above referred to found that there were 54 candy stores, 49 saloons, 15 cigar stores and 9 pool rooms, which largely served as the centers where the people of the community gathered. The candy store was the chief center for poor children, the saloon for poor men. That we may make clear the type of centers where children gather in congested neighborhoods, let us discuss the candy store.

Bad Influences of the Candy Store

The great objections to the candy store as found at present are three-fold: it destroys morals and health, and develops bad habits. By candy stores we do not mean the ordinary grocery store where parents come and go, where the grocer makes part of his profit from the sale of groceries, where the moral tone of the place is kept up by the presence of the parents, but we refer to the little shop where sweets are sold and where children gather merely to spend their time for lack of something else to do. During the cooler evenings of the spring, fall and winter, both sexes, little boys and little girls, gather in these centers which sometimes keep open as late as the saloon. In the pool room we have only young men, in the saloon men, but in the candy store and other like centers, where children gather, we allow both sexes to associate without any supervision of the places which harbor them. The things sold in the store which the children eat are frequently injurious to health. The study of some two hundred children, largely newsboys, showed that nearly one-third had chronic indigestion. Irregular eating, and eating of harmful food and sweets, means that by the time our children have reached the age of twenty-five to thirty they will be wrecked physically. Digestive organs are injured beyond repair. Again the candy store promotes physical inactivity—sitting, which means that the muscles and organs of the body cannot be normally developed. This charge can be brought against very much of the commercial recreation of the city. Nature protests against phys-

ical inactivity, and those, either old or young, who are content to go on without proper use of muscles or exercise for the body, must necessarily suffer the penalty for violation of such laws.

Second, the life of the candy store breaks down the morals of the children. The boy, or girl, or mother in charge of the store, seldom cares what the children talk about or do. Conversations are low and sometimes vicious. Pictures are suggestive and lustful. They may not violate the law, but go as far as their makers dare. There are neither regulations nor discipline. The games played are largely games of chance, throwing dice, matching pennies, shooting craps, and cards. Buttons secured in different candy stores indicate the low ideals. These buttons were purchased by ten-year-old boys with cigarettes, which is in violation of the law. The whole moral tone is debasing and demoralizing. It is the same tone which we find in the pool rooms and saloons.

Third, the life of the candy store and like centers develop very bad habits which become fixed and a permanent part of a child's conduct when grown to manhood. It is here that children waste time; they do nothing, they sit around aimlessly, loafing and lounging.

The candy store develops habits of thriftlessness and a desire to spend money for foolish, worthless things. A glance at the things in the windows shows hardly anything of value, unless it be some sporting goods, but mostly such articles as will tempt the children to spend their pennies. We have not realized the part the candy store plays in furnishing patrons for the saloons, but you will find upon careful study that the habits, the tastes, the desires, which are cultivated by the candy store and like social centers naturally assert themselves and seek satisfaction as the child grows too old to make the candy store his hangout. Where does the young man go when he reaches eighteen years of age? To the place which furnished him the kind of life he has been living during his earlier years—that is the pool room. Here we find the same habits, the same tastes, the same desires, with the same opportunities for their satisfaction. It is sitting, loafing, that empty, vacant life which carries with it no responsibility and develops no interest in things worth while, such as good citizenship, education, good homes, and all that makes life worth living. When the young man has reached the age of twenty-one, he turns about seeking satisfaction for these same habits of life which have become essential to his existence, nurtured and developed in the candy store and later in the pool room. He finds the saloon offering opportunities for satisfying these habits, open and ready to receive him. It takes time to develop such tastes and habits of mind. It takes a decade, not a day, to develop the saloon lounger.

Other Unguarded Recreation Centers

Candy stores are not the only centers which should come in for a most searching study. All centers where people gather, sit and idle

away their time, produce the same type of citizens, and should be classified with such centers as the candy store. Vacant lots, uncontrolled playgrounds supposedly closed at night, school yards, stables, barber shops, old unused buildings, pool rooms and saloons, and all other such centers are open to the same charge of destroying good citizenship and developing habits of dissipation. Houses are sometimes rented by tough gangs for club purposes. The same rules usually hold in such club houses as hold on the vacant lots or street corners.

Many such clubs are scattered over the city, along railroad tracks, in gullies and other out-of-the-way places of the city. For instance, a group of young men rented a small house in an alley off from the main street, away from the general traffic and the beat of the policeman. In this house they had their boxing gloves, athletic supplies, tables and chairs downstairs, but upstairs their bedroom. It was the habit of these young men to gather evenings and those who were out of work made it their headquarters during the daytime. Some would sleep there all night. They had no purpose to improve themselves. It was their hangout. Here, as in the candy store and other like centers, they lived that indifferent, cheerless, idle life which rapidly degenerates into the basest habits, and more than one girl has been taken to their home and ruined. When word reached this club that we knew of its existence and planned to visit it, immediately in their fright their books, showing their club membership, were destroyed and the club disbanded, for they knew that we had evidence which, if it could be checked up so that it could be taken into court, would send them to the penitentiary.

Contrasted With a Constructive Plan

A constructive policy on the part of the city would remedy very much of this wrongdoing. The plan of procedure is instanced by a group of young boys who came to the Hiram House, organized at eight or ten years of age into a club. For years they came to the settlement, were under good leadership, listened to good stories, played wholesome games, and were taught different kinds of handiwork. As they grew older they entertained speakers of prominence in their club meetings, the members gained a sense of responsibility by holding office, they held debates, discussing the great social, industrial and political problems, and through such practices created ideals and standards of good citizenship. Instead of the aimless, empty employment of their time, they were thinking, planning, creating and arguing. When they became young men of eighteen years of age they wanted their own club house where they could meet more frequently than they could at their weekly meetings in the settlement house. Consequently, they hired their own house, furnished and decorated it. They had their own laws, their pool room, their library, their sitting room. After opening up their house, invitations were sent to the residents of the settlement to visit

them. When we called we were met at the door with a hearty hand shake and shown through the building. In the living room were the current magazines. The bookcase contained a number of good books which the secretary of the club said were furnished by the different club members. Pillows have been made for the sofa by some of the young girls in the settlement clubs. Rugs were on the floor, the windows were clean, pictures were on the wall. It was an attractive club house. In the pool room there were regulations. Expulsion was meted out to any person gambling or using profane language.

A young man, the product of such centers of idleness as described above, was recently telling a most pathetic tale. He said: "I used to like to play pool for the love of the game. I enjoyed baseball and athletic exercise, but now I have lost all such ambition. I cannot hold a job; after I have worked for a week or so I get restless and want to move on. I don't feel well all of the time. Sometimes I fear I have tuberculosis. I don't think it possible for me to ever become a decent citizen. I lay most of my downfall to gambling and women. Gambling seems to have gotten such a control over me that I am lost. The love for the game of pool is gone and now I want to gamble—gamble all the time. I have sat from 8 o'clock Saturday night until midnight Sunday night in one of the neighborhood pool rooms gambling all the time, never even stopping to eat a meal, drinking only beer which was brought to me."

I said to the young man: "If you could have played pool under good conditions and had better places to spend your spare time and not gamble, do you think you would have enjoyed the game of pool for the sport of the game?"

"I certainly do," was the reply; "it's just these habits of gambling and loafing which have ruined me."

This boy's story is the story of thousands in our cities. It will be the pathetic tale of an increasing number until the city realizes its responsibility to its young.

Control of Commercial Recreation

In the study of recreation there is very much that should be said regarding commercial recreation. Here is a large and profitable field for the city. It is unnecessary to stifle and take away commercial recreation from private enterprise, but it is absolutely necessary that it be controlled. When properly controlled we believe that it will react for the benefit of such forms of recreation. When public dances, moving pictures, and such places are properly safeguarded so that parents feel that it is safe for their daughters and their sons to go to such places, their promoters will not find a decreased attendance nor will the city find wasted and ruined lives. We have waited too long in realizing the importance of such safeguards for our young and old. Hardly a year has passed since Cleveland undertook the proper cen-

sorship of moving picture shows where such a large percentage of the city's children go. Cleveland has paid a terrible price in the loss of the idealism of her children by such neglect, and her courts will punish in years to come large numbers of citizens whose pilfering, thieving and wrongdoing were stimulated during their impressionable years in the moving picture show.

A little group of boys were preparing a play for a neighborhood school entertainment. The oldest was ten. They made up their own stories and were rehearsing one when we happened in upon them. Here is a list of their characters: Two villains, a saloon-keeper, a bartender, two Indians, two cowboys, and in the play were a dagger and a gun. The bartender was playing at serving liquor. A fight took place and one of the Indians was killed, the result of a quarrel over a game of cards in which there was gambling. Such were the ideals that were playing upon the imagination of these little children. At the close of the rehearsal the children said that they had gathered their story in a moving picture show, that they had not found any good Indian or cowboy; but they were not satisfied to give the play without something good in it and so they had added the good Indian and the good cowboy who tried to stop the fight and took care of the boy that had been supposedly shot in the play—a most valuable commentary on the natural instinct and love for goodness in the child. The moving picture show and other forms of commercial recreation need to promote these normal good instincts in the children and in the adult.

Every Thursday night during the summer from five to seven thousand people visit the Hiram House playgrounds, listen to the music, and look at the moving pictures. At seven o'clock in the evening whole families can be seen coming to the ground, fathers who have worked all day in the steel mills are seen wheeling baby carriages, carrying soap boxes or broken chairs; mothers with children following them, all coming to the playground to see the pictures and hear the music. At nine o'clock in the evening they go to their homes. They have been out in the open, breathing fresh air (as fresh as it can be in our neighborhood), resting their tired bodies from their day's toil. They go home for a good night's rest; the father, the bread winner of the family, is able to perform more skilled work the next day as a bread winner for the family; he destroys less material, his brain is fresher, he does better work, and, therefore, gets better pay.

Quite in contrast is the man who spends his evening in the saloon, breathing vitiated air until after midnight, going home to secure insufficient rest, and getting up the next morning more tired than when he went to bed the night before, less able to serve as bread winner for the family, destroying more material because of the tired brain, and receiving less compensation for his service. This argument for proper recreation is not alone for the capitalist or employer, but is distinctly for the man of the family who wants to protect his life and to have

proper income for his labors. Proper recreation will conserve the families and individuals in the city.

Again, wholesome recreation will conserve the happiness of a people, and it is useless for us to expect to develop a race sturdy, industrious, moral and healthy, that is not happy. The happiness does not come from dissipation. There may be a temporary false sense of good feeling which some persons have when drunk, but it is not permanent; it is not healthful.

The settlement must show the way for the municipality in the development of public recreation. It must set the standards. It must develop the type of leadership. It must be an example for the municipality. It must watch to see that the standards are not lowered and that politics do not take advantage of the popularity of recreation and use it for selfish gain. If the settlement shall acceptably have performed this service—that of giving joyous vent to the energies of the old and the young who come under its influence and thus set the standards for wholesome recreation for its municipality—it shall have performed a most useful service to the people of our day.

MISS VITTUM: The subject of recreation in connection with the public school was to have been handled tonight by Mr. Edward J. Ward, of Wisconsin. He has been detained, and another friend has come to our rescue, Mr. Clarence Arthur Perry, Director of the Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.

WHY RECREATION IN THE SCHOOLHOUSE?

Clarence Arthur Perry, Associate Director, Department of Recreation, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

You have heard Mr. Bellamy's eloquent account of the ways in which social settlements are serving the welfare of the younger generation. I am to speak to you upon the special reasons for making recreation centers of our schools. As the first reason I wish to offer all of the benefits which are now being afforded young people by the settlements. If the activities which have been described are so conducive to moral and intellectual health—and I believe they are—they should be offered all young people through our public school system.

One Christmas morning a visitor connected with one of the large charitable organizations happened to go into a tenement home, and there found a little boy and girl kneeling on the floor around a coal scuttle. In the midst of its dirty contents they had planted a broom, and on the broom they had attached a little whistle, a rag doll, and some other broken trinkets. That was their Christmas tree. It seems pathetic to us that any child should have to put up with so unsatisfactory

a makeshift for so simple a thing as a Christmas tree, but there are still more pathetic sights to be seen in our large cities. In every neighborhood there are young fellows who would eagerly spend their evenings making pieces of dainty furniture but for the lack of a workbench and tools, who are now loafing in saloons. There are self-respecting young women living in city apartments who for the lack of social opportunities at home are making surreptitious visits to unwholesome dance halls. In our preoccupation with the tenement dwellers we forget the great middle class. The teachers, bookkeepers, office men and saleswomen,—these find conditions in the large city especially hard and inhospitable. Being too well-to-do and too proud to receive the attention of charitable agencies, and too poor to enjoy the pleasures provided for the wealthy, they suffer continually from loneliness and unrelieved monotony. They will not go to the settlements, but they would play in our public schools. When these edifices are fully equipped and staffed for recreation activities we are going to bring a richer life to this now quite neglected class.

Reacts to Benefit of School Work

The second reason which I would urge—and it is one of the chief reasons—is the effect of this new function upon the regular school work. The enrichment which has come to the day program through the equipment of school buildings for recreational purposes is considerable. There is many a schoolhouse which has not had a gymnasium in the past but which is now provided with one, thus being able to give better physical training to its day pupils, simply because some women's club in the neighborhood has been successful in having it converted into a recreation center. In many large cities the building standard for ward schools now includes an auditorium because of the demand for such a hall for recreational and neighborhood purposes. Thus, through the provision of the auditorium, the day school pupils come into possession of an assembly place where school spirit and school loyalty can be developed and where musical instruction can be given to large numbers at one time. Similarly, schools are now being equipped with motion picture machines primarily for the sake of the recreation they give, but at the same time they are enhancing the curriculum of the day pupils through their wonderful educational possibilities. Phonographs, collections of pictures, movable school furniture,—all of this vastly useful equipment,—is coming into our schoolhouses through their utilization as recreation centers.

The movable chair and desk is having a potent effect upon school work. With classrooms so equipped, all sorts of group arrangements become possible. One-half of the class can turn their chairs around and face the blackboard, while the other half are reciting. The rigidity, the mechanical effect of the old seating arrangement, disappears from the classroom that is equipped with furniture like that which people

use in every day life. Through the demand for more play space, also, our schools are being given larger sites and thus physical training is getting a better chance. The day teacher who learns to be a play-leader at night becomes more human in the classroom. In many ways the conversion of the public schools into recreation and social centers is resulting in a strengthening of their ability to discharge their primary function.

Schools Intended for the People

The third reason which may be brought forward for converting schools into recreation centers is the sake of the community. When our forefathers presented the world with the first public school system their dominant motive was to provide an institution which would make it certain that all young people would grow up into good citizens. They knew how uneven home training is. They were giving the people a larger share in the government than ever had been given to them before, and they wanted to make it certain that the people would be fully able to shoulder the responsibilities of a democracy. Throughout the history of civilization whenever there has been an extension of suffrage there has been extension of public education. The primary purpose of common school education was not to prepare people for vocations but to make them good citizens. That was why the public school system was originally organized.

We have learned lately, however, that it is not during the study time, but during the play time, that young people go wrong. In the formation of character the direction of the pleasure-time is all-important. Since the school is the only institution in every neighborhood which organized society controls, it is incumbent upon society to make the fullest possible use of it for the purpose originally in mind,—the development of upright citizenship.

Many parents have come to realize the part that play has in the rearing of a family; so the community is now coming to see its bearing upon the development of a neighborhood. By undertaking the provision for recreation, society is able to exert a powerful moral and cultural influence. An illustration is to be found in the "turkey trot" and other objectionable dances which were so common a year or so ago. Since the professional dancing teachers have taken hold of them they have been much improved. But if instruction in dancing had been a part of a common school education during the last two decades the "tough" dances would never have arisen. When the dancing manners of our young people are regularly developed by the physical training departments of our public schools we shall then be free from all catastrophes in the province of social dancing.

When we appreciate the cultural development that is possible through the right use of leisure; when we realize the opportunities for music, drama, public speaking, handicraft training, folk dancing,

and many other forms of self-expression which are afforded in the ordinary social center we shall understand their relation to the future art life of our communities. For these moral, educational, civic, and artistic reasons society will find it to its advantage to extend the utility of school buildings by transforming them into evening recreation centers, where education can go on all the waking time.

The School as a Social Center
Section, May 12, 9:00 A. M.

THE SCHOOL AS A FACTOR IN NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Clarence Arthur Perry, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

There are two ways of regarding the school as a social center. According to one it is the machinery which society has contrived for preparing its immature members for the responsibilities of citizenship and it operates through little working plants which are centrally located in the communities they serve. Points from which certain intellectual and other commodities are distributed—such are schools in the older and broader sense.

In this sense the school's function is rapidly broadening. School plants are now in various places centers of both mental training and bodily training, and for adults as well as children. But also they are becoming the places where neighbors vote, discuss common affairs, view beautiful pictures, hear music, dance and play. As an institution through which society discharges certain functions it is gradually changing its character and while the dynamic forces are social needs the reason why the school has been selected as the place for meeting them is to be found in its central relation to those portions of the population which are known as neighborhoods.

In the second and narrower sense the name "social center" is given to certain schools where, after the day sessions are over, staffs of paid or volunteer workers come in to carry on various civic, social and recreational activities. That is, it is the term applied to that part of the school's organization which is discharging some of the newer functions being performed by the school in the first-mentioned and larger sense. Social center in the second sense is included in social center in the first sense.

In both of these meanings school centers affect neighborhood development, but in the limited time at our disposal only the more salient points under each can be touched upon, and under the first and broader signification my remarks will merely enumerate some of the more striking events that are indicative of the rapidity with which school extension is actually taking place.

Elevating Political Life

During the winter before last school buildings in 31 cities to the number of over 500, were used for voting purposes. Boston has for

several years now used a large number of schoolhouse basements for this purpose, and has developed special equipment which is stored away when not in use. In Milwaukee the basements are also used. There is no question but that the growing extension of the suffrage to women is furthering the use of school buildings for political purposes. This was notably exemplified in Chicago during the recent municipal election. One hundred and forty-two political meetings were held in school buildings and the Board of Education reports that in no case was it necessary to require the forfeiture of the $25 deposit because of damage or infraction of the rules of the board. No smoking was permitted, and no indications of disorder were apparent after the audiences had left the premises. Seventy-five of the Chicago schools were also used as polling places and in only six instances were there any complaints about smoking or other violations of the rules prescribed by the school officials. Chicago is certainly to be congratulated upon the excellent example it has set in the devotion of its school buildings to political purposes. Throughout the country there is a growing tendency to resort to school buildings for deliberation upon matters of civic and political import. At the present time discussions of the proposed new charter for Buffalo are being held in public school buildings of that city. During the past winter Springfield, Illinois, has considered various referendum propositions in its school buildings with decided success. In preparation for the constitutional convention in Ohio discussions of proposed amendments were held in many schoolhouses throughout the state. And it is notable also that wherever the initiative and referendum prevail there you will find a tendency to resort to the natural meeting place for the neighborhood when it wants to talk things over—the public school.

New Community Services

Another striking feature of the movement is the growing tendency to adapt the school plant physically for a more general community use. The new Washington Irving High School in New York City has a lobby specially constructed to serve as an art gallery and it is now being so used. Its stage is completely equipped for presentations of *bona fide* drama. Its offices include an employment bureau and a room for the local neighborhood association, also used as a museum. Here were exhibited the manuscrips of Washington Irving, whose residence still stands across the street from the school. The evening school is so organized here that the night students can come directly from their places of work, have supper in the lunch rooms, recreation in the gymnasiums and take up their studies with refreshed minds and bodies.

Tomorrow Mrs. Breckinridge will tell you about the new Lincoln School in Lexington, another school plant which has been specially designed to meet neighborhood needs of more than academic character. Every now and then in the educational journals one sees accounts of

school buildings in the smaller communities similar to the Cordaville School at Southboro, Massachusetts, where a public library and town meeting place are provided in addition to the usual equipment. The schools at Gary, Indiana, with their extensive playgrounds and luxurious gymnasiums and swimming pools are well-known and are the precursors of a type which is increasing in popularity.

In Natchez, Mississippi, a former wealthy citizen has recently built a model school as a memorial to his family which is remarkably well equipped as a neighborhood center. The most striking feature is the library, with its reading room, reference room, stacks and delivery desk. The success which Grand Rapids is having in using its public schools as branch libraries justifies this sort of addition to the public school building. A large swimming pool and fully equipped gymnasium are also to be found in the Carpenter School at Natchez. The assembly room, which is composed of two class rooms separated by a sliding partition, is unfortunately located on the second floor. While in this respect the building does not come up to the standard which holds now in many cities for ward school buildings, the other features are indeed notable.

Class-rooms Becoming Club-rooms

Another marked development that is adding to the utility of class-rooms is found in the increasing vogue of movable chairs and desks. The Washington Irving High School already mentioned is equipped throughout—with the exception of several special rooms—with flat-topped tables and ordinary oak chairs. The Moulthrop movable chair is now to be found in over 200 communities, in several places entire schools having been equipped with them. New York City has just given a contract for Moulthrop chairs for a new Brooklyn school, and it has been adopted for all of the city's open-air schools. In Chicago and other cities where it is being tried, it is reported successful from both the academic and social standpoints.

A new movable chair has been developed by Mr. Van Evrie Kilpatrick, a long-time principal of one of New York's public schools, which seems destined to a wide usefulness. New York City has already contracted to equip one entire school with this new desk and chair. It is of a two-unit type, and has the advantage that the desks can be put in a line around the walls and the chairs brought out into the room for meetings and club purposes.

Such briefly are some of the more salient aspects of the broadening function of the school. The list is especially incomplete in that it does not include the very striking development of recreational and social activities, a fault which will be repaired, however, in the second half of the paper to which we have now come.

Taking up now the social center in the narrower and more popular sense, as an institution having a specially trained staff operating on

the school premises after the day classes have departed: How do the various social centers differ in the service they perform for their neighborhoods and the relation which they bear to them? To illustrate the principal varieties of this work from the standpoint of neighborhood development I have selected several types of social center administration. The inclusion or the omission of any city is not to be regarded as a commentary upon the character of its work. The cities selected are those with whose work I happened to be best acquainted and in discriminating between them and in my characterizations of them I do not wish to be regarded as either criticizing or praising the persons who are directing the various systems. Often the type of work they are conducting is determined by circumstances over which they have no control.

Furnishing a Wholesome Evening Environment

Perhaps the most prevalent type of social center work is illustrated by that which is carried on in the Chicago schools. Here we find in some two dozen public schools groups of principals and teachers returning to the schools twice a week for the purpose of affording young people from fifteen to twenty-five the privileges of a reading room, parlor games, gymnasium, club rooms, choruses, amateur orchestras, dramatics, debating clubs, dancing, etc. While the principals of the various centers are given entire freedom in getting up their programs, the work is nevertheless much the same in all the schools. The principals hold conferences three or four times a year and through the comparison of notes and the similarity of the accommodations in the various schools a uniformity of administration naturally arises. Amateur theatricals are stimulated by making it possible for a good play to be presented in several schools, and in the Smyth center opportunities for social dancing are provided on an extra evening for the definite purpose of off-setting the influence of nearby dance-halls. The Chicago Women's Aid is co-operating with the Board of Education in the maintenance of this center and through their help activities have been provided for adults as well as young people.

What these centers mean to the twenty-four neighborhoods in which they exist is embraced largely, however, in the effect they are having upon the standards of demeanor and personal conduct of the young people of the various neighborhoods in which they exist. These boys and girls are coming in contact with forms of etiquette and social life which are probably superior to those which obtain in many of their homes. While most of the principals do not live in the neighborhood of their centers, yet through their day contact with the children they are intimately acquainted with the social and living conditions in their respective districts. So far not much effort has been made to reach the adults through the Chicago centers, but a start is now being made through the encouragement of parent-teacher associations.

In Detroit one finds a similar kind of development, that is, the aim is to provide a wholesome, enjoyable environment for boys and girls of the adolescent period. Much emphasis is laid upon the activities promoting physical education; civic motives are also quite prominent. An effort is made to give the girls from immigrant homes lessons in cooking and dressmaking, while the boys are afforded opportunities for manual training; in that way the assimilation of the more recent immigrants is promoted. But the adults of the various neighborhoods are not very generally reached.

The Boston evening centers are all housed in high school buildings, so that their patrons come from sections instead of neighborhoods. As might be expected, the activities have a decided cultural emphasis. Orchestras, brass bands, banjo clubs, and choruses, as well as dramatic and art embroidery clubs, are very common. The club idea is prominent and an effort is made to inculcate the principles of self-government in all the groups. Adult welfare clubs which meet regularly to discuss current civic questions are connected with several of the centers, but they have practically no part in the management of the work. The Boston centers have large attendances and are successfully exercising a valuable educational and recreational influence upon the lives of their clientele. There is a conscious motive to promote self-government, but it has not yet changed the plan of work to the point of giving the young people real administrative responsibilities as a means of attaining that end.

Stimulating Civic Spirit

The Rochester social centers, as organized by Mr. Ward, while including a very thorough recreation program, revealed nevertheless a more conscious effort to affect neighborhood development than had hitherto been shown in school extension work. The aim there from the outset was to make the schoolhouse the center for all classes of people—adults as well as young people. So that while there were game rooms and gymnastic classes, the most significant features were to be found in the civic clubs which were organized among the men, the women, and the young people. These clubs came from the immediate neighborhoods, and they discussed local questions, the majority of them having a municipal import rather than a strictly neighborhood one. The women's clubs entertained the men's clubs, and both took turns in conducting the general Saturday night occasions. There was a league of the men's civic clubs which accomplished much in promoting playgrounds, securing better street car service, establishing public comfort stations, and similar municipal improvements. While a very strong civic interest was thus developed, these clubs did not participate largely and responsibly in the management of their own activities, and therein may be found one of the reasons why, when the board of education cut off the funds for their administration and direction, they practically all went out of existence.

In Louisville the Board of Education gives only heat, light and janitor service. All the expense of direction and supervision is borne by the voluntary organizations which brought the centers into existence and are now conducting them. The work began three years ago and is growing larger each year, five centers now being maintained. To establish a center a neighborhood has to develop a petition with one hundred signatures, raise a certain amount of money, and promise the board to support the center long enough to make a thorough trial. Nearly one hundred volunteer workers coming from the kindergarten association and the girls' and women's clubs are performing the work. Each center has a council of its own made up of members from its own organizations, and the local council sends two representatives to the central social center council, which is composed of these representatives and the school officials immediately concerned. In that way a large number of people have become vitally connected either in the direction or maintenance of these centers, and over 90 per cent. of the attendance at each center comes from within six blocks. While Louisville has not enjoyed the services of a salaried director, it has been most fortunate in having in Miss Pauline F. Witherspoon a volunteer who is an expert in social center organization.

The evening recreation centers of New York City for over a decade have been doing in the main precisely what the social centers of Chicago and Detroit have been doing—that is, inculcating better standards of behavior and giving young people a wholesome place in which to spend their evenings. They afford a quiet game and reading room, gymnasiums or indoor play rooms, basket ball, folk dancing, and kindred indoor games. Clubs of all sorts are also found, as well as quiet study rooms for day-school children. Two-thirds of the centers are exclusively for boys and one-third of them for girls. Of late years the girls of the senior clubs have been allowed to have recommended boys from neighboring centers in at their mixed dances. The recreation center staffs have been most successful in bringing in the young people and but few adult organizations have been formed. The various club entertainments help to develop an initiative on the part of their members, but only occasionally do these doings have reference to their immediate neighborhoods. The members of the staff are trained mainly in recreational activities and club work, and on account of the vacation schools and school playgrounds during the summer months they have all-year-round duties in connection with the schools. The supervision, now in the energetic hands of Dr. Edward W. Stitt, is highly centralized so that naturally a considerable uniformity of method prevails.

Developing Neighborhood Responsibility

With a view to learning to what extent these centers could be made larger factors in neighborhood development a couple of rather significant experiments have been recently carried on by volunteer committees in

several of the New York school buildings. Upon the initiative of the People's Institute a committee composed of specially interested persons was formed to carry on a social center experiment at Public School 63. Three wealthy citizens provided a budget of $3,000. The committee chose Mr. Clinton S. Childs, a trained social worker, to become the organizing secretary. Permission was secured from the Board of Education to carry on work in connection with the recreation center staff at the school chosen. Mr. Childs became a resident of the community and the results of his work are now—a year later—plainly visible. In an early stage of his efforts a mass meeting of the residents was called and a local association formed made up of volunteers and those whose names were presented by the people. Gradually more and more duties were placed upon the local association, so that it now assigns the use of the auditorium and other rooms for the special occasions of the clubs which meet in the center and supervises the social dances and motion picture shows as well as other doings of a general nature. From these activities and the other entertainments and the dues of the members the association raises money for the support of the work. During the past year it raised about $700. Each club in the center has a representative in the association. This body has exercised an important influence in molding the policy of the work. With the inauguration of the social center work boys were admitted to the center, which had hitherto been limited to girls. Among the more important developments of the experiment may be mentioned very successful social dances in the courtyard and inside playroom; a people's forum wherein a local cloakmakers' union held fourteen largely attended discussions on the topic "Agreements Between Employers and Employees' Associations;" two orchestras encouraged or developed among the musicians of the district; several partisan political meetings; a New Year's Eve party; and motion picture entertainments. The center is now planning a large pageant embracing 2,500 people, in which the various races living in the community will present episodes out of their own respective histories.

In a school located in what is known as the Greenwich Village district—one of the few old New York neighborhoods which still retain their identity, about which streams of ever-changing foreign population have swirled but failed to tear it from its foundation, a district which has a notably large proportion of native born to foreign born—the second experiment which I wish to describe was carried on. A committee of women connected with a prominent Fifth Avenue church near this district raised the funds for employing an expert social center director, Mr. Boyd Fisher. He with one or two assistants developed a social center undertaking which for the past nine months or more has been carried on by a local body known as the Greenwich Commission. This organization is composed of twenty-five members who are elected by all those adults of the district who have registered at the center

fourteen days prior to the election. This body employs three or four assistants and raises a budget through its entertainments, club dues and private contributions of about $100 a month. Nineteen different clubs or groups have been formed. The largest of these is known as the Commonwealth, and it refers simply to the audiences of citizens who come out on Thursday evenings to listen to the addresses from aldermen, state senators, city officials, and other speakers who are asked to come in and discuss the leading questions of the day. Each club member pays dues of five cents a week, which are turned into the treasury of the Commission. When entertainments are given 35 per cent. of the net proceeds are also given to the Commission. The privileges afforded young people include boxing instruction, games room, basket ball and indoor athletic sports. The Board of Education furnishes in the person of a recreation center principal expert direction of its recreational activities. The salary of this worker and that of the custodian are also provided by the Board of Education. In this undertaking at Public School 41 we have an excellent example of a self-governing neighborhood social center.

Neighborhood Development Dependent Upon Organization

To summarize: It would seem that there are two fairly distinct types of social center development: The first, as represented in Chicago and Detroit and the recreation centers of New York City, is characterized by the fact that there is no special effort to organize the neighborhood into a co-operative responsible element in the government of the center. In selecting activities, those are provided which are considered to be good for the people upon whom they are bestowed. Administration is centered in a central bureau, and under the direction of highly trained experts. The attitude of the officials is that of conducting improving and cultural activities for an unprivileged class of people.

The second type of development is that which is illustrated in varying degrees by the work at Rochester, Louisville and in the New York social centers at Public School 63 and Public School 41. Here there is on the part of the promoters a conscious purpose to develop neighborhood organization. In differing degrees the neighborhoods are called upon to support and participate in the management of their centers. In determining the character of the activities the needs of the people are studied with an attitude of detachment. The high-priced directing ability and wealth of initiative tends to be found at the school rather than in the central office. This more democratic type of social center calls for higher ability in the local director, it requires fewer paid assistants and shows a marked tendency to maintain such self-supporting activities as social dancing and motion picture entertainments.

There is a feeling abroad, sometimes expressed but more generally latent, that social centers tend to withdraw young people from parental

influence. When considering what type of social center administration is to be preferred, should not this fact be borne in mind? Certainly that is not a worthy ideal which contemplates merely giving out culture or wholesome recreational opportunities or a finer type of social life without endeavoring at the same time to develop the ability of the people to provide the same things for themselves. Are we performing our full duty if we do not develop in the parents' minds the same ideals for their young people which we ourselves hold? If we do not give them the experience of sharing in the work and the direction of the social center will they be able to give as taxpayers an intelligent financial support to it? If we do not enlist the co-operation of neighborhoods in the management of their own centers will not the opportunities they provide tend to be used more and more exclusively by the less privileged classes and the democratic scope of the institution be thus seriously impaired?

If in the self-governing centers the programs do not run off so smoothly nor the activities appear so well regulated as they do in the other centers we may well console ourselves with the thought that "self government is better than good government."

DISCUSSION: The discussion on the School as a Social Center (Mrs. Desha Breckinridge presiding) consisted of a number of reports, two of which by Mrs. Falconer and Miss Witherspoon are published herewith. Other reports were made by Starr Cadwallader, of Columbus, Ohio, Frank H. S. Ritchie of New York City, and Mrs. Oliver C. Bryant of Los Angeles.

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

Martha P. Falconer, for the Home and School League of Philadelphia, Pa.

The Home and School League is composed of the Home and School Associations connected with schools. There are sixty-five Associations. The president is chosen from the outside. The principal of the school is always the vice-president. We feel it is broader than the parent teacher association as it enables those who may not be parents and who have a deep interest in the public schools to become active members. One executive secretary is appointed to organize and direct the work. The board of management is composed of a representative from each of the Home and School Leagues. This makes a large board. The executive committee is elected from this board. The board meets at the call of the president and secretary whenever there is some special occasion for their being called together. The League enters into all kinds of activities relating to the life of the community, whatever the

need may be. Fifteen school houses are open as social centers. The Recreation Committee of the city has taken over the financing of the work.

There are thirty-five affiliated Associations. All of these Associations pay their dues, thus showing their interest, and send representatives to many of the public meetings. At present there is a paid membership of over twenty-five thousand. Such organizations as the Woman's Club, the D. A. R. and the Fathers' Association of three hundred and fifty men, take an active interest. During the past year there were over seventeen thousand members in the public schools. Three pianos were furnished for some of the schools and for others, libraries, victrolas, pictures and equipment for playgrounds. One thousand dollars was raised for social centers.

School Lunches

The School Lunch Committee is one of the standing committees of the Home and School League. Since other associations than the League are interested in and helping to support the school-lunch movement, an advisory board was formed, consisting of a representative from each of the interested organizations as well as from the department of superintendents of the Board of Public Education and of the directors of the departments of physical training, high school luncheons, domestic economy and medical inspection. The chairman of the committee is chairman of this board, which is called upon only when special needs arise. The routine business is conducted by the executive committee, which meets monthly.

During the past year the school lunches have been developed with great success. In schools where vendors are not admitted to the school yard, the lunches have a constant attendance. Where vendors are admitted the usual attendance may fall off thirty-five per cent. on the days when the vendor is there. This means that in school lunches, as elsewhere, steady business is an element of low cost. Penny lunches bought at the school consist of bean soup, rice pudding, cocoa, milk, royal lunch, graham crackers, spice wafers, dates, sweet chocolate, stick candy. Penny lunches bought on the street consist of sausage and roll, pretzel, cinnamon bun, ice cake, marshmallow cake, popcorn roll, candy egg, licorice, chocolate peppermint, candy roll.

Results of League's Work

The League's work has hardly begun in Philadelphia, yet no organization has been of greater beneficence in its direct and indirect results upon the schools themselves and upon the community than the work now being done by it. It is serving as an auxiliary to the Property Committee of the Board of Education in supplying bookcases, pianos, classroom decorations, trees for school grounds, material and equipment for extra classes which could not have been opened had they

been compelled to wait to be supplied from the regular official sources, the equipment of playgrounds, and in many other ways contributing to the physical well-being of the schools. Besides these concrete benefits the movement is proving its usefulness as an aid to the school authorities in pressing their needs upon the municipality. It has in many instances given material aid to the superintendents in providing books for the instruction of mothers in matters of sanitation and hygiene, lectures and entertainments for pupils and their parents, the organization of mothers' circles, and in making it possible for teachers to take advanced courses of instruction at the University of Pennsylvania summer school.

More important than any of these it has brought the public into closer relationship with the schools by the organization of social centers and the opening of the buildings for evening meetings and classes. In several schools, classes for dancing, games, instruction in sewing and embroidery, in reading and dramatic recitation, in handicraft of various sorts, housework and homemaking, physical training, etc., have been successfully conducted, and several neighborhood savings banks have been opened. All this could have been obtained in no other way than by the helpful co-operation of the public.

It is hard to foresee just how great the educational value of this movement may become in the future. It stands today big with promise. It is helping to make of the schoolhouses centers of light and usefulness, the influence of which cannot be measured by commercial standards, for the spirit of good citizenship radiating from each of these centers cannot be weighed nor measured, but the whole social structure will be the richer thereby.

PROGRESS IN LOUISVILLE SOCIAL CENTERS

Pauline Witherspoon, Director of Public School Social Centers, Louisville, Ky.

For the last three years the school houses of Louisville have been opened by courtesy of the local Board of Education. This is not true of other cities in Kentucky since we have no law compelling school boards to allow the public the use of the buildings which have been bought with the tax-payers' money, except one which opens a rural schoolhouse upon the request of any five citizens, who may wish to use it for any purpose whatever, for any length of time. The wisdom of this is questionable. An attempt to get the legislature to pass a social center law which would be permissive only, failed last January. This would have paved the way for later and more compelling legislation. At present, the citizens of Kentucky in the larger cities are still dependent on the good sense, good will and breadth of vision of each local school board.

But the Louisville schools are wide open, thanks to the co-operation of its Board of Education, its Woman's Club and its Parent-Teacher League. Practically, every schoolhouse is open at some time during the month for neighborhood use of one sort or another. The architecture of the school buildings has changed materially under the influence of this wider use for civic purposes.

Four buildings have fully organized social centers with 129 workers, of whom 8 are paid by the communities. Three of these centers are supported entirely by their own communities and one by the Woman's Club. The expenses of each center are about $120 for the eight months that they are open. The afternoons are given to children under fourteen and the evenings to adults only, except on the general neighborhood night (Friday), when parents and children come together to the center for public meetings or entertainments.

The organization of the Louisville Centers is thoroughly democratic. The community must petition the Board of Education for the use of its building over the signatures of at least 100 adult citizens and they must have the money already in hand for the first year's expenses before opening. A director (unpaid) is selected by the Board of Managers, who have been elected by the community at a mass meeting. This director and one representative from the Board of Managers become delegates to the central Social Center Council, which meets monthly at the Board of Education building. This council has control of the policies and conduct of the centers, under the supervision of the superintendent of schools.

Through circulars, offering speakers and a traveling social center exhibit, the Woman's Club is still doing extension work throughout the state. Louisville has also one church maintaining a large neighborhood center, and the branch libraries are beginning to realize their opportunities in the wider use of their buildings for the community.

Co-operation with Other Agencies

During the past year, co-operation with other social agencies has been broadened. One school center has a babies' milk fund station and a weekly clinic for the mothers. There are public library stations in connection with three of the four centers. The city health department gives monthly illustrated lectures in each center. The Juvenile Court sends cases in need of recreation to the social center director for entrance in the nearest possible center. I believe that this "sentencing to recreation" is a new feature of juvenile court work. Recently three boys were presented in the juvenile court for breaking into a moving picture show. This matter was referred to the proper parent-teacher association and they are now supporting a boys' club with a paid director in their school building. Sections of the Louisville Child Welfare Exhibit

and several tuberculosis exhibits have been repeated in each center this winter with appropriate talks.

Louisville is not nearly so anxious for additional equipment as it is for more dynamic workers. We have no grant of money from the Board of Education nor from the municipal authorities, but when we do gain this it will be spent on the most magnetic personalities that we can find, and not on apparatus or equipment. These workers will be at the center of their communities in the schoolhouse, and each community will get their best services for its own peculiar needs.

The two directions in which the Louisville centers have moved in the three years past, have been: First, community support and the community's responsibility for its own young people; and, second, community responsibility not only for recreation but also for the development of a new civic conscience in the neighborhood about each school building.

Joint session with the National Federation of Settlements
May 13, 9:00 A. M.

THE STORY OF IRISHTOWN

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky.

In the heart of the Bluegrass, in a poor section of the city of Lexington, a little over twelve years ago a playground was opened by the Civic League and the Woman's Club, Lexington organizations. Playgrounds had been started then in only two other southern cities, Louisville and New Orleans. The Lexington playground abounded in local color and it was unique; it was started in the shadow of a distillery, and out of it has grown, as education always should grow from play, a "model school," as it is still affectionately known by those who worked to bring it about.

"Irishtown"

The section of town in which this playground was located was popularly known as "Irishtown," politically as "Bloody B," a precinct which with pain and travail, with violence and blood-guilt, always turned in the democratic majority found necessary in close elections, a precinct whose voters looked to the city and county authorities for fitful employment on the roads or the streets, or as constables or policemen. Irishtown had been about equally corrupted by politics, by the saloon, and by charity: there were families that had been beggars for generations. But there were also hard-working, ambitious families whose only crime was poverty.

After the second summer of the playground which had developed into a vacation school with cooking classes, with out-of-door sewing classes and kindergarten, the Civic League went to the school board, showed them that the public school system was passing over the heads

of the children of this neighborhood who needed it most, and induced them to start a public kindergarten in Irishtown. To this kindergarten one grade was added after another. The Civic League kept the playground going in summer, a little manual training and evening recreation in winter, and always the men and women of the Civic League kept working for the "model school," which had then shaped itself in their brains as the kind of public school that Irishtown, and Davis Bottom and Spiegel Heights and all that contiguous section needed. And now there stands in the place of the one room kindergarten the Abraham Lincoln School, that is both a public school and a social settlement, of which Dr. Earl Barnes of Philadelphia has written: "I have never seen a piece of social work where the combination of personal and public support, together with the general aim and purpose, appealed to me so powerfully as in your school."

Civic League and School Board Co-operate

The school board urged by the Civic League set aside ten thousand dollars for a school in the "West End," all that could be spared from a bond issue that had to build other schools for white and colored children. The Civic League set out to raise the rest, and has now turned over to the school board a plant that has cost over forty-five thousand dollars. The League is still at work, for the grounds are yet to be graded and surfaced and planted, the playground laid out, a retaining wall built, and other details completed. The money was raised by private subscriptions at home and abroad—the first thousand coming from Mr. Robert Lincoln, the son of President Lincoln—by an "Appeal to ex-Kentuckians," and finally by a whirlwind campaign such as the Y. M. C. A. people use. It was not an easy job, for it was hard for the community to see that the West End needed such a school as the Civic League planned. But the money was finally raised, and the school built and named for Abraham Lincoln, Kentucky's greatest son, and it has become, as the Civic League said it would, a model not only for Lexington but for Kentucky, which is having a distinct effect on the public school standard of the state. Dr. Chas. Fordyce, Dean of Education of the University of Nebraska, who visited Lincoln School recently, said he considered it the finest example he had ever seen of the perfect blending and working together of the public school and the social settlement principle.

The Civic League, when most of the money was raised, entered into a contract with the school board. The site was selected, the architect and plans chosen, and the school built by a joint committee of school board and Civic League; and it was stipulated that, for ten years after, the Civic League should control the use of the school building for all recreational and educational purposes outside the regular school uses. Ten years it was believed would fix the experiment so that the

school board would no longer need the Civic League. After a year and a half it is no longer an experiment. It seems already impossible that anything so beautiful could perish off the earth!

The school has a carpenter-shop, a kitchen and serving room, a laundry, shower-baths and a swimming pool, a roof garden with an out-door school—the latest project—and a room 75x40 ft., and a story and a half high, which is a kindergarten in the morning, a gymnasium in the afternoon, an auditorium and theatre at night, and the pulsing heart of the school and the community life, morning, noon and night of every day. Here the Blue Birds and the Camp Fire Girls meet, the Athletic Club, the Dramatic Club, the Choral Club; here in the evenings sixty-five girls from the four laundries, the ten-cent stores, the bottling houses of the two distilleries of the neighborhood, and from the tobacco factories, come for gymnastics and a swimming lesson afterwards. Here forty mothers of the Mother's Club meet once a month for health lectures and for a social hour. Here finally once a month about two hundred young men and girls of the various clubs and classes, with the parents for chaperones, and such children of school age as can slip in, gather for the monthly dance that is the social event of the neighborhood. There isn't any "turkey trotting" for the edict has gone forth that "this ain't no country club;" but there is more of real happiness than was found in the many saloons that furnished the only public meeting places before the school was built.

Only once did the auditorium lose its attraction for a little while —during the very hot season of last July and August, when the swimming pool was just opened, when nobody wanted to do anything but to take shower baths and to swim. Nearly a thousand showers were paid for in those months, with numberless baths for school children for which no charge was made. There are no other public baths, no other public swimming pool in Lexington. Railroad men who came into Lexington from a two days' run and many other adults not directly connected with the school were glad to pay for the privilege of a bath and a swim. As for the children, when the swimming pool was first opened the windows had to be nailed to keep them out, until proper regulations could be established for ages and sexes and the emptying and refilling of the pool. Late in the season even, the swimming teacher had to dogmatically limit the number of baths and swims and towels that one child could have in a day. And this in a neighborhood where cleanliness had been rarer and more difficult to attain than godliness!

Not only is the laundry used as a part of the school equipment, but out of school hours the mothers of the neighborhood may bring their washing to it, for the payment of ten cents may have the use of stationary tubs with running water, of ironing boards with gas heaters, of irons and a steam drier. The insufficiency of the water supply is the crying need of the neighborhood, and the laundry is seldom out of use, a mother sometimes coming even at night to finish her ironing

or put her washing to soak while her children are having a good time upstairs.

The Reading Habit

There is a circulating library in the school which supplies the reading for the neighborhood—a neighborhood that did not read before the coming of the playground and the kindergarten.

Self-government prevails throughout, from the floor committee of young men who manage the dances, to the house committee of very small boys and girls who in each grade care for the school room, and maintain order for the teacher.

Almost the last thing to be added is the Out Door School. On St. Patrick's Day, 1913, when crocuses and daffodils came out, thirty little children, carefully chosen from three schools, came out on the roof garden to do their studying and their playing and their sleeping. The school board had bought the desks and paid the teacher's salary. When the Civic League and the Tuberculosis Society counted up on that 17th of March what there was in the treasury, when cots and Esquimo suits and blankets, and all equipment was paid for, it was found there was $4.50 in the treasury to feed those children on till the 4th of July when the school was to close. But the ravens provided, and the children have been fed every day of the school term since, and temperatures and pulses have gone down and weights have gone up and rosy cheeks have taken the places of pale ones. This was the third open-air school ever started in a southern city.

The Civic League employs a medical helper, who has charge of the out-door children, follows the work of the medical inspector with the other children, goes into the homes of the neighborhood, and keeps a social history card of every pupil. This card shows scholarship, health, home conditions and sanitation and with a view to proving eventually that these children stay in school longer and are fitted to earn better wages when they come out than did their older brothers and sisters, it shows the ages at which these brothers and sisters went to work, the wages they first earned, and the wages they are now earning.

Now there is a secret in every formula. The Lincoln School does its best to give away its formula to every visitor who comes; but there is one thing, the real secret of its success, that it can't give away—the genius of the little kindergartener who supervised the first playground, who is now the principal of the "model school" and the head of the social work, whom every man, woman and child in the neighborhood adores, about whom the school and the school idea has so slowly and lovingly grown, that they are entwined in the very life of the neighborhood forever!

UTILIZING NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

Guy L. Shipps, Director of Social Center Work, Board of Education, Kansas City, Mo.

The contents of this paper refer especially to the development of a public neighborhood center in an immigrant neighborhood. In every such neighborhood there are, of course, conditions peculiar to that neighborhood. There are, however, some conditions which seem to be peculiar to almost all immigrant neighborhoods in contrast to neighborhoods where the larger part of the population is native-born of native parents.

One fact that perhaps is generally observed is that strong and wholesome traits of character often evident in the immigrant parents frequently are lacking in their children, or are not manifested. This means that, due to the unsettled conditions of the immigrant community, mental and moral deterioration takes place. Recognizing this problem, every settlement and every social center has perhaps struggled to find for the young people social interests at once attractive and constructive. Excellent results have been shown by these institutions through implanting of ideals by capable leaders. Through the children and young people the parents have been reached.

In some of the park fieldhouses in Chicago another form of social growth has developed. This form involves primarily the older people and, through them, the children; and the group unit, rather than the individual. It is not claimed that the idea is new or that the story of this growth in one park presents the best example of this kind of organization. The example is offered for what it is worth. Before discussing the particular park center I shall try to give some details of the park organization.

Chicago System at First Ignores Group Requirements

In 1905 the South Park Commissioners opened several fieldhouses as a part of the equipment of the playground parks. These fieldhouses contain assembly halls, gymnasia and smaller meeting rooms. There is no doubt that the inclusion of these facilities in the playground plan was due to the demonstration by the settlements of the usefulness of neighborhood meeting rooms. But the pursuit of the ideas promulgated by the settlement stopped with the completion of the material structure. The vital feature of the settlement, a group of people, inspired with or driven by, the desire to improve the life of the community, was not a part of the park plan. Instead, a working force of men and women, each with specified duties in the direction of attendance upon persons using the various facilities and in the cleaning of certain areas, was provided. Dedicatory exercises and public-press announcements proclaimed the fieldhouses open for use by the public.

The young men and young women of the park district were the ones who first came forward to claim the right of recreation in the fieldhouse. They came as individuals to enjoy the facilities for outdoor sports and indoor gymnasium exercises. They brought no leadership. The park authorities, therefore, found it necessary to furnish leadership in this one form of activity. Playground and gymnasium instructors were employed.

Other young people came in groups to dance in the large halls and later to hold committee and club meetings incident to the carrying on of the dances. During four or five years following the opening of the fieldhouses by far the greater number of uses of the assembly halls and club rooms were for the dancing parties of young people and the club meetings pertaining to the upkeep of the dancing scheme. The dances were under supervision of the police, or the manager, who was properly the foreman of the building force and had no social or educational qualifications not possessed by the police. Action of the police or manager was limited to enforcement of rules for protection of property and of such order as would prevent loss of life or limb on the part of those frequenting the buildings and the prohibition of certain improprieties.

Questions of proprieties in relations between the sexes and of the social constructiveness of the activities carried on were matters largely of self-government by the young people themselves. The use of the freedom thus given reflects credit upon many groups of young people. For much more harm than was done might have been done under the conditions. Few of the young people, however, thought of more than the very light forms of momentary social pleasure. If a group gave six dances in a year, the sixth dance was as good as the first, but there was no improvement. The programs were barren of any more variety than that created by alternating two-step with waltz; a waltz, by the way, was always a two-step danced to waltz time. The expense of providing music was shared chiefly by the members of the club. It was again shared by exchange of invitations between groups. The exchange of invitations between groups led, in some cases, to practical monopoly of the use of a park hall by a comparatively limited number. Meanwhile the halls of the parks located in districts inhabited by the foreign-born were almost unused.

Park Plants Made Social Centers

Public criticism grew, for at least two reasons. First, the conduct of the clubs and dancing parties did not always meet popular approval. Second, the buildings were not sufficiently used; or the uses were so narrow as to make tax-payers restless. The Park Board finally made an administrative change which placed the management of playgrounds and fieldhouses in a single department. At the head of this department was placed a man who in his succeeding administration displayed

social vision and administrative effectiveness for which he has become well known. His work gradually swept away the rule of police and managers and led to the employment for each fieldhouse and playground plant of a director, who was broadly instructed to utilize the plant for the social development of the neighborhood.

With the promotive help of the director new groups of people in every small park neighborhood found interests in the park fieldhouse. Lectures, concerts, choral societies, dramatic clubs, dancing classes, dancing clubs on a broad plan, camera clubs, Boy Scout troops, adult social clubs and many other activities were initiated in the first year of the new plan. These activities, as organized in the English-speaking communities, were, as will appear, less applicable where the inhabitants happened to be newly-arrived immigrants.

Put at Service of Societies of Immigrants

Davis Square is located in such a neighborhood. The people are Slavs (Bohemians, Poles, Slovaks and Ruthenians), and Lithuanians, with a few Jews and a few Germans and Irish. At that time the park fieldhouse could not by any stretch of imagination have been called a social center. If children's gymnasium classes are excepted, not more than one-tenth of one per cent. of the immediately-adjacent population ever came into the fieldhouse to attend any kind of meeting or take part in any kind of social activity. Situated in the most solidly foreign-born district of any of the fieldhouses, it was, excepting for its public baths, the least used of all the fieldhouses.

Forms of recreational or social activity successful in English-speaking neighborhoods could not live here. Lectures by civic organizations were lost on account of language, dramatics for the same reason. A choral society of adults, all of whom could understand directions by an English-speaking director, could not be assembled. A dancing club, if organized, would attract only boys and girls of sixteen to twenty years, whose ideas on the subject would be most perverted. These would learn a few steps, only to graft upon that newly-acquired skill the wildest exaggerations of prevailing fashion. Such a dancing class might have promoted the business of neighboring dance halls without improving in general the recreation of the young people.

It was reported at that time that there were in the neighborhood sixteen Lithuanian societies or branches of societies. Investigation showed that they covered a wide range of purposes. Several were primarily insurance societies, but nearly all had incidental social purposes. Several were dramatic or singing societies. Others held meetings at stated times for discussions of philosophical subjects. A number had incidental purposes in the direction of preservation of the national language or of Lithuanian patriotism or of certain other ideals. Meetings were held usually in back rooms of saloons. The social affairs were held in the same rooms except very large affairs, which took place

in the halls of the Bohemian or Polish gymnastic societies. The number of Polish societies was greater and the range of purposes larger. There was a still greater number of Bohemian societies, the Bohemians being the oldest residents. There were not fewer than twelve Slovak societies.

When the rumor came to the park that the Poles wished to carry on a special course of gymnastics, but were unable to find room in their own hall, the leaders were sought out and reminded of the existence of the park gymnasium. They decided to use the park facilities and found that use so satisfactory that during the following three years classes of the Polish gymnastic society continued to use the gymnasium one or more nights a week. Some members of the gymnastic society were also members of a singing society, which soon began to hold its weekly rehearsals in the fieldhouse, under direction of its own Polish instructor. The Polish National Alliance then offered to give lectures in Polish upon educational subjects. A number of the lectures were given. A little later several of the Polish insurance societies began to hold their monthly meetings at the fieldhouse.

The Slovak gymnastic society soon was assigned time in the gymnasium under its own instructor.

Attention of the leaders of the Lithuanians was turned toward the park hall. A singing and dramatic society with a Lithuanian instructor, and using the Lithuanian language, decided to hold weekly rehearsals in the fieldhouse. A ladies' gymnastic society, organized at the neighboring church (Catholic), came next. The insurance societies followed.

An International Festival

In the spring of 1910 announcements were sent to all the societies that could be reached, inviting them to participate in a demonstration of the gymnastics, athletics, dancing and music of the several nations represented in the population of the neighborhood. Thirteen societies responded. A play festival was given which aroused intense interest in the neighborhood and was viewed by not fewer than ten thousand people.

The most enthusiastic comment on the Play Festival was that of the Slovak priest. He said: "I believed it could not be possible that all the nationalities in this neighborhood could gather in one demonstration in a peaceable manner." The Slovak priest could not understand the unusual attitude of the people in respect to this affair. He had not anticipated the effect which might result from the fact that the people were appearing at their best in the presence of each other. Each was presenting exercises, whether of music, dancing or whatever it was, a demonstration of something in which that particular group excelled. Therefore, each group was able to feel a certain self-respect

and was entitled to, and received, the respect of members of all the other national groups of which the audience was made up.

During the following winter, several of the national groups used the fieldhouse for practice of the dances and exercises which they proposed to present at the next Play Festival. This helped to bring about the social use of the folk dances in the fieldhouse. When the foreign-born groups first began to use the assembly hall for social affairs the young people thought only of dancing what they called "American dances". This was their version of whatever dances might prevail at the moment in the popular dance halls. The musicians were usually of their own nationality, and when they ran short of the latest rag-time they occasionally interpolated a selection of the dance music most familiar to them, namely, the native music of the provinces from which they had emigrated. Those of the dancers who had grown up before emigrating would fall into the well-known steps, often shamefacedly, expecting to be laughed down or corrected for an unAmerican act. Sometimes the committee came to the director to apologize for the supposed misbehavior of the guests. When they were reassured and the musicians were encouraged, the dance often turned out to be an occasion of genuine wholesome enjoyment rather than the somewhat "swell" and somewhat unwholesome occasion that it had promised to be.

The Work of Socialization Broadens

After the folk dances began to take root in this way, many social affairs were planned in which they formed the chief interest. This greatly widened the range of dancing activity, since the older people were not barred from participating, as they were when the "American" dances only were used.

The singing societies were invited to give concerts in the fieldhouse. Programs printed at public expense were in two languages—the language of the performers, that it might be of use to the performers, their parents and friends; and English, because some in the audience might know more of English than of the language in which the concert was given. Often these concerts drew audiences far beyond the seating capacity of the hall. The audiences were invariably attentive and enthusiastic.

At one of the first concerts, a number of that sort of young people who consider themselves very much Americanized and, therefore, have a vast contempt for anything associated with the old homes of their parents, attempted to break up the performance. The attempt was unsuccessful and was never repeated at any subsequent performance. There were, however, in the neighborhood a large number of older children and young people whose mental attitude toward these affairs was somewhat similar to that of the disturbers. Some who regularly attended and enjoyed the concerts were evidently in conflicting states

of mind as to whether or not in attending such affairs they were on proper grounds as young Americans.

Not only Polish, but Ruthenian, Slovak and Lithuanian societies secured speakers who gave Sunday lectures at the fieldhouse upon various subjects. The lectures were usually advertised in the local papers of that particular group. Handbills in the language of the lecture were also distributed throughout the neighborhood by members of the society.

Few dramatic entertainments were given because there was not a satisfactory stage. However, many plays in each of several languages or dialects were coached and rehearsed at the fieldhouse.

American Ideals Conserved

It should be mentioned that English was not unknown at the park and that many of the lectures referred to naturalization and other matters of special interest to coming Americans. It might be thought that the constant use of the European dialects in the social and educational activities of the fieldhouse would kill the desire to learn English. This was not found to be true. After three years of such activities as those mentioned, lectures, concerts and plays in English drew good audiences, which had not been the case previously. A City Welfare exhibit, consisting not only of screens containing pictures and diagrams but of inscriptions in English, was extremely well received. Lectures in English by physicians and leaders in civic affairs were listened to with attention, if not with full understanding.

On several occasions the park was used for parades and public meetings commemorating events in Slavic history. On the 12th and 22d of February Lithuanian or Polish speakers aroused enthusiasm in their eulogies of Washington and Lincoln. On the evening of the Fourth of July on two occasions several thousand people assembled and listened to speeches, English and several other languages being used. On these occasions the national airs of the Slavs were played or sung, alternating with the American national airs. On Labor Day, 1913, about three thousand people assembled around the band platform in the park and gave earnest attention for nearly three hours to addresses by prominent labor leaders, the speeches alternating with songs by local singing societies.

As the many parents of the community became identified with interests centering in the park fieldhouse there was an evident change of attitude on the part of some of the children. Often a boy or girl pointed with pride to the fact that mother or father belonged to this or that society or had been present at a meeting. In such cases the process of Americanization may go on with strengthened family ties.

It might be thought that the growing group interests would tend to narrow the usefulness of the recreation plant by discouraging attendance of those not in the groups. It is a fact, however, that total attend-

ance by months has grown immensely during the time that this policy has been followed. There were large increases in activities in which people were received individually rather than by groups. Examples are the swimming pool, the shower baths, the free-for-all gymnasium classes, etc. Often people who were drawn in by membership in a particular group later came to take part in other activities which they had learned about through connection with the group.

I believe that the conclusions which the incidents cited in this paper would warrant are that in the immigrant community the population as a whole sometimes does not so much need social and civic ideals as it needs an opportunity to express the ideals inherent in the groups. That these peoples often do not need to be taught good methods of social entertainment so much as they need to be encouraged to transplant in this country the forms of social entertainment with which they are familiar. That much of the contempt which the second generation feels for the first, and which often prevents the second generation from heeding in any wise the counsels of the first, would be done away with if sufficient opportunities were open for the immigrants to develop in their American communities some of the social activities which were vital in their communities in Europe.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXISTING NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES

Elizabeth B. Neufeld, Headworker, Central Neighborhood House, Toronto, Ont.

The new consciousness of democracy, which is permeating all classes, has brought with it a new outlook regarding the right to, and the use of leisure. Hitherto we have provided social centers for the people. I am here today to discuss the establishment of social centers for the people by the people themselves.

Previously, we have entered into the social life of a neighborhood by providing settlement social centers. We have erected large buildings, centralized the work of a neighborhood and expected the people to use such places as their recreation grounds. No matter how effective settlement buildings may be, they do not promote democracy. When we put up buildings from moneys collected from wealthy people, perhaps from the very same people who are sweating and underpaying our neighbors in their factories and department stores, and then plan these buildings to serve the needs of the working classes, we forget that there is an increasing spirit of self respect abroad that prevents many from entering our settlement doors. This spirit may not be quite new, but with the ever-growing warfare between capital and labor, it is affecting an ever widening circle.

I am sure we are all agreed that everyone has a right to leisure;

that all have a right to spend their leisure in the most effective way; that recreation is to mean indeed the re-creation of the vital forces of our people. With this as a basis, we are facing today the problem of the best way to help the people provide their own recreational facilities, and it is our duty to inspire them to obtain and develop through these facilities complete democracy.

Institutionalism Versus Neighborhood Democracy

Much has been said in this Conference about the school house as a social center, and I am sure we are all agreed that this is the logical place for the people's recreation. The mistake we have made is to think of the school house social center as though it were for recreational purposes primarily. I believe that we ought to teach self-government there, we ought to encourage self-expression whether we accept what is expressed or not, and the only way to attain these things is to put the social center into the hands of the people and allow them to do things for themselves. Some of our settlements have caught this spirit of community service, but most of them still believe in centralizing the activities of the neighborhood in their own buildings, and we seldom now find a settlement really practicing the gospel of "working themselves out of a job." We are spending too much time in the average settlement doing institutional work and too little promoting neighborhood agencies. We usually start our settlement activities with the idea of being experimental, and usually end by being over cautious before we permit any other organizations to take over our work.

I do not know any better example than the one of the settlement that introduced kindergarten methods into its community. At present, every school in that community has taken up the work, and as far as one can judge, is filling the need, and yet the settlement goes right ahead with its own small kindergarten. I asked the person in charge why the kindergarten work was still carried on, and the reply was, "Miss X. started it and as she likes to do it, we just let her go ahead."

You will say that this is an exceptional case, and I tell you it is not. I have often heard it said: "They could not do it as well as we can. We have taken such good care of it that we are attached to it,"—and this, mind you, in reference to, perhaps some industrial work, or as it happened in one case, in reference to a bath house. We will never make municipal enterprises efficient if we continue to feel this way about it. We fail to realize too often that our pet lamb might have developed into a sheep and therefore may need a different kind of shepherding.

An Example From Toronto

In our settlement in Toronto a great deal, really most of the time, is spent in promoting civic neighborhood agencies. For instance, we needed a recreation building in our district. Instead of going out into

the community and collecting moneys, we went to the Park Commissioner, who is the head of our playgrounds, and persuaded him to insert $20,000 into his estimates to be spent on building a shelterhouse on the playground which is just about one and a half blocks from the settlement. He promised to do so if we promoted public opinion to back his request. We organized a deputation of 200 children from the neighborhood, collected and marched down to see the mayor and board of control. One of the boys was the spokesman for the group and asked in eloquent terms for the Children's Playhouse. And we got it. Just three weeks before I left home the city council passed the appropriation.

We seldom find settlements which start out to encourage existing neighborhood activities by lending their workers to make these activities more efficient. For instance, a group of our socialistic friends in the neighborhood in which our settlement is located are anxious to learn English; they are young Jewish philosophers with fine community ideals and they find their lack of English a great handicap. Having seen the headworker of the settlement at some of their entertainments and lectures, they came to the House and asked if we could not provide volunteer teachers to help them in their pursuit of English. The teachers were provided in spite of the fact that the group refused to meet at the Settlement House and are receiving their instructions at their Socialist Hall.

In almost every neighborhood, we find groups which have banded themselves together in social clubs for purely recreational purposes, and who are trying to provide their own facilities. Would it not be well if settlement workers became more familiar with these groups and got into the inner circle where they could provide the right kind of leadership, even if it is outside of the settlement building?

We often find groups interested in economics or politics; as a rule these groups are interested in one side of the problem, and have not been able to discover the other side. As a member of such a group—and surely no settlement family is today complete without its socialist or other radical resident—these settlement workers could encourage their fellow members in the local club to take a more comprehensive view of our modern social problems. We have to believe in the people among whom we work. We have to believe in their inherent right to live. We have to believe more than we ever have in social justice.

Neighborhood Democracy and Social Justice

If we had more social justice, there would be less need for social service. But you must not only believe these things—you must practice them. How many of the settlement houses would throw their doors open to strikers, if the strike was carried on in the factory of one of the leading subscribers? Let us be careful lest we be controlled by the vested interests.

I can see the time when the settlements will be the home of a group

of people—the private co-operative home, mind you, whose chief interests are within the life of the neighborhood itself and who for that reason are living in that section of the city; they will probably be a heterogeneous group, whose common bond of sympathy will be that very interest in the neighborhood. They will stand as the interpreters of the neighborhood's needs to the community at large. There will be, perhaps, the director of the school house social center, the district visitor of the charity organization society, the leader of the supervised playground, the probation officer, the district nurse, some of the day school teachers, perhaps a physician or lawyer, a clergyman and sociologist, an artist and musician, and, let us hope, the walking delegate of some local trades union. Naturally, their religious as well as political beliefs would be different. But then there is no better way of learning tolerance than by living with people with whom one does not agree.

There will be no fervid working for a show of statistics, no petty desire to have a large, pretentious building. Then will be the time when we will have settlers and not settlement. Through their investigations and their knowledge of existing conditions in their neighborhood they will be able to bring about a better understanding, a broader sympathy, a common basis between peoples living in the same community. The people need leadership but in a real democracy leadership makes people their own masters and it is your duty and mine to provide our neighborhoods with such leadership.

DISCUSSION: The discussion on Neighborhood Development (Miss Harriet E. Vittum presiding) turned to the subject of social dancing, and was participated in by Jeanette Reiss of St. Louis, Charles L. Bernheimer of Brooklyn, Mrs. P. L. DeVoist of Duluth, Clarence A. Perry of New York City, Lea Demorest Taylor of Chicago, and Bertram Benedict and Charles C. Cooper of Pittsburgh.

PUBLIC CHARITIES

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE*

David F. Tilley, Chairman, Member Massachusetts State Board of Charity, Boston.

MR. TILLEY: I desire first to say that while this is a report of the committee, all have not seen it. Three-fourths of them have seen it and we have their approval.

The report of the Committee on Public Supervision and Administration presented at the last session of this Conference was most exhaustive and gave much information respecting the policy of the Conference on the subject for the past forty years. It also brought to our attention in a most vivid way the urgent need of consideration of many important problems still unsolved and that will continue to confront us until solution is found. The field is a very wide one, touching as it does, almost every social problem from that of the infant in arms to the aged dependent, and every human relation from the opening of the eyes at birth to their last closing.

Modern conditions of living have added their peculiar problems to the long list that has accumulated through the centuries and humanity has responded by stimulating various groups to grapple with the new problems presented. Doubtless, this process will continue indefinitely and newer conditions will produce more and different difficulties and each in turn will meet its response in the hearts and minds of those who will continue to believe that in this sense, at least, one is his brother's keeper.

This laudable development of charitable enterprises carries with it, however, the danger that activities may over-lap and functions be duplicated, resources wasted and eventually, enthusiasm and interest discouraged. To obviate these difficulties and to conserve, strengthen and encourage that spirit which must be appealed to that the progress toward better social conditions may continue, it appears necessary that there should exist in every community a body which shall attempt to guide and control charitable efforts, to exercise discrimination in commendation, frequently indeed to attempt repression, in order that the best results may ensue.

Administrative Field Defined

In this country made up of so many political units the natural bodies to assume this directory and advisory function appears to be the various state boards of charity and, therefore, this report will attempt to out-

* General session, May 11, 10:45 A. M.

line as concisely as is possible some of the important pressing duties of such a board. Although it is difficult, if indeed not impossible, to lay down rules of action that will apply in all the states of this great country because of varying conditions, it is hoped that the fundamental principles as here set forth may be regarded as sound.

A state board dealing with charities and correction must execute the statute law. This is its obvious function. The rapid development of the past decade in the relief of dependents and defectives and in the methods of treating delinquents renders it all the more important, however, that we should scrutinize pretty thoroughly the status of such boards in order that we may have a clear understanding of all their proper functions.

The discovery we are sure to make at the outset of our inquiry is that a state board is more than a mechanical executive. We find ourselves compelled to keep within our perspective very much more than a statute on the one hand and a group of officers on the other.

In any one of our states we shall find institutions caring for the dependent sick; other institutions providing industrial training for custodial groups of delinquent minors; courts dealing with juvenile offenders; prisons guarding convicts; numerous local authorities relieving the needs of poverty; and hundreds of associations, societies, committees and boards of managers professing private charitable enterprises of varied character. In the midst of these many instruments of relief and correction stands your state board. Usually it has the direct administration of one or several of these activities, but in no instance has it all of them.

What then is the relationship of the state board to the entire field in which it operates? The answer to this question will, we believe, reveal certain vital functions of a state board not sufficiently emphasized heretofore.

Relation of State Boards to Courts

1. The first point we wish to raise relates to the courts. In my state, Massachusetts, there is a State Farm for vagrants and chronic drunkards. There are 247 justices, sitting in 89 courts, vested with the power to commit offenders to this institution. The personnel of these courts changes slowly and the tendency is toward wide variance in grounds for commitment. Thus some judges use the Farm as a last resort, sending there none but the chronic offender. Others are apt to make the first or second commitment a State Farm sentence, and it is sometimes said that the relief of the county from the cost of housing the offender is a factor in commitments to the state institution. A reasonable process of publication, with such conference as may be necessary, will tend to unify the practice regarding such commitments. The state board having supervision of the institution is unquestionably the proper medium for this purpose. The same reasoning applies to the juvenile

courts with reference to commitments to industrial schools and the extension of the probation system. It is a proper function of a state board, it seems to us, therefore, to keep courts and the bar informed of the effect of their penalties and commitments.

2. Our next point of inquiry concerns the statutes, themselves. We frequently say that it is the "state board's duty to execute the laws." We have not always been so ready to investigate the origin of those same laws. The one great criticism of the American legislative system is that its law-making is hap-hazard. We pause for a moment, realize dimly a need, and forthwith read a remedy into our statute books, and there is no denying that this practice tends to break up the continuity of law and government, making us opportunists of the most extreme sort.

There is perhaps no phase of legislation so open to this criticism as the social field, and this for a very good reason, namely, that understanding of the social needs of the community requires thorough analysis and a relatively great depth of thought. In proportion as the legislator must think will be the vagueness of his result. Perhaps it is a fair statement at the present stage of our development to say that the best we have in social legislation has arisen from the efforts of groups of citizens voluntarily banding themselves together in defense of the community against its political representatives. But there is a growing tendency, as we see our way more clearly, that foreshadows the conclusion we wish to draw.

Permanent Advisers in Legislation

State boards of charities, of insanity and of prisons are showing themselves increasingly capable of leading in the study and analysis which result in wise proposals for legislation. It is obvious on second thought that however valuable the services of a temporary committee of citizens hastily drawn together may be, it cannot be depended upon in the long run to watch constantly the process of legislation and be ready at a moment's notice with information necessary either to advance or to defeat the offhand recommendations of Mr. Senator or Mr. Representative. There must be somebody or some organization constantly charged with the duty of studying the field of charities and correction at home and abroad, ready at all times with reliable information. That obvious body is our state board. As a second great duty, therefore, it devolves upon your state board to study problems and proposed remedies, both at home and abroad, applying their analysis to the development in right channels of the laws which they are called upon to execute.

3. Co-ordinate with this process of law-making is to be found a vitally important duty which must in years to come devolve increasingly upon our state boards. We have spoken of temporary citizen groups formed for the purpose of proposing or reforming legislation. In the broader aspect, these groups are the physical representatives

of public opinion in their community. Their work is of great value. They are one of the gateways by which public authorities must reach that public opinion. One of the problems in the work of our state boards, therefore, must be to preserve and to foster rather than to discourage and diminish these study groups. Many of our boards have already greatly extended their practice in the fostering of state conferences, in the publication of bulletins, in the establishment of corps of volunteers for the making of surveys and special studies; and these are signs of a right movement.

We venture to predict that the near future will see our boards striving more than ever before to bring about a closer relationship between the numerous colleges and professional schools and our state institutions, using the one as a source of supply for the competent student of social problems and the other as a vast laboratory in which research may be carried on.

Leaders of Public Opinion

If a state board is to become thoroughly informed of the needs of its community, it must not only know what the residents of that community are thinking, but it must also lead them to better points of view. This it may do through publication and conference and the many other ways that we have already mentioned.

Your state board consequently must be a leader and shaper of public opinion, and not only must it do this that it may develop wise legislative policies, but it must perform this function for a still more fundamental reason. We are a government by the people. It is consequently public opinion which makes our proper laws, and it is public opinion which makes or unmakes all laws when once they are put in operation. For this reason ultimate success cannot crown the efforts of a state board that does not place itself in a position of leadership of public opinion. We have gone far enough in our American experience to be sure that mere compulsion with nothing more tends toward inefficient bureaucracy, but that persuasion through the leadership of the public mind, with or even without the power of compulsion, is the source of progress.

Charities Endorsement

4. There is one other vital function, the consideration of which is especially timely in this Conference. One of the rapid growths of the past year has been the development of endorsement committees, business men's groups and the like, who have sought to protect the community against useless or improper solicitation of funds and incidentally to increase the standard of excellence among charitable agencies. Discussion of the activities of these groups will have a large shall not hear much about the relationship of the private charity to share in the program of this Conference, and in these discussions we the government and the fundamental nature of the service which the

business men's group performs. The reason why we shall not hear much of this phase is that it requires a deeper analysis than we have yet come to the point of making. The fact is that a private charity is essentially a public trust. In its incorporated form it is created by the government and clothed with authority to operate. Further than this, charity in its legal aspect is essentially a function of government and a private charity is therefore in its true aspect an arm of the state performing a governmental function. It must follow, therefore, that whatever power seeks to regulate it, to raise its standard of work, to better its personnel, to safeguard its operations from imposture, is in the rendering of that service performing a governmental duty. However we may reason the matter we cannot escape the conclusion which the near future is to develop in the United States that the state board is the proper supervisor of the field of private charity.

If our analysis is correct with regard to this last point, it will readily be seen how vitally important it is that a state board performing this supervisory function should be in close touch with public opinion, should be keenly responsive to it and should stand with reference to the public in a dignified position of leadership. In this way only can standards of relief be properly developed.

We have endeavored through correspondence to ascertain the present charitable needs of the various states and while it has been impossible to get replies from all, we have heard from a number and give herewith a brief statement of their needs:

(These statements omitted in publication and incorporated with usual Reports from States in a separate Bulletin published by the Conference.)

It will be observed from the statements we have received that almost universally the demand is for more adequate provision for the care of the feeble-minded, epileptic and tubercular. Those of us who are serving on state boards, either supervisory or as boards of control, have a great responsibility to bring to the attention of our various legislatures the needs of properly providing for these different classes of dependents and defectives.

The committee on Public Charities has deemed it best this year to bring to your attention some of the fundamental subjects that confront us from day to day, such as the need of uniform settlement laws, treatment of vagrants, proper almshouse administration, and the increasing demand that seems to be spreading over the country for more adequate relief to dependents. These subjects, during the sessions of the conference, will be duly considered and we hope as a result of their deliberation here, more enlightened work will be possible.

MR. TILLEY: It is in the New England states especially that the settlement laws have been a large factor in the administration of public relief. Mr. Robert W. Hebberd, secretary of the State Board of Charities of the great Empire State of New York, will speak to us on Uniform Settlement Laws.

UNIFORM SETTLEMENT LAWS

Robert W. Hebberd, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York, Albany.

Almost from time immemorial, in English speaking countries, the questions growing out of the settlement and relief of the poor have been vexatious and annoying, not only to the poor-law officer, but still more so to the poor. At times the law of settlement has been cruel in both its provision and its execution. Some parts of the United States have no settlement laws. Such parts desire population and are willing to take their chances with the settlers who seek to establish and maintain homes. Other portions of the country have, in some cases through the process of evolution, reasonable and humane settlement laws, while still other sections continue to have those which seem archaic and unreasonable. For the most part the laws of settlement which are in force in the older communities in this country were copied from the English laws which in their earlier forms prescribed severe measures of punishment, such as public whipping in some cases, for the poor who wandered from their places of settlement.

Early English Settlement Laws

In 1662 the English Parliament passed what was known as the Law of Parochial Settlement. Under the provision of this law legal settlement in a parish was acquired by birth. A new settlement might be acquired by marriage, the woman taking her husband's settlement, by forty days' unchallenged residence in a parish after delivering a written notice to the overseers of the poor of the place of abode and the number in the family, which notice was to be read in church and registered; by having an estate of his own, or renting for a year a £10 tenement; by paying public rates and taxes, and serving for a whole year in any public parish office; by being bound to and serving an apprenticeship for the learning of some reputable trade; or, lastly, by being hired or serving for a year when unmarried or childless, or being a widow or widower with children having legal settlements of their own.

By this act the church wardens and overseers of the parish could remove any newcomer who did not rent a house of the annual value of ten pounds, unless he could give ample security that he would not become chargeable to the parish. The effect of this act was to restrict the poor to their own parishes and to prevent even the industrious and the enterprising from seeking to improve their condition in fresher and better fields for their labor.

In an account of *The Good Old Times*, by Hackwood, we are told that:

> Among the many abuses to which the system gave rise was the conveyance from place to place, at public expense, of persons who were not

"rogues and vagabonds", which became quite a common practice of dishonest constables or other corrupt officials. To circumvent this it was ordered that, before removal, the culprit should be at first publicly whipped—a drastic method of ensuring identity.

A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended in shifting the burden of the relief from one parish to another; a costly staff of functionaries was maintained out of the poor rates simply to operate the Law of Settlement.

How the Law of Settlement worked was best seen with the eyes of an intelligent foreigner who visited England in 1810. He observed how the poor were repulsed from one parish to another "like infected persons." They were sent back, he records, from one end of the kingdom to the other, as criminals formerly in France. You meet on the high-roads, I will not say often, but too often, an old man on foot with a little bundle; a helpless widow, pregnant perhaps, and two or three barefooted children following her; they have become paupers in a place where they have not yet acquired a legal right to assistance, and are sent away on that account to their original place of settlement.

Of the operations of the law of settlement, Adam Smith said:

To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanor, from the parish where he chooses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice and an oppression to which the people of England, though jealous of their liberty but, like the people of most other countries, never rightly considering in what it consists, have for more than a century, together suffered themselves to be exposed without a remedy.

For two hundred years England continued to enforce these harsh provisions of the Law of Settlement, and in the meantime this country copied them into its own statutes.

Early Settlement Laws in This Country

In early New England strangers and especially those who were poor were looked upon with suspicion. The theory prevailed that the lawful inhabitants of a town were its owners and that strangers had no right to come into the circle. All who were allowed to remain were expected to have a landed interest in the town, either through the direct ownership of property or through an interest in the common lands of the town. The early records of Boston give evidence of this rule, the following from *Warning Out in New England*, by Benton, being an example:

On November 2, 1638, by the local authorties, leave is granted to Richard Rawlings, a plasterer, to buy Peter Johnson, the Dutchman's house and to become an inhabitant of this Towne.

Quoting further:

On March 16, 1640, the record of the selectmen is that John Palmer, carpenter, now dwelling here, is to be allowed an Inhabitant, if he can gett an house, or land to sett an house upon (it not being proper to allowe a man an Inhabitant Withou(t) habitation).

This provision of property ownership as applied to settlement still obtains in some parts of New England as will subsequently be shown. In December, 1652, we learn that,

Att a meeting of all the Selectmen, William Gilford, Brikelayer,

is admitted a Townsman. Mr. Richard Bellingham ingageth to secur the town from all damag by Receiving of him for one whole yeare.

At the same meeting it appears

Mr. Pighogg, a Chururgeon, is admitted a Townsman; John Leuis is fyned 5s. for Intertaining of Francis Burges without liberties of the Selecktmen; and Good'n Watters is fyned tenn shillings for Intertaining of Roger Sowers without libertie from the selecktmen.

In New York the general Poor Law of 1788 contained the following provisions:

That if any overseer or overseers of the poor of any city or town shall have reason to believe that any stranger who shall have come to reside in such city or town and who shall not have obtained a legal settlement in such city or town, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, is likely to become chargeable to such city or town, such overseer or overseers of the poor shall and may apply to any two justices of the peace of such city, or of the county in which such town shall lie, and inform them thereof; and the said justices being so or otherwise informed, or seeing such stranger and suspecting him or her to be of insufficient abilities or likely to become a charge to such city or town, are hereby authorized and required to issue their warrant to a constable of such city or town, thereby commanding him to bring such stranger before them the said justices, at such time and place as they, in their said warrant, shall for that purpose appoint, and they the said justices shall examine every stranger so brought before them and by any other person or persons, who they may think necessary, upon oath, relating to the abilities and last place of legal settlement of such stranger; and if, upon such examination, the said justices shall find such stranger likely to become a charge to such city or town, they shall order and direct such stranger, by a certain day by them to be prefixed, to remove to the place of his or her or their former settlement, and on neglect or refusal to comply with the said order, the said justices shall issue a warrant, under their hands and seals, directed to any constable of such city or town, (who is hereby required and commanded to execute such warrant) thereby commanding him to convey or transport such stranger to the constable of the next city or town, through which such stranger shall have been suffered to wander and stroll unapprehended, and so from constable to constable, or in such other manner, by the nearest and most convenient route, as the said justices shall think fit to direct, to the place of legal settlement of such stranger, if the same shall be within this state. * * *

That if any person so removed or transported as aforesaid, shall return into this state, or from the place of his or her legal settlement, to the city or town from whence he or she was so removed or transported as aforesaid, so as to be likely to become a burden to such city or town aforesaid, such person so returning shall, by warrant from any two justices of the peace of such city, or of such county, in which such town shall lie, be apprehended and re-transported as aforesaid; and shall by every constable into whose charge such person shall come, if the justices so removing him or her, shall think proper and so direct, be whipped, if a man, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, and if a woman, not exceeding twenty-five lashes, and so as often as he or she shall return, after such transportation.

This harsh enactment continued in force practically unchanged for many years until an amendment was adopted making an exception in the case of the sick. Through gradual changes, indicating the growing

humanity of the people, the present poor law requires that all persons in need of relief shall be relieved wherever they suffer want, and leaves the question of financial responsibility to be determined by orderly methods thereafter.

These preliminary statements will give some idea of the history and genesis of the laws of settlement as applied to poor relief in this country, as well as of the spirit which gave them birth.

Present Day Conditions

In order to gain a better idea of present day conditions, and to make a definite statement of such conditions in this paper, I recently addressed a letter to the officials of every one of the states requesting information and advice with relation to the laws of settlement in their respective communities as follows:

> Having been requested to prepare a paper on the desirability of uniform settlement laws, which is to be presented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction to be held at Memphis next month, I shall be obliged if you will kindly give me the following information:
>
> (1) A copy of your settlement law.
>
> (2) A statement of the merits, and the defects, if any, of such law in its practical application.
>
> (3) Your views with respect to the desirability of uniform settlement laws, and what such laws should provide in the interests of humanity as well as in those of local economy.
>
> (4) Your observations generally on this subject.

To this communication I have received a number of interesting answers more or less informing, the substance of which I shall endeavor to set forth briefly within the compass of this paper. The geographic divisions used in this compilation are those of the United States Census in its report on *Benevolent Institutions* (1910). States from which no information was received have been omitted from this list.

The New England States

MAINE. By the revised statutes (1913) settlement is acquired by an adult by five years residence without receiving pauper supplies; by a minor by serving as an apprentice for four years and setting up in trade for one year, being then of age. A married woman has the settlement of her husband, if he has any in the state; if not, her own settlement is not affected by the marriage.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. By the general poor laws any person of the age of twenty-one years who has resided in any town in the state and has paid poll tax for seven years in succession, and any maiden woman of the age of twenty-one years who has resided in any town for seven years in succession and has paid all taxes legally assessed during that time or for four years on real estate, gains a settlement in such town. A married woman has the settlement of her husband if he has any in the state; otherwise her settlement at the time of her marriage continues. The county authorities provide for poor persons not chargeable to any town in the state.

VERMONT. By the provisions of the general laws with relation to the poor a self-supporting residence of three years in a town is required

to entitle a person to relief by such town. Married women have the settlement of their husbands. The expense of caring for non-resident persons is a charge upon the state. Paupers coming from without the state with the intent of becoming chargeable to any town are liable to imprisonment and fine. Persons bringing paupers from without the state with the intent of making them chargeable are also liable to fine and imprisonment besides being liable to the town for the cost of maintaining such poor persons.

MASSACHUSETTS. By chapter 669 of the Acts of 1911, settlement is acquired by any man or woman, through a residence for five consecutive years in any city or town in the state. A married woman has the settlement of her husband if he has acquired one; otherwise she shall retain her own if she had any at the time of her marriage. Legitimate children have the settlement of their father if he has any, or of their mother if he has not. Illegitimate children have the settlement of their mother if she has any within the state. Generally speaking, settlement is lost by an absence for five consecutive years.

RHODE ISLAND. By chapter 92 of Title XII. of the General Laws, settlement is gained by persons of twenty-one years of age having an estate of inheritance or freehold where they dwell or have their home, of the yearly income of twenty dollars over and above the interest of any mortgage which shall be thereon and taking the rents and profits thereof for three years successively, whether they live thereupon or not. Settlement is also gained by persons of twenty-one years of age having real estate which shall be of the value of two hundred dollars over and above any incumbrance and being assessed for the same in the state and town taxes and actually paying the same for five years successively in the town where they dwell and have their homes. Married women have the settlements of their husbands if any. Where the husband had no settlement of his own the wife retains her settlement at the time of marriage in which case the husband shall have the settlement of his wife. Legitimate children under twenty-one have and retain the settlement of their father if he has any, but if he had no settlement in this country, they have the settlement of their mother. Illegitimate children born in the state have the settlement of their mother at the time of their birth. Minors serving apprenticeship for three years who set up in trade within three years thereafter, being then twenty-one and carry on the trade for five years gain a settlement thereby. Settlements once gained continue until a new settlement is gained whereupon all former settlements are lost. Those bringing paupers to towns where they are not lawfully settled are liable to a fine, and poor persons may be removed by the constables upon order of town councils to the places where such poor persons were last legally settled. Any one wilfully harboring a person who has been removed but returns, is liable to a fine of fifty dollars.

CONNECTICUT. By chapter 148 of the General Statutes, no foreigner can gain a settlement in any town unless admitted by a vote of its inhabitants, or by consent of its justices of the peace and selectmen. The inhabitants of other states may acquire settlement in the same manner after a year's residence, or by a year's residence and the ownership of property in the state of the value of $334. The inhabitants of other towns must likewise be admitted by vote, or by four years of continuous and self-supporting residence. Non-residents who become dependent may be removed to their places of settlement in the state by the constables on orders of the justices of the peace. Those from other states who become dependent during the first year of their residence are to be removed in like manner to the places whence they came.

The Middle Atlantic States

NEW YORK. In New York State settlement is, generally speaking, gained by a year's residence and lost by a year's absence. There is no property requirement. Settlement of wife and minor children if any, follows that of the husband and father. Settlement cannot be gained while any member of the family is receiving relief from some other community. It is unlawful to ship poor persons from one place to another within the state, with the intent of making them burdens upon the community to which they are sent. Notice must be given as prescribed by the general poor law to the poor-law officer of the locality which is chargeable, of relief given to non-resident poor persons, and they must be required to grant them relief.

NEW JERSEY. Under the general poor law, to obtain a settlement a person must reside in one municipality for five years without being a recipient of public or private charity. If he has not lived for five years in one borough, county, town or city, he has no settlement. Overseers of the poor are required to send applicants for relief to the places either in or out of the state where they have legal settlement. Those who remove poor persons from one place to another without lawful authority so to do, with the intent of making them chargeable upon the place to which they are removed, are liable to fine and imprisonment.

PENNSYLVANIA. By the statutes of this state one who moves into a poor law district from another state with a *bona fide* intention of becoming an inhabitant of the state and resides there for a year acquires a legal settlement.

The East North Central States

OHIO. By section 3,477 of the general statutes with relation to the poor, legal settlement is acquired by a continuous residence of one year without poor relief. An indentured servant or apprentice legally brought into the state requires a settlement in his place of service if he has served his master or mistress for one year continuously. The wife or widow of a person legally settled in any place shall also be considered as having a legal settlement therein. If she has not obtained a legal settlement in the state she shall be deemed legally settled in the place where her last legal settlement was previous to her marriage. Under the mother's pension act a residence of two years is required. The special blind relief law, for obvious reasons, requires a legal residence in the state prior to the time that blindness occurred.

INDIANA. Every male person and every unmarried woman over the age of twenty-one years, may gain a settlement through a year's continuous residence. Minors and married women also gain a settlement by a year's residence. Minors bound as apprentices gain a settlement immediately as the result of such binding. A married woman has the settlement of her husband if he has any within the state; otherwise she retains her own settlement. Legitimate children have the settlement of their father, but if he has no settlement that of their mother if any. Illegitimate children have the settlement of their mother if she had one in the state at the time of their birth. Settlements are lost or defeated by a year's absence. Non-resident poor persons may be removed by the overseers of the poor to their places of legal residence within the state.

ILLINOIS. Settlement is acquired by a year's continuous residence. A poor person not legally settled in the place where he is in need is chargeable to the town or county in which he last resided for the requisite length of time and may be removed thereto. Any person who knowingly brings or leaves in any county of the state a pauper not legally

settled therein is liable to a fine. Non-residents may be given temporary relief, the expense of which may be recovered from relatives or from the county in which he had a legal residence.

MICHIGAN. By the revised statutes of 1907 settlement is acquired by an adult by one year's residence in any township. A minor may be emancipated from his or her father, and may gain a settlement: First, if a female, by being married and living one year with her husband, in which case the husband's settlement shall determine that of the wife. Second, if a male, by being married and residing separately from the family of his father. Third, by being bound as an apprentice, and serving one year. Fourth, by being hired and actually serving for one year for wages to be paid such minor.

A woman of full age by marrying shall acquire the settlement of her husband, if he have any; and until a poor person shall have gained a settlement in his own right, his settlement shall be deemed that of his father or mother; but no child born in any place used and occupied as a residence for the poor of the township, city or county, shall gain any settlement merely by reason of the place of birth; nor shall any child, born while the mother is a county pauper, gain any settlement by reason of the place of its birth; and no residence of any person as a pauper, in the county poorhouse, or place provided for the support of the poor in any township, while supported at the expense of any township or county, shall operate to give such pauper a settlement in the township where such actual residence may be had.

No person shall be removed as a pauper from any city or township to any other city or township of the same or any other county, nor from any county to any other county, but every poor person shall be supported in the township, city, or county where he may be, as follows: First, if he has gained a settlement in any township or city in such county, he shall be maintained by such township or city. Second, if he has not gained a settlement in the county in which he shall become poor, sick or infirm, he shall be supported by the superintendent of the poor at the expense of the county. Third, if such person be in a county where the distinction between township and county poor is abolished, he shall be supported at the expense of the county. Fourth, If such pauper shall be in a county where the respective townships are liable to support their poor and has gained a settlement in some other township or city of the same county than that in which he may be, he shall be supported by the township or county where he may be and the supervisor shall give notice in writing to the poor-law authorities of the township or city where such pauper shall belong requiring them to provide for the relief of such pauper.

WISCONSIN. By section 1,500 of the statutes of 1913, every person of full age who shall have resided in any town in the state one whole year shall thereby gain a settlement in such town, provided he has not been supported as a pauper therein. The settlement of a married woman follows that of her husband, if he has one; otherwise she retains the settlement she had at the time of her marriage. In the event of the removal of the wife to her own place of settlement, and her husband shall want relief, he is to receive it in the place of his wife's settlement. Illegitimate children have the settlement of their mother at the time of their birth if she had any within the state; but neither legitimate or illegitimate children shall gain a settlement by birth in the place where they were born unless their parent or parents have a settlement therein at the time.

Every minor whose parents, and every married woman whose husband, has no settlement in the state, gains a settlement by a whole year's

residence. Every minor bound as an apprentice immediately gains a settlement where his or her master or mistress has a settlement. Settlement is lost by a year's continuous absence.

The West North Central States

IOWA. This state, I am informed by the chairman of the Board of Control of State Institutions, has no settlement law.

MISSOURI. By section 1,317b of the Laws of 1913, it is provided that questions arising between counties as to settlement shall be referred to the State Board of Charities and Correction for adjudication. The decisions of the Board are, however, subject to review by the circuit court in whose jurisdiction the case arises. Section 1,3335 (R. S. Mo. 1,909) provides that a person must have resided in the county for a period of twelve months immediately preceding the date of an order for relief.

NORTH DAKOTA. The Secretary of the Board of Control of State Institutions states that they have no settlement laws in the state of North Dakota; also that the cities and villages are all small, comparatively speaking, and there is practically no poverty.

NEBRASKA. The Deputy Secretary of State writes that they have no settlement law in that state.

KANSAS. The law of this state requires but six months to gain a settlement.

The South Atlantic States

DELAWARE. By chapter 48 of the Revised Code of 1893, the birthplace of a person is the place of his legal settlement, and also the place of settlement of his wife, widow or minor children. Settlement in a county may be gained by holding public office therein for a year; by paying poor taxes therein for two consecutive years; by occupying and paying rent for premises therein of the yearly value of fifty dollars for one year; by becoming seized of a freehold estate in any real property therein of the value of one hundred dollars and dwelling upon the same for one year; by serving one year therein as a lawful apprentice or servant; by any immigrant, or person imported from a foreign country, serving, under a lawful indenture, as an apprentice or servant, for sixty days therein. The relinquishment of a prior settlement follows the gaining of a legal settlement.

MARYLAND. By the Secretary of the Board of State Aid and Charities, I am informed that Maryland has no general settlement law.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. The Secretary of the Board of Charities writes that there is no settlement law in the District. In the District of Columbia there is but one political unit and hence no question can arise between towns and counties as there could in the case of a state.

VIRGINIA. Legal settlement is acquired by one year's residence, but no one shall be deemed to have such settlement if he has migrated into the state within three years, unless at the time of so migrating he was able to maintain himself. Dependent persons may be removed to their places of legal settlement on complaint of the overseer by order of the justice of the county or town. All persons who unlawfully return to a place whence they have been lawfully removed are deemed to be vagrants and may be punished for a misdemeanor, or required to give bonds.

WEST VIRGINIA. Legal settlement in this state, as in Virginia, is acquired by a person upon one year's continuous residence, but not if he has migrated into the state within three years unless at the time of so

migrating he was able to maintain himself. A non-resident likely to become chargeable may on complaint of the overseer and by order of the justice be removed to the county where he was legally settled, or to another state whence he migrated if he has no legal settlement in West Virginia. One who brings an indigent person into the state with the intent of making such person a public charge is liable to a fine of $100 for such offense.

NORTH CAROLINA. Legal settlement is acquired by one year's continuous residence in any county. A married woman has the settlement of her husband if he have any; otherwise she retains her own at marriage; and legitimate children that of their father until they gain a settlement of their own, but if he have none they have the settlement of their mother if any. Illegitimate children have the settlement of their mother at the time of their birth if she then have any in the state. But neither legitimate nor illegitimate children gain a settlement by birth in the county in which they may be born, if neither of their parents have any settlement therein. Legal settlement continues until it is lost or defeated by acquiring a new one within or without the state. A non-resident likely to become chargeable may be removed to the county of his last legal settlement.

The East South Central States

TENNESSEE. By the Secretary to the Governor of Tennessee I am advised that that state has no settlement laws.

MISSISSIPPI. In this state a pauper is entitled to relief by the county provided he has been a *bona fide* resident thereof for six months prior to his application for support; and the settlement of the parent or parents shall entitle the children to a settlement.

The West South Central States

LOUISIANA. This state has, I am informed by the superintendent of the Charity Organization Society, who answered the letter which I addressed to the Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Correction, no settlement law.

TEXAS. No settlement law.

The Mountain States

MONTANA. This state, it appears, has no settlement law.

IDAHO. This state, I am informed from the office of the Secretary of State, has no settlement law.

COLORADO. The secretary of the State Board of Charities and Correction writes that they have at present no settlement laws but the subject is being investigated in order to determine the necessity for legislation.

ARIZONA. The Secretary of the Board of Control writes that there is no settlement law in the state, although one seems to be greatly needed owing to the influx of dependent persons suffering from tuberculosis and insane persons from Mexico, as well as from other states of this country.

NEVADA. There is no settlement law in Nevada, as I am informed by the Secretary of State, who states that the question has never been taken up by the legislature because conditions have not required it, and adds: "There are no congested districts in this state, there being about ten square miles for each inhabitant."

The Pacific States

WASHINGTON. A year's residence is required of persons born in other states for legal residence in this state. Besides furnishing this information the chairman of the State Board of Control writes: "In the matter of applying this law to undesirable citizens, on account of their becoming dependents, the state of Washington has pursued a very liberal policy. As a rule, people who come into this state come with the intention of making homes, and at present we have no laws for deportation of residents of other states becoming dependent in this state."

OREGON. In the state of Oregon when application is made to the county court of any county for relief, it shall be necessary for said county to require of applicant satisfactory evidence that he or she has been a resident of the county three months preceding the day upon which request for relief was made and it shall be the duty of the court to provide such assistance as may be deemed necessary, the expense to be paid out of the treasury of the county of which such pauper is a resident.

CALIFORNIA. In this state, a pauper or an incapacitated person to be entitled to relief in any county or city must have resided there for three months immediately preceding the application. The residence of the father during his life and, after his death, the residence of the mother while she remains unmarried, becomes the residence of the unmarried minor child. The residence of the husband becomes the residence of the wife. A poor person resident in some other county or city may be removed and the expense for his care be paid by the city or county in which he has legal residence. A poor or indigent person who has not been a legal resident of the state for at least one year and who has been declared insane may be returned to the county or state to which he belongs at the expense of the state. Dependent children are entitled to state aid only when the parents are known to be or to have been citizens.

Recapitulation of the Laws of Settlement

It will thus be seen that throughout a large part of this country there are reasonable laws of settlement, while in some of the other parts there are no settlement laws at all. Except in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Delaware, the three smallest states, the ownership of property is not a basis of settlement. In Connecticut the ancient custom of admitting by vote of the selectmen is continued as one of the methods of gaining settlement. In Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Virginia and West Virginia, poor persons may still be removed by the constables through one county after another to their places of legal settlement. A comparison of the provisions of the English Law of Charles II with those of the present Delaware statute, shows a marked similarity in most of such provisions.

In New Hampshire it takes seven years' residence to gain a settlement, in Maine, Massachusetts and New Jersey five years, in Vermont three years, in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina and Washington one year, in Kansas six months, while in California and Oregon three months and in South Dakota 90 days' residence is all that is necessary to acquire a settlement.

As a matter of fact, however, there is reason to believe that the settlement laws, as between the different states at least, and even locally, are for the most part enforced with reason and not in such a manner generally as to afford any real grounds for complaint. This is almost sure to be the case where the poor-law official, whether of high or low degree, is both experienced and humane.

It thus appears that except in New England and New Jersey residence or settlement for relief purposes is usually gained by a year's residence and lost by a year's absence. This seems to be reasonable. Residents in a community, who do not own property, by their expenditures and otherwise frequently contribute as much to the prosperity of a community as those who are taxpayers. Sometimes they contribute even more. In this connection it is to be remembered that population rather than real estate is a chief contributing cause to the prosperity of any settled community.

As a rule, and one almost without exception, the secretaries of state boards having supervision of poor relief in the several states, favor simple and reasonable requirements for settlement purposes. Even in a state like New York where the requirements for settlement are relatively simple there is considerable litigation and a volume of decisions more or less confusing. How much worse it must be in those states where the settlement laws are complex and confusing?

Then the execution should be reasonable. Persons who come to the community with an honest intent, and who may require emergency aid, especially in hospitals, should not be on that account regarded as paupers subject to deportation and annoyance.

Immediate Deportation Not Favored by New York Board

In our state, there are those who apparently have the idea that non-resident poor persons requiring relief should be deported immediately to the state or county whence they came. But the State Board of Charities is not in sympathy with his idea. I believe that anyone who comes to the state with the honest intention of establishing himself independently there should have as fair and reasonable a chance as our own citizens. It makes no difference whether these non-residents come from over seas or from other parts of the country. If, however, they come with the intention of becoming dependents, or are likely to be such for a long period through causes arising previous to their arrival, the case is different. Some curious reports made recently by investigators for a committee of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in New York City, found fault with the indoor relief giving departments there for granting help so readily to non-resident dependents, and likewise with the State Board of Charities for not sending more of them back to their homes in other states. These investigators evidently thought it would be a good plan to add to the notice that hospital care would be given freely to all comers, the further attrac-

tion that as soon as the treatment was over all such visitors would be returned free of charge to their homes no matter how far distant, by the State Board of Charities. But the Board thought differently. The granting or the withholding of relief by local authorities as well as the deportation of non-resident persons, are matters calling for the exercise of a sane humanity. A city of manifold attractions like New York, to which visitors spending many thousands of dollars come daily, can hardly expect to be free from the visitation of that less desirable element of unfortunate humanity which occasionally looks to the city for assistance.

So then to sum up the whole matter for the purpose of discussion, I conclude that it is desirable to have uniform settlement laws throughout the entire country, such laws to be executed by the various states in a spirit of humanity and with a due regard to the rights of the other states. It seems to me that a year's residence in a new community, without the necessity of more than emergency relief, should be sufficient to entitle an adult, the head of a family or otherwise, who was not a pauper at the time of arrival, to a settlement for relief purposes in such community, without any requirement as to the holding of property; that he be voted in by the selectmen, or anything of that nature. This would help to insure a better market for labor and would give to those who may have been unfortunate in one field the right to commence rehabilitation in another without danger of removal because of some temporary misfortune which might happen to anyone. In the long run under a wise system of charitable administration, one that lent no encouragement to the pauper spirit, the added cost of a policy of this nature is likely to be a negligible quantity.

Furthermore, inasmuch as it is evident that no state can legislate with regard to any matter within the jurisdiction of another state, I am wondering purely for the purposes of discussion whether or not the whole question of the removal of non-resident poor to places of settlement outside the state should be made a function of the national government, leaving to the state authorities the settlement of questions of this nature which arise between the various localities within the state itself.

PRESENT CHARITABLE NEEDS OF THE SOUTH

John H. DeWitt, Attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

The impoverishment of the southern states by the Civil War placed a heavy handicap upon the progress of their philanthropies. During nearly fifty years, amid variations of economic prosperity, they have struggled under heavy burdens of debt and paid in interest enormous sums that would otherwise have been devoted to education and other public purposes. Even to-day nearly all the southern states

are afflicted with grievous bonded indebtedness. The public debt of Virginia and West Virginia is about $24,000,000, and that of Tennessee is $11,600,000. So greatly have popular needs pressed upon the state governments, so intensely apparent has been the duty to the existing generations, that the southern states have not tried to pay their debt rapidly, but have employed their borrowing credit in order to subserve the interests of their people.

With the immense drain of these interest charges, with lands and commercial undertakings impoverished for many years, it is not surprising that these states have not provided for social needs as have other states differently situated. Could Tennessee, for instance, have spent for these purposes the millions she has had to pay as interest on her debt—even now amounting to more than half a million a year—her percentage of illiteracy would not be so grievously large, nor would she be lacking in that development of philanthropic agencies and institutions which she so deeply needs to-day. This statement applies perhaps in almost equal degree to every state called southern, except Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma, which have fortunately escaped these heavy burdens of debt.

Progress in Spite of Obstacles

And yet, in spite of these and other stupendous difficulties—not the least being that of the race problem—the southern states have laid the foundations of an efficient state philanthropy, and especially in recent years, with the progress of the social spirit and the development of a fine material prosperity, have they evidenced a substantial desire to supply the agencies necessary to care for the illiterate, the defective, the delinquent, the diseased and the dependent. Many of these states have schools for the blind, deaf, and dumb, institutions for dependent and delinquent children and hospitals for the tubercular. All have hospitals for the insane, and to North Carolina and Virginia belongs the honor of having recently established institutions for the feeble-minded. In recent years the development of public schools has been remarkable. District normal schools abound everywhere in the South. Tennessee has three of these schools for whites and one for negroes. She is now devoting one-third of her gross income to her school interests. It is probable that other southern states are doing as well, and it is my impression that at least Oklahoma is doing more. Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Texas have institutions for the care of epileptics. It is also true that in all the South the desire to create and maintain every institution or agency needed is strong in the hearts of the people. But the financial means are not yet sufficient for every purpose.

Since it is impossible to discuss all that is demanded for an efficient state philanthropy, it is my purpose to deal with those needs which may be justly considered the most urgent. I wish to treat

briefly the jails and almshouses, which concern directly every county; the vital problem of the feeble-minded; schools for delinquent and wayward girls and boys; the relation between state boards of charities and prison reform; and the almost overshadowing needs of efficient and powerful state departments of social service or boards of charities and corrections.

Local Penal and Charitable Institutions the Worst

In my judgment the county jails, workhouses and almshouses present the most grievous needs of all our institutions. The jail as a place of detention is generally a breeder of disease and destroyer of moral and physical fibre. In all the states the facilities for speedy trials are inadequate, especially trials of persons accused of misdemeanors. Prisoners under detention are held too long and are subjected to conditions almost inhuman—unsanitary and slothful. As a place of punishment the ordinary jail is obnoxious to every true principle of moral sanitation. The idle, unhealthful, aimless life there led tends to make the inmate worse than before. On the other hand, the work-house contains no element of redemptiveness. Most of these places are inhumanely conducted, contain no quarters, furnish no fare and practice no rules of living, fit for civilized beings. The excess of work required of a prisoner often breaks down his strength and leaves him a wreck. It is a common thing for old offenders to express preference for a year in the penitentiary rather than six months in the workhouse.

In spite of much effort to improve the jails and workhouses, even in the most progressive localities, they go on thus from year to year, and a hardened and almost hopeless criminal class infests them. In the cities these institutions should be constantly examined by state boards having power to make and enforce orders upon their keepers. In the rural sections a system of districts should be established for the maintenance of farms on which prisoners might be employed, so that with fresh air and wholesome and reasonable exercise deterioration in physique and morals will be avoided. There should be a complete change of motive, from punitive to redemptive, in the conduct of our jails and workhouses. In this connection it is a pleasure to point to the District of Columbia Prison Farm, at Occoquan, Virginia, as the model workhouse, where the appeal to one's honor, the spirit of friendship and a square deal, are put into practice, and perhaps every inmate leaves both morally and physically improved.

In 1910 the population of almshouses in the southern states was 16,020. Perhaps at least half of these were children, insane, feeble-minded or epileptics. Certainly this half belong in special institutions. Virginia has more almshouses than any other state in the South, and great improvement has recently been made in them; and yet her governor has just declared that poorhouses should be abandoned and

instead of them farm-houses which would in a measure be self-supporting should be established for the care of public dependents. The proverbial abhorrence of the almshouse is not alone due to the humiliation of the sense of need. It is largely due to the miserable manner in which these institutions are usually kept.

Virginia Plan Lauded

The new Virginia plan is the best one—a decent, well-equipped country home in each congressional district, on a large farm, having a hospital, a home for the aged, an institution for idiots and feeble-minded, a workhouse and custodial care for the drunkards, tramps, non-supporters and other misdemeanants. Contrast such an ideal, such a substantial system with the ordinary poorhouse in the county which contains no large city. Usually there is no adequate shelter, warmth, food or clothing, nor moral, physical or social protection; no proper care for aged couples, no decent separation of the classes of children, feeble-minded and diseased from each other. Usually the man in charge is illiterate and unfitted for his work. In many of them there is scarcely a bath tub on the place. Often there is no woman attendant, and feeble-minded women are in danger of debauchery.

In some counties of Missouri and Tennessee, and perhaps other states, the lease system prevails, whereby the county farm is leased to a superintendent, who receives a *per capita* allowance for keeping and feeding the county charges. The state is thereby interested only in economy and assumes no responsibility towards its wards. Not more than half of these institutions give their inmates any work to do. Idleness is at the bottom of most of the evils now common to the almshouses. The whole system seems to be lacking in the things essential to the purposes for which it should exist. There are many fine exceptions in the South—for instance, the county poorhouses near Nashville and Memphis are among the best and most decently equipped that are anywhere to be found. But these are only in a small minority. In an admirable address upon this subject at the Southern Sociological Congress a year ago it was well said by Mr. M. A. Auerbach, of Little Rock:

> Until some action is taken by all our southern states, the almshouses will continue as institutions for the disgrace of the state and the multiplication of its social problems. Until we are aroused to the need of reform we will continue to share the blame of this system that is surely bequeathing a heavy social and physical burden on posterity. Let us give those who come to the state for protection at least a fair chance, secure for the young an equal opportunity, provide proper treatment for the sick and defective, and treat the old in a manner that will cause them to feel that they are still respected. Until this is done, the almshouse, by whatever name it is called, will continue to be only a shelter for the derelict and friendless, and the place viewed by the respectable poor with justifiable horror.

The fundamental vice lies in the theory that each county, however

small and financially weak, must maintain a poorhouse, while in the combination of its resources with those of neighboring counties all the constructive and uplifting elements can be realized and made permanent. Furthermore, there is no branch of public charity more needful of supervision by an efficient state board of charities.

Mental Defectives Neglected

A very few of the southern states are yet dealing in any adequate manner with the subject of the mentally defective classes, especially the feeble-minded. In the Census Report of 1910 we find that in these states there are 68,040 feeble-minded persons, but it is very probable that the number is much greater. Twelve years ago the superintendents of American institutions for the feeble-minded thought that a very conservative estimate of the ratio of this class to the general population was one to five hundred. The number is growing alarmingly, and it has a most vital bearing upon the status of future generations. In Virginia the investigations of Dr. J. T. Mastin, Secretary of the State Board of Charities, showed that there were about 6,000 persons of all grades of mental deficiency, from the low grade idiot to the high grade imbecile. Of these 300 were women of child-bearing age who were without proper custodial care. When we think of the fact that a large number of feeble-minded women are reproducing their kind, perpetuating the great burden that this class entails, and all because society is not taking proper steps to prevent it, the situation appears positively alarming. Most of the feeble-minded are found in private families. They pauperize many homes already overtaxed. They impair domestic peace and happiness. They are a menace to society, a source of danger to every community.

It is well accepted among us that there are two ways of dealing with this problem. One is to prohibit the marriage of the unfit; the other is to segregate them in special institutions. Sterilization of imbeciles, as well as of other classes of persons, is strongly advocated by many. The South must arise to this great problem at least in the application of these two methods. Only Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Texas have institutions for epileptics. So far as is known to the writer, North Carolina and Virginia alone in the South have state homes for the care and treatment of the merely feeble-minded. In Texas the governor last year, for financial reasons, vetoed a bill for the establishment of such an institution. The problem is being agitated in Arkansas and other states. If the proposed Virginia plan for district farms could be everywhere established, each could include a home for this unfortunate class without great additional expense.

Care of Delinquent Children

The juvenile court system has been adopted in all the southern states except Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, West Virginia and

South Carolina. Reformatories, or training schools for delinquent boys, are maintained in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, while there is no such institution in Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Missouri, Texas, South Carolina and Virginia maintain schools for delinquent and wayward girls. Georgia and Oklahoma have just provided for the establishment of such schools. Thus it appears that there is yet a vast work to be undertaken by many of the states. These institutions are charities in a very broad sense. They do some of the most valuable preventive work. They make for empty cells in prisons and keep many a girl from a life of prostitution. In Tennessee, for instance, the Reformatory near Nashville, a state institution established two years and a half ago, contains nearly 400 boys who were committed to it by criminal or juvenile courts. It is conducted upon the honor system and its aim is purely redemptive and constructive. The need of such schools for girls in states which do not have them is most appalling.

Need to Copy Plan of Centralization Used for Schools

Behind all of these conditions is the need for vigorous and effective central supervision and control of state and local institutions. The state authorities must come to a realization of the problem in the various localities. The county commissioners of jails, almshouses, workhouses and insane hospitals are generally lacking in the scientific understanding of their problems and are politicians without any serious motive. Any intelligent grasp of their duties would remedy many of the unworthy conditions mentioned in this paper. The value of central control is finely demonstrated in our state boards of education, with state superintendents and traveling inspectors and organizers. Uniformity is thereby maintained in school standards. Improvement is everywhere under way. A system of strong organization is thus maintained which keeps our school systems continually moving forward and upward. The state authority is not simply inquisitorial and advisory. While the controlling power of a state board of charities can hardly be so great as this, nevertheless, it can well hold a heavy hand over local officials. The board of control having charge of state institutions, such as exists in Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and in part in Arkansas, furnishes, in my judgment, the best example of economy of management, standardization of the service, and fixing of responsibility. Certain of our southern states have prison boards in charge of state prisons, but in most of them each institution is left to the control of a separate board that does not even meet more than once or twice a year. Local institutions are left to their own management, with only an occasional visit from some peripatetic investigator whose advice is little heeded.

But the South has thus far done little even toward maintaining efficient advisory state boards of charities. They do not even exist in Ala-

bama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. Where they do exist their powers are so meager and financial means so limited that they are of little weight. Generally, as in Tennessee, these boards can only investigate. They have no executive or administrative powers.

Virginia Board a Promising Example

The Virginia state board has sufficient appropriation to enable it to make frequent inquiry into all state, county, municipal and private institutions of an eleemosynary, charitable, correctional or reformatory character; to keep on file its reports of its investigations and to send copies of them to all officials in charge of the respective institutions and to the presidents of boards of supervisors in the counties and the presidents of city councils. All plans for new jails, reformatories, and almshouses must be submitted first to the board for its suggestions and recommendations. The board also publishes statistics concerning the dependent, defective and delinquent classes. But while Virginia is making progress and Oklahoma is maintaining an efficient department of Corrections, the needs of the other southern states in this regard are lamentable. It is at once realized that the state, county and municipal agencies of charity and correction have not the proper supervision or guidance. Who can say that any scientific treatment is afforded to the insane or feeble-minded in the county almshouses? What real effort is made to see that workhouses are maintained in any humane or redemptive spirit? What does a sheriff two hundred miles from Nashville care if once every two years a state secretary publishes in a pamphlet for limited distribution the fact that his jail is unsanitary, that no religious services are ever held, that the inmates are not given decent food? And yet this is about all that the State Board of Charities can do, besides making a report to the governor and some recommendations to the legislature which are rarely considered.

The advisory state board of charities can at least do some valuable service. It can through publicity keep the people informed as to the treatment of their dependents and delinquents; prevent cruelty and dishonesty in management; educate in better methods of dealing with prisoners and dependents; develop public opinion by taking the lead in holding conferences of citizens interested in social service and officials in charge of jails, almshouses, training schools, and sanitary officials, in the various counties. For such service persons are needed who will give the necessary time and who have the ability to deal with these great interests. Money should be appropriated to maintain at least a state secretary for his full time in the work of visitation and education. The state board of charities should formulate and present to the legislature such measures as it deems urgent and feasible, and be prepared to demonstrate the need of such legislation.

In order to do all this, it should investigate the very best institutions and agencies in other states. Upon these matters Miss Kate Barnard, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of Oklahoma, has given to the writer her opinion as follows:

The chief need of the South in the matter of public charities is this:

A Department of Charities and Corrections; or a Department for Social Service, whichever you choose to call it, which will have the full authority to investigate fully and carefully the exact character of the treatment afforded the insane in the Manhattan State Hospital at Ward's Island, New York City, and the character of treatment and cure given in the most scientific institution of America for the care of brain and nerve diseases, namely, the Neurological Institute of New York City. A careful study covering several weeks at least should be made of the METHODS of these scientific institutions and then your governor should give full authority to this person to go and live in each hospital for the insane in his respective state for three weeks with full authority to visit all wards at will. The one who does this work should be fearless and competent to require and demand just treatment within the province of the law and the courts of his state. The expose which would follow, and the new methods and treatment, would first shock the whole southland and then result in scientific care for brain and nerve diseases,—which is almost unknown in the South. Please remember I am a southerner and love its very soil and only speak with loving interest for the future of our great Southland.

The penitentiaries should be handled the same way, using the following institutions as models:—The State Prison at Florence, Arizona; the State Prison of Colorado; and the ones in Oregon and at Mansfield, Ohio. Each state should go through her institutions for the blind, deaf-mute and orphans in the same thorough way. Then each state should organize a State Conference of Charities where all those interested in human progress should meet once a year and compare experiences, methods and idals, etc., governors, statesmen, clubwomen, heads of institutions, etc.

If I have succeeded in pointing out, even though very imperfectly, the things for which the South is in suffering need, I trust that it will help us to labor more diligently for the improvements which we should yet have. As a native-born citizen of the South, I love her civilization with my whole soul, and I believe that within a few years the strength and virility of our people will overcome splendidly the difficulties which lie before them. The spirit of self-criticism and of progress will enable them to put into effective application those methods and principles which are approved by the two great associations which now sit side by side in this city with a common purpose and a common patriotism.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

MR. TILLEY: There is time left for discussion. First I will ask if there is anyone who wishes to discuss Mr. Hebberd's paper? (No one responded.) Anyone who cares to discuss the charitable needs of the South?

MRS. OPHELIA L. AMIGH, Birmingham, Alabama: When the time comes (for it is on the way) when every state recognizes the responsibility that rests upon it in the way of looking after the best conditions

for the welfare of the dependent, defective and delinquent, and each county in every state becomes a unit in furnishing a well equipped infirmary for treatment and care of those too feeble to care for themselves, either mentally or physically, and the business of sending the poor and indigent from one county to another to be rid of them is stopped by law, then, and then only, will our ideal for care of the helpless be realized. Alabama has an industrial school for boys, and one in embryo for girls, also a technical school for boys and one for girls, all under the care and maintenance of the state. Birmingham has a Municipal Welfare Committee doing excellent work for the unfortunates of all classes, and also a well organized Associated Charities. The county of Jefferson has also appointed a welfare committee to represent its interests; and this committee is composed of five excellent men who are to a greater or lesser extent interested along social lines. One man was appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, one by the Board of Revenue, one by the Board of Health, one represents the legal fraternity, and another the commercial interests of the county. They will, I am sure, prove a powerful factor in forwarding all matters pertaining to social uplift.

The southland is really moving ahead quite rapidly in every way that apparently will benefit their commonwealth. Wonderful changes have taken place within the last few years for the betterment of the entire South. At the last State Sociological Congress held in Birmingham, a state anti-tuberculosis secretary was elected, and I am quite sure that other southern states are doing even more along all lines of uplift work; for Alabama is by no means counted a leader. All will do better when financial conditions make it possible.

DR. FLANNAGAN, Virginia: It has been a part of my duty to visit all sorts of institutions in the state of Virginia. I am not connected with the State Board of Charities, though I work harmoniously with it. We cannot deal with this institutional problem unless we know what our problem is. I want to thank Mr. DeWitt for his paper. I know the facts to be a good deal blacker than he has painted them. Virginia has been doing some splendid work. We have a very efficient secretary of our State Board of Charities, and it is universally conceded that the work of that board has been splendidly done. Until recent years there has been no supervision of almshouses and jails in Virginia, but since Dr. Mastin has been in charge, during the past four years, he has visited all of them repeatedly. I have made it my duty to visit many of these almshouses, too. There is not anything too bad to say about the almshouse system in Virginia, and conditions are a hundred per cent. better today than they were four years ago. Something has to be done about it. We have to realize that our methods are wrong and then reorganize the whole almshouse business. We are propagating imbeciles.

I was in a little county the other day in Virginia—and it is a prosperous county—back off the railroad, and there an ordinary farmer was in charge of a poorhouse. There were about eight inmates. In one room there were five unmarried women, all imbecile, all with illegitimate children. This is happening all over the South. There is no regulation. These people go about through the community. There is no custodial care. They meet bad people and the result is every year a new baby. I do not think there is anything too bad to be said about a condition of that sort. The jail system is no better. Our jails are keeping people in utter idleness. In my own city last fall there were 300 prisoners, with 75 or 100 of them women, all living in idleness and in the twilight. It is the best kept jail in the state, mind you. It is not the most modern jail, but one in which the jailer is doing all that the law demands of

him and more. But even here the young criminal, arrested for the first time, is in with the most hardened offenders, and comes out an adept in crime if he stays any length of time. It is a continuous performance,—a person here last week is back again in a little while. We should put the prisoners out in the open air, the one thing a man should never forfeit; no matter what his crime is, he has a natural right to light and air. He ought to have plenty of water and a bath now and then, too. I am not insisting on that, however. Surely let us put these people out in the open air and sunlight and make them work, and in the sweat of their face let them eat their bread.

MISS DAISY DENSON, North Carolina: I would like to say for my own comfort and for that of Mr. DeWitt that the South is not alone in many of these needs he has mentioned. The almshouses and jails of many other sections have the same needs. The speaker has painted us a little blacker than we are. We are now just where we are going forward and we are glad to have all the help we can get. We need it, as he says, but we certainly are progressing rapidly along many of these lines. About the County Homes (almshouses), they may be quite that black in some of the states, but just before I came here I had a letter from the chairman of a board of county commissioners,—and when they condescend to ask help that means a great deal. He wrote to ask if our state board would recommend a trained nurse to open a new $30,000 institution on a farm for the poor of their county, a building with electric lights, heat, everything modern for comfort. A trained nurse is needed to show them how to keep it in a sanitary way. I recommended a trained nurse who has been the head of a great hospital. She has gone to open that county almshouse. The county commissioners have an association to come together and discuss their problems. At Raleigh the old almshouse has been sold and a $75,000 plant is now going up, with every modern improvement. So you see there is hope for all of us.

MR. AHERN, New Hampshire: In New Hampshire a town settlement can be gained by the payment of a poll tax for seven consecutive years or by the payment of a tax on property valued at $150 for four consecutive years. In the sixties a movement was made to have the county the unit for all public charity. The town poor farms, as they existed then, were nothing to brag of and as time went on were abolished and the county almshouses substituted for them. At the present time probably 80 to 85 per cent. of the money expended for the poor and dependent is under the direction of the county commissioners. All of our county almshouses, with the exception of three, are modern buildings. All are heated with steam and lighted with electricity and the food supplied is sufficient and suitable. There is no such thing in New Hampshire as a state settlement.

MR. FRED R. JOHNSON, Boston: Mr Hebberd is to be highly commended for making a distinct contribution to the field of public charity and for giving us an understanding of a very complex problem. One point in the paper I think should be particularly emphasized, the necessity for having some arbiter outside the state itself to pass upon disputes that may arise in the transportation of persons where there is doubt as to settlement. Settlement cases without number arise in states like New Jersey, situated on the line of travel between New York City and Philadelphia, and in Rhode Island situated between New York City and Boston. It seems to me essential that if we are to have just and humanitarian treatment of those who do not have a residence we must go outside the selfish interests of the states involved in the dispute, interests which are often trying to foist the burden on some other state. The states have such different laws that it works hardship upon persons

changing residence. Where two state interests clash you must have a neutral power that is not a part and parcel of either state administration.

General session on Adequate Relief to Needy Mothers,
May 14, 10:45 A. M.
Under auspices of Committees on Public Charities, on Children, and on The Family and the Community.

MR. DAVID F. TILLEY: This is a joint session under the committees on Children, on the Family and the Community, and on Public Charities. Those of us from Massachusetts are trying as far as possible to eliminate the word "pension" in this consideration of relief to needy mothers. We do not believe this is a pension. It is public relief. It is not the purpose of the presiding officer to make extended remarks. The first speaker represents the State of Illinois, Mr. Sherman C. Kinglsey.

THE WORKING OF THE FUNDS TO PARENTS ACT IN ILLINOIS

Sherman C. Kingsley, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago.

Experiences with individual families and children in the operation of the juvenile court in Illinois was the leading factor in bringing about the Funds to Parents Law, passed in 1911. This law provided that dependent or neglected children, eligible for commitment to institutions, whose parents were too poor to properly care for them, might be kept at home under the care of the parents provided they were proper guardians otherwise, on the payment by the County Board to the parents of amounts specified by the court.

On the passage of the sweeping law, Judge Pinckney of the juvenile court called together a citizens' advisory committee of about twenty representatives of prominent agencies having important co-operative relations with the juvenile court. The purpose of this committee was, first, to be close enough to the situation to help interpret the problems to the community, and, second, to provide a case committee of five who should make investigations, review applications, and make recommendations to the judge on the granting of funds. In this way, the committee helping the regular probation force, the law was operated the first year. From July, 1911, to November, 1912, 512 families with 1,723 children were aided. $76,536.70 was granted. The average per family during this period was $21.99 per month. The average per child was $6.48 per month.

Through the efforts of Judge Pinckney, the County Agent, and the advisory committee, an amended law was passed in June, 1913, providing that a mother who is a citizen of the United States, who has resided in the county three years, whose husband is dead or permanently incapacitated for work, is entitled to the benefits of the law for her children upon complying with its further requirements. The aid is limited to $15 per month where there is but one child, $50 per month being the maximum allowed any one family.

Civil Service Rules

An important step in the administration of this law occurred when Judge Pinckney called upon a committee of citizens to act in the capacity of civil service examiners and to conduct an examination for a chief probation officer and for regular probation officers. Although this examination was not under the regular civil service commission, the special committee followed civil service principles and conducted an examination calculated to select the best candidates obtainable for these positions. Besides the chief probation officer, the staff of the Funds to Parents Division of the juvenile court consists of nineteen people,—the head of the division, a field supervisor, twelve district officers, an interviewer, a clerk, a stenographer, and two typists. For purposes of administration the city is divided into twelve districts and a worker is assigned to each. Each district officer has an average of about thirty families to supervise and guide. In addition they are expected to investigate new applications arising in their districts, averaging about five per month. The department has been running on this basis for a little over a year.

In studying its work one finds evidences that the department is alive to the whole need of the family. Questions of health, housing, employment, wages, adjustment of damage claims, school attendance, the continuance of children in school, putting forth efforts to secure for children specially gifted, or with handicaps or difficulties, that kind of training and opportunity which will meet their difficulties or give scope and range to their abilities. There appears to be a thorough knowledge of problems and resources and an understanding of the intrinsic possibilities of case work. The records show accuracy in statement of fact that is remarkable. In the opinion of leading social workers in Chicago as good case work is being done in the Funds to Parents Division as in any agency in the city. Many points about its work are more definite and accurate and standardized than any other in our city. The number of families to the visitor, the amount of funds available for each family, the definiteness of the application, have made it possible for these workers to evolve certain standards which are more explicit and exact than perhaps any that have been worked out before. The field supervisor is a trained dietitian and has done some interesting work in scientific home management. An interesting report for the year 1913 may be had by addressing Mr. Joel D. Hunter, Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago.

Adequacy of Relief

The second point to be treated is that of adequacy of relief. The report above referred to contains a table which lists the cases by the number in the family, gives the average income earned by the family, the estimated budget necessary, and the amount of money granted, thus showing the total average budget for the family. The table is as follows:

No. Families	No. Children to Family	Average Estimated Needed Budget Per Mo.	Average Income Earned by Family Per Mo.	Average Funds Granted Per Mo.	Average Income and Pension
58	2	$36.50	$17.56	$17.17	$34.73
99	3	42.30	18.04	26.93	44.97
95	4	49.50	22.03	27.80	49.83
43	5	56.70	24.91	22.63	47.54
32	6	66.17	32.23	30.16	62.39
11	7	72.53	36.54	30.41	66.95
4	8	73.88	37.50	40.00	77.50
1	9	84.00	50.00	42.00	92.00
2	10	83.65	50.50	32.50	83.00

So far as I know, this comes nearest to being adequate relief of any single experiment. Individual amounts are exceeded in families treated by the Jewish Charities of Chicago, the United Charities, and other agencies; but I think it would be impossible to find any other agency caring for 345 families with any such adequacy of relief as this piece of work going on in the Funds to Parents' Division of the juvenile court. In the year 1914, the average amount per family was $24.92 per month, and the average per child per month, $7.56.

So far, what has been said relates exclusively to Cook County. The law is applicable to the whole state, and there are 101 counties. As nearly as we can tell, only sixteen counties have availed themselves of the provisions of this law. Up to September, 1913, something like 52 families outside the city of Chicago have been aided. They were given sums ranging from $10.00 to $35.00 per family. 24 counties out of the 101 counties in the state have probation officers. In 11 counties only, I believe, are probation officers paid. In the other counties the probation officers are on a volunteer basis. These items are gathered from a report made by Miss Martin of the State Charities Commission. As nearly as can be learned from this report, something like $52,000.00 has been appropriated in counties outside of Cook County for this purpose, but considerably less than this amount has been spent; for not all the counties making appropriations have put the work into effect.

Problems in Small Communities

In many of the smaller communities there are very difficult problems, and usually only a few people conscious of the needs and desirous of making things better. In places of this kind it is probable that the administration of this law has all the objections usually attaching to outdoor relief, and probably has new ones added. Where social work is organized in the community, the law is apt to work better. In one county a judge has called a representative of the Associated Charities,

Visiting Nurses, and another group, in as a committee to advise on the operation of the law in somewhat the same way that Judge Pinckney did in Cook County.

The question has been raised whether there are not actually more children in institutions than there were when the law went into effect in Illinois. The answer to this is yes. However, the situation in Illinois should be understood before drawing conclusions.

When the law went into effect there were four institutions qualified under the industrial school law of Illinois to receive children from the courts and compensation from the county for such children. Under the administration referred to, twelve additional institutions qualified to so receive children. They represented different nationality groups who became very active and interested in behalf of their children. These intsitutions were already in operation and were receiving children from parents and friends. On the reorganization many of them transferred children already on the lists and not counted as county charges, to the county lists. In addition, others were received, so that this in itself affords an explanation for the increased number and activity. Then, too, the standards of care are constantly rising. In the past few years with us, the number of social workers in the field has more than doubled; medical inspection in schools, medical and nursing work in factories, shops, and in homes are bringing to the attention of charities vast numbers of people who formerly were not taken cognizance of.

Neither Judge Pinckney nor the social workers of Chicago in general look upon this work as a final or ideal solution of the problem. No group will more eagerly welcome the day when some form of insurance or any other more satisfactory and equitable way may be found to meet the difficulties. The judge has looked about for this kind of thing ever since he has sat on the bench, but looking has not found it. In the meantime, and while still himself striving for a better ultimate goal, he has put some of the best effort of his life into trying to make the administration of this law a success. In this effort he has had the wholehearted, loyal support of a large number of interested people in the city of Chicago.

ADEQUATE RELIEF TO NEEDY MOTHERS IN INDIANA

Amos W. Butler, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis.

I have been asked to speak for Indiana, and do not presume to speak for any other state.

Persons might differ concerning what is adequate relief to needy mothers, but we have a system of official relief in our state which has been in existence for one hundred years, with improvements from time

to time, by which we have a local official in every one of the thousand and sixteen townships, whose duty it is to see that no poor person suffers.

Under the series of poor relief laws, beginning in 1895, codified in 1901, the principles of charity organization work were enacted into law, providing for the investigation of cases, co-operation with private relief agencies, authority for giving relief as often as needed or as much as needed, and supervision by both county and state authorities. We do not say that the law is perfect, but it is the best that we know; or that the administration is ideal, but it is as good as the average man without previous training and experience can give. The officials are not encouraged to break up homes but to keep together every family in which the mother is a proper person to rear children.

We have in our state, by reason of a combination, a rather notable supervision. Under the compulsory education law, the State Inspection Bureau, the Township Overseer of the Poor, the Board of County Charities,[1] the Board of Children's Guardians,[2] the Probation Officer, the Juvenile Court,[3] conditions can not be very bad before they are known.

It has been charged that children are taken from their homes merely because of poverty and placed in institutions. We do not believe this is so in Indiana, and the testimony of our boards of children's guardians bears this out. Mr. Evans Woollen, who has been associated with the board of children's guardians in Indianapolis for twenty-five years, which has handled thousands of cases, says that to his knowledge there has never been a home broken up or a child removed from a home solely on account of poverty. Judge Sydney B. Davis, who from the beginning (1893) has been a member of the board of children's guardians of Vigo County, in writing recently said that their board had just completed its twenty-first anniversary and had received over three thousand children, and in that connection he has said that to his knowledge no child has been taken from a proper home on account of poverty alone. The testimony of these two gentlemen could be borne out by hundreds of others—men and women—who know the conditions in Indiana from actual study and from service on such boards.

I do not say that no home is ever broken up because of poverty, for there may be such an one occasionally, but there is no need of such a home being broken up because of poverty in our state under our present law.

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(1) May 1, 1914, 67 Boards of County Charities.
(2) May 1, 1914, 75 Boards of Children's Guardians.
(3) May 1, 1914, 92 Juvenile Courts.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS IN MISSOURI

Alfred Fairbank, Agent, St. Louis Board of Children's Guardians.

The first so-called widows' pension law which was passed by the Legislature of the State of Missouri became effective April 7, 1911. Many of the states west of the Mississippi soon followed the example of Missouri and passed laws that in language and method of enforcement were practically identical. After three years only a few of the eastern states have joined in this legislation, so that "Relief to Needy Mothers" may therefore be called a western innovation. There are several reasons for this. In the West, unlike the East, there is a distinct lack of well organized private charity societies financially able to meet the complex problems of fast developing communities. On the other hand, there is a growing belief that the burden of caring for the dependent mother and her children should rest upon the public as a whole and not upon a few philanthropically inclined individuals. Especially is this belief prevalent in cases where the death of the husband has resulted from occupational disease, preventable accident or tuberculosis, causes for which the community is more or less responsible. The granting of public relief in such instances is warranted as an act of social justice rather than public charity.

In Missouri there is no general law for the whole state, but two special laws applicable respectively to Kansas City and St. Louis. They present the two extremes of legislation on the subject, and their contrast is interesting. Only the essentials can be considered in this paper.

In Kansas City relief to widows with dependent children under working age came as a new development in the juvenile court system. The investigation of applications and the allotment of funds was made a part of the duties of that court. A special probation officer was detailed to investigate each application for relief and submit his findings to the judge. This report included visits to the home, church, school, place of employment and relatives, and was thorough in its detail. If it was favorable to the applicant, and the hearing before the judge brought out no new factors, then an allowance carefully calculated on a basis of real need was made to the mother. The law provided $10.00 per month for the first child and $5.00 each for the other children. This made it possible for the mother to remain at home and give her entire attention to her children without worrying about finances. The family was then placed under the supervision of an officer of the court, who visited them regularly and saw that all the terms of the allowance were carried out and that the family continued deserving and worthy. The results of this law in Kansas City were so satisfactory that the people interested in its operation combined in asking the 1913 legislature to broaden the terms so that

allowances might be made where fathers were in the penitentiary or insane asylum. The legislature granted their request. The law and its method of execution is receiving the approval and co-operation of all interested in the charity problems of Kansas City, and they agree that the funds provided for these families is money well spent.

Special Board in St. Louis

In St. Louis the development of "Relief to Needy Mothers" was part of a complete change in the policy of handling all classes of children. It took the form of a Board of Children's Guardians, composed of seven citizens appointed by the mayor for alternate terms and serving without compensation. This board has as its duty:—

1. The supervision of the St. Louis Industrial School, where, for fifty years, the city has provided a home for its delinquent, neglected and dependent children. This school is on a congregate basis, in the heart of the city and takes care of children of all ages, creeds and colors.

2. The immediate removal of the Industrial School to the beautiful Bellefontaine Farms, fifteen miles from the city, and its re-arrangement, for delinquents only, on the most modern cottage basis.

3. The creation of a placing-out department, properly officered, for the purpose of finding free and boarding homes for all children, except the delinquents, in the Industrial School, and for all new cases of dependent and neglected children, taken charge of by the board after an investigation by one of the officers of the department.

The first step after creating this new department, was to find homes for the children already in the board's care at the Industrial School. Here began a long campaign to arouse public interest in the boarding-out system as a means of caring for children. The board's employes, called visitors, soon became proficient in deciding what proper living conditions should be, the needs of a child in a home, and all the varied problems of family life that go to make an environment that will result either in good or bad future citizens. The members of the board also became proficient in considering the reports of these visitors. They soon knew what standards of living should be expected and maintained and learned to distinguish between good and bad cases. The law authorized them to pay for the board of children placed out, and where the mother is a widow and the investigation shows her home to be a good one, they can board the children with her. That constitutes the so-called widows' pension provision in the St. Louis law. Hence the board's preferred terminology "boarding children with their mother." The phrase is well taken because, after all, "Relief to Needy Mothers" is really a question of placing children.

The St. Louis law is good because its execution is in the hands of a board of private citizens who have charge of all the wards of the city, and are therefore acquainted with child problems as a whole.

The terms of the members expire at different periods, so that experienced members are always on the board. The officers of the placing-out department are under civil service, and hold their positions only so long as they are efficient and satisfactory. The investigations made by them are up to standard, and the allowances granted by the board are adequate to properly provide for the family. The supervision after the allowance is made by the same visitors, who look after the interests of all the children placed by the board. The law was placed upon the books because public and private charity officials joined hands and worked hard for it. United, they recognized a new problem, commanding their combined efforts, and set about to solve it with the best tools at hand. It is receiving the approbation of all, and we expect much good to come from its enforcement.

EXPERIENCE OF OHIO IN RELIEVING NEEDY MOTHERS

James F. Jackson, Superintendent, Associated Charities, Cleveland.

Ohio cannot yet be said to have had any appreciable experience in regard to mothers' pensions. It is only now possible to begin to grant the pensions.

During the 1913 session of the Ohio Legislature a Law was enacted permitting counties to levy taxes for the so-called "mothers' pensions." The money was to become available March 1, 1915. The recent extra session gave counties permission to transfer money for this purpose from other accounts. Such transfer of funds is being made in Cuyahoga County, in which Cleveland is situated, and in Hamilton County, in which is Cincinnati. Butler County, in which is Hamilton, and possibly other Ohio counties are also to try the experiment.

We must consider what it is, not what its friends or its opponents believed it might be. Some may look upon the law establishing mothers' pensions as upon the coming of a warm spring rain affording needed relief, causing life and beauty to burst forth; others may look upon it as a devastating hail, carrying ruin and destruction in its path. Whatever the preconceived idea, there is now a law and it alone can be considered.

According to the Ohio law, the juvenile court may, upon proper application, make an allowance for a six months' period for the partial support of women whose husbands are dead, or permanently disabled by means of physical or mental infirmity, or whose husbands are prisoners, or whose husbands have deserted for a period of three years.

To benefit by this law it is also necessary that the mother have living with her children below working age and that those of school age attend school. The grant can be made only when the mother would otherwise be obliged to work away from home. Its grant must be

necessary to save the children from neglect or to avoid breaking up the home. The mother must be moral, poor and competent. In short, the grant may be made only when a careful examination by the authorities shows it to be for the child's benefit to remain at home with its mother. The amount is $15 for one child and $7 for each additional child below legal working age.

Law Applies to Almost All Dependent Mothers

Thus you see that our Legislature not only provided for the children of needy widows but in a fervor of enthusiasm it attempted to help most other dependent women, who have children below the maximum age for school attendance. That age is 16 years except that a boy may quit at the age of 15 if he has completed the sixth grade. It would seem to have been as well if the law had been limited at first to dependent widows. The experience in the operation of that law would have indicated somewhat the wisdom and the conditions limiting or affecting its extension to other groups of dependent mothers. Moreover, the effect on private charity and its relief of other groups might have aided in a wise extension of the benefits of the law. But the public was in no mood for experiments, feeling that no presumed benefit should be withheld.

It seems to be the fashion at our conference to hold social workers responsible for what is alleged to go wrong. Cannot, then, the opponents of these pension schemes fairly hold us responsible for enactment of such laws in many states? Have not charity organization societies for years urged adequate relief? Have they not given much publicity to the needs of widows and dependent mothers? And yet, have they not been unable to beg, borrow or otherwise acquire the money to meet these demands? Has not the children's section inveighed against taking children from good mothers; and settlements and civic organizations urged that the child is father to the man, a sound body is essential to a sound mind and to sound morals. Gradually the public assimiliates these truths and puts the whole subject flat on the tax payer, even if the cost is much greater than was necessary to accomplish the same results through private philanthropy.

For instance, in Cleveland the county committees express the willingness to expend more money upon the bare material relief for needy mothers in this limited group of our problems than the Associated Charities could acquire for service and relief of all its varied problems. Some good tax payers will pay dear for their failure to contribute and they may expect other public relief schemes to follow now that the plan is started. But no one of these schemes nor all of them will relieve organized charity of its peculiar responsibility to search in a most painstaking manner for the real cause of distress and the manner of its alleviation and prevention.

The mothers' pension law enacted by the legislature is not intended

to be a poor relief measure. Debates and prior discussion put it on the basis of service to the state, in rearing its future elements of strength,—its citizens. Nevertheless in practice we must consider it as partially a relief measure. Hamilton County has 1,000 applicants and has $60,000 for a year available. Its officer estimates it can care for 150 to 200. Many will be of service to the state. Yet the money must go to those who need most. Thus it actually becomes something of a relief measure.

Action at Cleveland and Cincinnati

In Cuyahoga County there are 803 applicants. Pensions have been granted to 74 thus far, with an expenditure of $1,848 per month. The lowest is $15 per month and the highest is $50. Grants are limited by a tax levy of one-tenth of a mill. The grants will not exceed the legally taxable amount in either county.

In Cuyahoga County a committee, of the chief probation officer, the officer in charge of the distribution of mothers' pensions, and the assistant superintendent of the Associated Charities, has been selected to advise with the judge of the Juvenile Court in making grants. In Hamilton County a citizens committee of five volunteers, who know social work, were asked by the judge to advise with him in rendering decisions. The judge in Cuyahoga County asked the co-operation of the Associated Charities, which it was more than glad to give by the use of its numerous records of applicants, reports on these records, the loan of a worker, the aid of its Assistant Superintendent, and the use of the Clearing House records.

So in Hamilton County, the Court appointed three additional Probation Officers. All private organizations aid in the investigations directed by an ex-associated charities man, T. J. Edmonds. Although their Clearing House is new, it shows 41% of applicants are already known. Because of limited funds and unlimited applicants, the Court is working out graded lists to determine who are neediest and aid them first. The purpose is to give adequate amounts as the fund permits.

As a community proposition, the wise position in Ohio, at least, is for all to help direct the force so as to accomplish good for all. The community is sound at heart. The underlying purpose is not harmful. There is no danger if the intelligent and powerful work with those who would rise. The danger will come if their purposes are thwarted until they become frantic.

Social consciousness has grown tremendously in the last ten years and especially in the last four. Out of that came so many activities for the benefit of all that they cannot be cared for by the old organizations. This creates a tendency in legislation which for a time is to dominate. Opposition is as useless as opposition to a tide. But working with the movement it can be directed to achieve good.

The application of volunteer service to the solution of problems

chiefly rests with the organized charity whose responsibility is to organize the charity of its community. In Ohio that fact is thoroughly appreciated. Nay more, it is believed and practised by the senator who introduced the bill to provide for mothers' pensions and by the judges and other officers of the juvenile courts of its two great counties, where the law is to have its initial trial. These counties are so insistent as to set the standards of administering the law; they are so large and powerful as probably to determine its success or failure in the Buckeye State.

We are not at all sure where we are going but we are sure that we will work together, public and private agencies, and that good will prevail.

ADEQUATE RELIEF TO NEEDY MOTHERS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Stanley H. Howe, Educational Secretary, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

A year ago the state legislature of Pennsylvania, caught in an irresistible tide of popular sentiment, passed an act providing for public aid to indigent widowed or abandoned mothers. The passage of this act was vigorously opposed on the floor of the legislature by a group of prominent social workers who cordially believed that the so-called mothers' pension system was wrong in theory and would be pernicious in practice. Conscientious as these social workers were, they had doubtless overlooked one fact—that the mothers' pension movement was a direct outgrowth of an awakened public interest in humanitarian questions which they themselves had been largely responsible for creating. It was another case of Gobbo failing to recognize his own child. During the last five years as never before the people of Pennsylvania have been taught to think and feel that the community should adopt a larger conception of its social obligations, and that city, county and state should join in relieving private charity of some of the burdens which it has been becoming increasingly difficult for private responsibility to bear.

It is significant that the same legislature which passed the Mothers' Pension Bill provided also for the establishment of a state industrial reformatory for women, made an initial appropriation for the scientific treatment of inebriates, and for the first time in the history of the state made a special provision for the protection and segregation of feeble-minded women of child-bearing age. These new measures all exemplify the awakening of a new social spirit in Pennsylvania, a spirit which all social workers must join in commending, whether or not they may approve of the forms in which it expressed itself.

The Plan Described

There is nothing new or unique in the Pennsylvania plan of public aid to needy mothers. As in other states, the sum of money allowed to fulfill the purpose of the bill is ludicrously inadequate. $200,000 for a period of two years was the total amount granted in a state which has a population of approximately eight millions. This amount was apportioned to the various counties of the commonwealth according to their respective populations, with the provision, however, that no county should receive its allotment unless an equal amount had been provided by the county desiring the benefits of the act.

The administration of the fund in each county was placed in the hands of not less than five and not more than seven women trustees, who are appointed annually by the governor. Though the services of the trustees are entirely voluntary the actual work of investigation and family visiting is performed by a paid social worker appointed by the trustees.

The Pennsylvania act provides that the maximum payment per month shall not exceed twelve dollars for one child, twenty dollars for two children, twenty-six dollars for three children and five dollars for each additional child. It also provides that no family should be a beneficiary under this act unless the mother has been a continuous resident of the county in which she applies for aid for a period of three years.

Operating in Six Counties

The mothers' pension system is now in operation in six counties in Pennsylvania, while two other counties have made their local appropriation and are awaiting the appointment of trustees. Since the first pension was granted, early in January, until the first of May, three hundred and five families have been given aid through this fund in Pennsylvania. Because of their inadequate resources the trustees in the various counties have deemed it necessary to follow a somewhat inflexible classification of families in making their decisions regarding the granting of pensions. In Philadelphia, for example, a widow with only one child has practically been regarded as ineligible for pension. In Pittsburgh the abandoned mother has been excluded entirely for the present, while the widow with any children above the working age has received only secondary consideration. In spite of its handicaps, however, the Pittsburgh board has thus far appeared to demonstrate that public relief of this kind can be administered wisely if the right type of people are selected to assume the responsibility. The actual work of investigation and family visiting in Pittsburgh is performed by a former worker of the local Associated Charities.

A disturbing incident in the mothers' pension movement in Pennsylvania has been the recent action of Judge Gorman of the Juvenile

Court of Philadelphia in making an order on the county commissioners for the support of a widow with five children. The commissioners have appealed this judgment to the Superior Court, insisting that the Mothers' Pension Board is the proper body to honor such an order. Little is to be expected as a result of this controversy except an additional testimony of the inadequacy of present resources for providing for indigent widowed mothers.

The younger generation of social workers has properly looked to those who are older and wiser for light and guidance concerning the theory and philosophy of mothers' pensions. Bewildered, however, by the conspicuous differences of opinion among the patriarchs in social thinking, and still unsupported by any reliable evidence to be drawn from the brief experience of a few states, may we not nevertheless for our own satisfaction set down a few conclusions which seem to us clear and sound.

Three Conclusions

First: That it is the duty of all social workers in whatever special field they may be engaged to direct their energies toward the prevention of the conditions which seem to make mothers' pensions necessary. Our war against tuberculosis, our up-hill fight to check the propagation of the feeble-minded, our demands for workmen's compensation, social insurance, reduction of high rents and the oppressive cost of living, and our efforts in behalf of all other forms of social justice must persist until we have stopped making widows whom in turn we must support.

Second: That until that remote goal has been achieved, society owes a debt to the indigent widowed mother which it must pay. Social workers, in whatever field of effort they are engaged, cannot fail to observe the two important tendencies which are universally affecting our charities throughout the nation today: first, the tendency of old contributors to decrease or discontinue their subscriptions to private relief societies and the increasing difficulty of securing new contributors; and, secondly, the tendency of our government,—nation, state, county and city,—to assume a large and still larger social responsibility. This latter tendency social workers themselves have been largely responsible for creating, and now that they have started it they are powerless to check it if they would. If these two tendencies are actual and not imaginary, they make the establishment of mothers' pensions almost a mathematical certainty. It is, therefore, the duty of social workers, even those who are conscientiously opposed to the theory of mothers' pensions, to cease looking askance at the movement and aiming to discredit it before it has been given a chance to succeed, and to direct their effort toward making its operation efficient, honest and humane.

Third: That the fact that public outdoor relief has universally

been a failure in the United States is not satisfactory evidence that it must always continue to be a failure. City government, once regarded as of almost impossible virtue, has demonstrated again and again in recent years its potential capacity for righteousness. Municipal charities, in spite of a record of juvenile delinquency, have exhibited a remarkable improvement in character during the past decade. In New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and other prominent American cities, a trained social worker is now at the head of the department of charities. With the advent in increasing numbers of qualified social workers into the field of public charity, and with the development of public vigilance in humanitarian affairs, the administration of pensions to needy mothers, as well as all other features of public welfare work, promises to become steadily more and more intelligent, effective and independent of partisan politics.

RELIEF TO NEEDY MOTHERS IN NEW YORK

Robert W. Hebberd, Secretary, State Board of Charities, Albany.

New York is, from my viewpoint, a backward state because we have at present no legislation providing for the adequate relief of the widowed mother and her children. But we hope and we believe that we shall be able to make a better report on this subject next year. Conditions in our state are peculiar. In New York City there is practically no public outdoor relief. What is given there is confined to the blind, to the G. A. R. veteran, and to relief given at the public dispensaries. For years the private charities of the city of New York have promised to take care of the poor who needed help in their homes. Owing perhaps to the fact that other states in the Union were providing public relief more freely than ever before the subject was agitated, first, where the relief was most needed, in the city of New York.

A committee of the City Conference of Charities and Correction made the first investigation. That committee, of which Dr. O. F. Lewis was chairman, found the great relief societies of the city were too poor in money to take care of the families of widows properly. That report was contested to some extent by some of the societies, and later on another committee was appointed, of which Mr. Frank Tucker was chairman, to investigate the same subject. That committee has also made a report. It has examined as part of its work the families of 460 widows from which children were committed in the city of New York in 1912, and has found that in 100 of such cases, a little over twenty per cent., commitment might have been prevented by assistance in the home.

That committee, however, further found these significant facts, which are not dwelt upon except superficially in the report: Out of these 460 families 189 mothers were ill or in an institution. Those of

us who know how the widow is broken down in the city of New York by being compelled to go out to work early and late can well understand how many of these cases are ill or in institutions through this cause. Then they further found 121 families where the mother was unable to control the children, or child, it being incorrigible or truant. Those who are familiar with juvenile court work know how many of these children become incorrigible and truant because mothers, through poverty, are forced to go to work and neglect their children. It is a fact that in the juvenile court of Chicago it has been found that cases previously troublesome on this account give no trouble when the mother is adequately helped and allowed to remain at home to take care of her children.

State Commission to Investigate

Further than that, we have had an investigation by a state commission. Some of the private societies opposed the passage of an act providing an adequate governmental system of relief for widowed mothers and children for the city of New York, and we proposed a state commission to investigate the matter. That commission was composed of fifteen members, some appointed by the Assembly, some by the Senate, and some by the Governor, and it was my duty to act as director of that investigation. I can claim to know as much about conditions with relation to the relief of widowed mothers and their children in the city of New York and the state of New York—for we were confined to that particular study—as anyone who has looked into this matter; because the work of planning the inquiry devolved upon me and I went into all the records presented to the commission.

We have in our state a system of outdoor relief in other parts of the state than New York City. In other words, in every other part of the state except the city of New York outdoor relief is permitted. In some of the cities the work is carried on very well by the commissioners of charities who are officers of superior intelligence, but in probably a thousand towns in the state it is carried on poorly indeed by the overseers of the poor, and I have no hope that those overseers will ever be made competent to attend to that work properly. I believe that because they are not chosen by reason of fitness. They are chosen largely because of politics, and the distribution of help is largely along the same lines. I have not the optimistic faith in these town officers that is possessed by my friend Butler. Perhaps there is some difference in the Indiana air.

Many of us have earnestly sought to secure the passage of legislation, while on the other hand there has been a good deal of opposition, the opposition of the relief societies, the opposition of some of the children's institutions which thought that children would be taken away from them if this law were enacted, the opposition of the Russell Sage Foundation, which had a great deal of money to spend to investigate

this subject, apparently for the purpose of proving that to help widows through public funds would be a dangerous thing. But it apparently had not a single cent to spend to show some other way in which the widows of the city of New York, with their dependent children, could be assisted. It seems to me that the Foundation's opposition in this particular matter fully justifies Dr. Devine's objection to the incorporation by the United States Congress of the Rockefeller Foundation.

As a result of our investigation we introduced at the last session of the legislature a bill providing for the relief of widowed mothers. It passed the Assembly by a vote of 98 to 2. One Assemblyman who voted against it did so, he said, because of a telegram received from the vice-president of the Charity Organization Society. In the Senate we had a clear majority pledged, but one objection at the close of the session killed the measure. Before the next session of the legislature the report of the commission will be printed, and a large amount of publicity will be given to the report and to the general cause, and we hope that then New York state will get in line with all its sister states of the North and West in giving adequate help to widows with children. Any state which, like New York, can spend three hundred million dollars a year in drink can well afford to spend a million dollars to help the widow and her children.

RELIEF OF NEEDY MOTHERS IN NEW YORK

Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City.

There is an article in the current Atlantic Monthly by Mr. Firkins on "The Cult of the Passing Hour" in which he speaks of our having established a new provincialism that substitutes "a slit of time" for "a nook of space." This article I can but think of in connection with the subject under discussion, because we seem in considering the widow to have been living in a "slit of time." Living in a "slit of time" we sometimes forget the history of charity work in this country. Amos Warner tells of the gradual differentiating of the functions of the almshouse, but also of the gradual concentrating of outdoor relief effort, so that the family becomes the unit in treatment and the aim of the private agencies is not only to reach the family as a whole, but to care for all types of families which need care. What has been said by some of the speakers in regard to public outdoor relief in some of our states makes me feel that if we get away from considering the care of the widow as such and take up the hard task of raising the standard of public outdoor relief, not for a particular class, but for all, we shall make a more distinctive and important contribution to the question of public outdoor relief in the United States.

I do not think we should accept it as a fact that in any state the reform of our public outdoor relief system is hopeless and that, there-

fore, we must segregate a section of the people who need to be cared for and prepare for them some particular form of assistance.

As to New York City, I feel strongly from my individual experience that we who are working in private charitable societies have come woefully short of meeting the obligation to care adequately for the widow. But it is astonishing what has been done in this campaign to quicken the sense of the importance of really considering the needs of the widow. Those of us who have felt that we do not wish to have a new form of care introduced in New York City, have, I trust, been quickened, by the devoted efforts of many people, to see our shortcomings more clearly than we could have done without this agitation. Every bit of honest effort put into the consideration of this question is counting with the relief societies. I do believe that in the difficult task of creating a technique of case work, of really trying to dignify case work so that it may become an art, we are going to make more sure progress if the responsibility for developing case work be carried by the private society rather than by the public agency. A private society might not have been able in a short space of time to do for widows what Chicago, with the attention of some of its best social workers concentrated on the task, has done to make its new pension system effective. At any moment, however, the system may be subject to sharp reversals through some change in the political situation. Grounding my faith on a belief in a steady development of the art of case work in this country, I feel we are going to progress more surely if we move along the line of a differentiation of duties, leaving outdoor care in the big cities in large measure to the private societies and indoor care to the public agencies,—the one reacting on the other. To demand of the state that it shall give relief to the widow and her children tends to lessen the family's sense of responsibility for its own. Those of us who are southerners know how in the years that followed the Civil War there grew up a strong sentiment that the strong should stand by the weak. We have seen the splendid response made by our families to that demand. In the long run there will be less suffering for the widow, and for all who are dependent, if this great principle of family solidarity, calling upon the strong members of the family to support the weak, is observed. It is not a question merely of the expenditure of money; it is a question of really caring for the widow and her children.

ADEQUATE RELIEF TO DEPENDENT MOTHERS IN MASSACHUSETTS

David F. Tilley, Member, State Board of Charity, Boston.

Massachusetts enacted legislation in June, 1913, known as Chap. 763 of the Legislative Acts of that year, entitled "An Act to Provide for Suitably Aiding Mothers with Dependent Children."

Massachusetts occupies a rather unique position in comparison with other states, inasmuch as for centuries outdoor relief has been distributed through the local overseers of the poor in their respective cities and towns. The new law provides that in every city and town the overseers of the poor *shall*, in accordance with the law, aid all mothers with dependent children under fourteen years of age, if such mothers are fit to bring up their children.

Before aiding any mother under the new law, however, the overseers of the poor shall determine that she is fit to bring up her children and that the other members of the household and the surroundings of the home are such as to make for good character, and that aid from the overseers is necessary to enable her to bring up her children properly, by making an immediate and careful inquiry including the resources of the family and the ability of its other members, if any, to work or otherwise contribute to its support, the existence of relatives able to assist the family, and of individuals, societies or agencies who may be interested therein; shall take all lawful means to compel all persons bound to support the mother and children to support them, and to enforce any other legal rights for their benefit; shall press all members of the family who are able to work, other than the mother and her dependent children, to secure work, shall try to secure work for them; and shall secure all necessary aid for the mother and children which can be secured from relatives, organizations or individuals.

The Act provides that the overseers shall arrange for having families aided under the law visited at least once in every three months at their homes or other place or places where they may be living and, in addition, the state board of charity shall supervise the work through its own trained visitors, and in its annual report to the legislature report upon the work done by its own agents and by the overseers of the poor. The legislation further provided that the state should of course assume the entire cost of all unsettled cases and reimburse the cities and towns for one-third the amount which they expended on their settled cases.

Action of State Board

The State Board of Charity, after careful consideration, adopted a set of policies which they transmitted to all overseers of the poor and asked co-operation in their application. They suggested that aid should be of the kind best adapted to the needs of the individual family. In many cases a partial allowance of cash is desirable; but the Board suggested that only in cases where the mother is intelligent and judicious should the full allowance be in cash. Cash allowances should be granted weekly, never monthly.

They recommended, also, that families who have not resided in the commonwealth for three years subsequent to Sept. 1, 1913, should not be considered as coming within the provisions of the Act for if

such a rule were not established many families who were residents of Massachusetts years ago might return from other states for the express purpose of becoming beneficiaries.

It was further suggested that unless a family was to require relief for a period of at least a year, they should not be brought in under this new law as short time cases can be handled by private charities, by churches, or under the existing temporary aid law.

In addition, it was suggested that the law should not serve as a palliative for desertion. It, therefore, seems unwise to consider an application under this Act until after one year has elapsed since the desertion occurred, and the mother has shown her desire to ameliorate conditions by requesting the court to issue a warrant for non-support under the provisions of Chap. 456 of the Acts of 1911, and amendments thereto. The overseers should use their influence to strengthen the sense of responsibility for children by making the lot of the deserting father less, and not more, eligible.

Requirements Regarding Employment Variable

The mother should not discontinue her employment unless it is apparent her health is being impaired, or the children require more personal supervision. In many instances, it may be desirable to arrange for a different kind of employment, or discontinuance of service for a portion of the week. There are undoubtedly relatives or other reliable persons living with many of these families who can give the dependent children proper attention during the mother's absence. To insist that the mother shall not work, regardless of home conditions, would tend to discourage that desire for thrift and independence which is an essential element in society. The policy should be stimulative and constructive, rather than destructive.

To carry out the intent of this law, which applies only to families providing a proper environment for the dependent children, the State Board decided that the presence of male lodgers presents dangers incompatible with the best interests of the family; and declines to reimburse in such cases. The board prefers, if necessary, to reimburse, in accordance with the law, for additional relief granted to meet the reduction of income caused by such removal.

The State Board suggested that no one can draw an arbitrary line between a fit and unfit mother. The extremes of fitness or unfitness all will agree upon; it is the doubtful cases about which questions would arise. Since this aid which the public gives is adequate, the board feels that we can ask a fairly high standard of character and home care from the mothers. With such a reward in view, it is a poor sort of woman who will not do well. The public authorities can make adequate relief a powerful lever to lift and keep mothers to a high standard of home care. If we grant aid to any woman whose care of her children will just pass muster, we throw away a chance to make

these women improve. If, on the contrary, we make relief under this law conditional on a fairly high standard of home care, we shall find that the mothers will rise to this standard. The fact is that a mother of little children who will not attend conscientiously to their diet, cleanliness, health and conduct for the sake of an adequate income, steadier possibly than were her husband's wages, is not the sort of woman Massachusetts wants to help under this act.

In fine, possible and actual beneficiaries will adapt thomselves to the conditions which attend the receipt of this relief. We can hardly exaggerate the beneficent influence which a relief policy, administered always with broad educational aims in mind, may exercise on the people of the state.

Co-operation of Public and Private Charities

The Board believes that effective help for the needy is conditional upon close and cordial co-operation between public and private charities. "Co-operation" between charities includes either or both of two sorts of relation; the agencies may divide among them the needy families, agreeing not to trespass on each other's cases, or they may consult and work together on the same cases. A division of the field of work is a business arrangement often necessary to economy of effort. On the other hand, public and private charities need to consult with each other on the treatment of individual cases in order that each may profit by the other's point of view. The private charity that holds aloof becomes narrow, provincial; the public charity that tries to be sufficient unto itself ends by giving perfunctory care to its charges. Because of the privilege which private charities have of limiting the amount of their work, they can often exercise closer supervision over their cases than is possible to public visitors. Either associated charities, children's societies, district nursing associations or churches may further the work of the overseers by visiting and by keeping the overseers informed of home conditions in the intervals of official visits.

Additional Rules

Subsequently the State Board of Charity, after holding special conferences with the overseers of the poor, adopted the following additional policies:

It is the feeling of the Board that it is hardly fair to expect public funds to support a child through the high school, and that while we are in sympathy with children receiving all the education possible, where the child is going to high school the support should come from private sources.

While it would be possible under the law for you to aid a mother with one child, it is the feeling of this Board that any competent woman with one child should be able to take care of herself.

If a member of a family aided under Chap. 763, Acts of 1913, has tuberculosis, and, in the judgment of a reputable physician, needs sanatorium treatment, the patient must make application for admission to a sana-

torium, and must agree to go to a sanatorium at the first opportunity. Meanwhile, if there is any anti-tubercular society or nursing association in the city or town that association shall be requested to have supervision of the patient and the other members of the family should be given a medical examination.

The new Adequate Relief law, while enacted in June, 1913, did not become operative until Sept. 1, 1913, and up to May 1, 1914, notices have been received from 140 cities and towns, there being:

SETTLED CASES:			
Widows	1,452	(Dependent children)	4,458
Not widows	523	(under 14 years.)	1,690
	1,975		
STATE CASES:			
Widows	131	"	424
Not widows	103	"	317
TOTAL	2,209	TOTAL	6,889

The average number of dependent children under 14 years of age for each family is three. The amount of aid given by the overseers of the poor has ranged from $1.00 to $15.00 per week. The last computation, made Feb. 24, of the average amount of aid furnished to each family, was $5.42 per week, or $281.84 per year. In this computation 1,889 families were considered. The estimate submitted to the legislature for the Commonwealth's share, for the 15 months ending Nov. 30, 1914, was $175,000. This included an estimate of $15,000 for the first three months' operations. A conservative estimate of unacceptable cases will probably be about one-third of the families for whom notices have been received.

Problems of Local Charity
Section, May 15, 9:00 A. M.

VAGRANCY

Stuart A. Rice, representing Hon. John A. Kingsbury, Commissioner of Charities, New York City.

When Commissioner Kingsbury found that he could not be present to address you upon Vagrancy this morning, he decided to send a real vagrant in his stead. The fact that Mr. Kingsbury himself, during earlier years, lived the life of a homeless man, and knows through intimate contact the meaning of the phrase "down and out," has been widely noted in the press as an assurance of his ability to deal with the problems of his department in a sympathetic way.

Since becoming Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City, he has desired to renew his earlier impressions gained by living among the vagrants and casual workers, if not through his own eyes, then at least through the eyes of a confidential inspector. Several weeks ago, therefore, the commissioner relieved me of all my money

and turned me out on the streets of New York in the outfit of a hobo. Since then I have begged on the street corners, I have bummed on the Bowery, I have stood in the lines at the City Lodging House and have worked in the stone yard. My story has been so pitiful that I have wrung the hearts of policemen and touched them for a handout. And again, I have been driven along the street with a volley of abuse.

This has not been my first experience as a vagrant or a casual worker. During the past year I have seen some of the industrial life awaiting the unemployed when they return to their season of labor. I have worked with the Wops in a tunnel on a western railroad, where the water came to our knees; where we loaded debris from the blasts in a gaseous passageway which was only breast high, and dripping with water and ooze. And at night I have slept in a bunkhouse surpassing in its dangers to life and health even the tunnel, where life was cheap enough.

Imagine Yourself a Beggar

I presume nearly every one has had the common experience of standing alone in a strange place, perhaps in a great city, far from home and friends, and feeling a pang of homesickness, of weariness or depression that seemed to unnerve you. But have you tried to imagine at such a time what your feelings would be if in addition you were without money, without work, without food and clothing sufficient to enable you to obtain work?

On a cold and stormy night have you ever placed your hand in your pocket and realized that there was nothing there with which to buy a meal or bed? Have you known what it is to walk the streets day after day seeking work and finding nothing but rebuffs? And, most disheartening of all, have you felt the insidious, downward pull of the undertow, the loosening of your moral grip, a deterioration of your character which you seemed powerless to prevent, a growth within your own mind of an aimless attitude toward the world in which nothing much seemed important but the animal needs of existence? Until you have experienced some of this, or have at least put yourself in such a position by a vivid imagination, you will be unable to grasp the point of view of the homeless man, or deal with him in a sympathetic manner.

During two years of a college course, I studied the facts of vagrancy and unemployment objectively and found interesting phenomena; but when I found myself studying vagrancy *introspectively* these phonomena were filled with a new, vital meaning and human importance. I saw at work upon my *own* character the influences, both physical and psychic, that produce the vagrant and the criminal. And I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, most seriously, that it may be only by the

grace of God that the bum or beggar on his way to the workhouse is not you or me.

It is not my intention to present an appeal for your sympathy nor to give you merely a narrative of experiences. Neither is it necessary to call your attention to the extent of vagrancy, or its many evils. Rather I wish in this paper to outline the problem in New York to-day, as it appears to one who has himself been "up against it," and to indicate on behalf of Mr. Kingsbury, some of the policies of the Department of Public Charities toward this problem as they are being worked out by himself and his associates.

New York Facts

On my first day as a "down-and-out" in Manhattan, I applied to fifty policemen for help. One gave me money, others food, and forty-six out of the fifty directed me to the Municipal Lodging House. This institution, in the plans of Mr. Kingsbury, is to be the center of attack upon vagrancy in New York City. I say "is to be" rather than "is" for up to the present the attacks have been feeble, indeed.

Under the direction of Mr. William Whiting, who has just been appointed acting superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House, an investigation was made during the winter into the physical and social condition of 2,000 applicants at this institution. I asked Mr. Whiting if any new or unusual facts had been developed by his work. "No," he said, "the only thing unusual was the object of our inquiries. We sought for information that would help the men investigated, and give them needed treatment, rather than for facts which would furnish statistics. What the men need is help in getting on their feet."

The tabulations from this investigation have not yet been completed. It has already shown, however, that the greater proportion of applicants are unemployed from no inherent shortcomings of their own, and are susceptible to the proper kind of constructive aid. The lessons taught by the study are being wrought by Mr. Whiting into constructive and practical methods of management.

The most striking fact coming to my attention as an inmate of the lodging house (and this was before the recent shake-up in the institution) was the chaotic way in which the whole problem of the homeless man was handled. This is an oft-repeated criticism but it has continued to be valid. The able bodied vagrant who "won't work," the weak or infirm man who "can't work," the summer worker who winters in the city, the sturdy mechanic or the clerk temporarily out of a job, all were in the line together, and each received the same treatment. No efforts were made to put the individual on his feet or give him appropriate aid. The assistance rendered served to keep him in the same helpess condition. This assistance partook of the nature both of exploitation and of charity. For a bed and food our

services were at command, practically, of the city until about five o'clock each evening. On the other hand we were assigned to tasks in which we knew that there was no economic value, and which afforded merely the pretense of work. On one occasion a gang of some fifty men to which I belonged was directed by the foreman to sweep the dust in the road into a windrow in the center; and having completed this useful task, to spread it out as it had been before. With more men than could be utilized even at tasks such as these, men and foremen connived at loafing on the job.

"Work" of this kind made our already shabby clothing worse and gave the honest seeker for work no opportunity to find it. But for the true vagrant, the opportunity to loaf, which the day afforded, was not usually at all unpleasant.

At the National Conference at Minneapolis in 1907, Mr. Orlando F. Lewis summed up the failure of the present methods in dealing with vagrancy in the statement that they were "neither sufficiently repressive to the vagrant by intention nor sufficiently helpful to the accidental wayfarer." Seven years later the same criticism sums up the situation. We are not even able to distinguish between the involuntary unemployed and the impostor. How can treatment be differentiated when the subjects themselves are not?

Treatment with Discrimination

The first practical requirement, then, in the treatment of vagrancy is to segregate the vagrants; to separate the homeless dependents applying for relief into groups such that appropriate relief may be given for each. For many years we have talked of the need for such segregation, but it yet remains the first thing to be done. Perhaps the most simple classification for purposes of constructive treatment will be into those, first, who are incapable of self-support; second, those who are capable but not willing; third, those who are both capable and willing. It is for the last class only that the Municipal Lodging House is intended. Those in the first two classes will be cared for, when necessary, in other institutions.

Night after night in the lines beside me at the Municipal Lodging House I have seen homeless and feeble old men whose days of productiveness were apparently ended. To care for such men there is unfair to them, to their fellow-lodgers and to the city.

Professional beggars seldom apply at the Municipal Lodging House, or at any other institution. Usually their only contact with the city government is through the police department, and there it is all too infrequent. The able beggar is assured of an easy living without application for relief, which is considered dangerous. A beggar of my acquaintance, whose leg is amputated below the knee, assured me that "if the police do not bother me too much" he takes in easily $2.50

per day. I believe this statement to be very conservative. Strong, young and intelligent, although a beggar for six years, this man could easily become an independent member of society in spite of his handicap.

While many professional beggars are incapable, physically, of productive labor, at least without special training, a great many belong to the second class I have mentioned—those who are able but unwilling to work. To simulate misfortune is very easy.

Doing one of my arms up in a newspaper for splints, encasing it in a small roll of bandage tape and hanging it in a sling, I sat on a Third Avenue corner one afternoon and received contributions at a rate in excess of eighty-five cents an hour. Of eleven contributors within thirteen minutes, nine were women of the poorer class doing their afternoon shopping. I am strong, husky and in perfect health; I could work on the docks for twenty-five cents an hour, but it would be tedious and exhausting. Why not work the charitable public for bigger pay? There is just enough of the spice of danger from the police in it to satisfy the gaming instinct in the true sportsman!

Another type of vagrant who is unwilling to work, but somewhat lower in the social scale than the professional beggar, is the rounder, frequently a bum, often a petty criminal, begging or stealing as opportunity arises. These men utilize all of the possibilities of living for nothing that the city affords.

It may be that discussion of the man who is genuinely "down on his luck," who is temporarily suspended from a place in regular industry, should not be found in a paper on vagrancy. Such a man should not be classed as a vagrant, and the only adequate treatment is to find him a job. But right here is the key to much of our problem: In all but too few cases the job is not forthcoming; loss of self-respect and deterioration of character set in almost immediately and within a few months the once steady worker may have changed to a shiftless, casual and caloused hobo. The "worthy unemployed" of whom we have heard so much talk is a highly perishable individual—if you leave him unemployed very long he will no longer be "worthy." If you give him temporary, casual work only, he will soon be unemployable.

Unemployed and Unemployable

Unemployment is the parent of vagrancy. "No, Jack," said a mar in a western construction camp to me as he prepared to go to town with his stake, "I haven't drawed a check on pay day but twice in the past year. I worked steady when I was a kid, too, but I got to beating it around to where I could get the jobs, and it got into my blood. I could not hold down a job longer 'n two weeks now if I was made to. I got to keep moving."

The vast portion of those who are unemployed from choice, were in the beginning unemployed from necessity.

On the border line between regular industry and hopeless vagrancy is a great and growing class of men. They are of service to society, because industry sometimes demands them. But they are never far removed from dependency and the necessity for relief. The greater part of the world's activity to-day is seasonal, and the slack and rush seasons of the larger occupations tend roughly to correspond. Unemployment is not merely a problem of "bringing the jobless man and the manless job together," as we have so frequently been told, for our present industrial organization requires that a greater number of persons be unemployed in winter months than in the summer. Men out of work flock to the urban centers and there follows an annual winter problem of relief—an inevitable result of our industrial system—the army of the unemployed.

Any solution of the vagrancy question must go farther and deeper than mere acts of repression for the individual vagrant. It must close up the recruiting stations of vagrancy by attacking unemployment—our great industrial evil. It was pointed out at the recent National Conference of Unemployment in New York that the first moves to be taken in this attack should be first, an organization of the labor market, through establishment of labor exchanges; second, regularization of industry to reduce seasonal and casual labor to a minimum; and, third, insurance against whatever unemployment was then found to remain. National, or at least state action must be invoked to adequately carry out the parts of this program. In the meantime local authorities continue in a hundred different ways to handle a national problem.

A great number of casual summer workers have accumulated a sufficient amount in their season's work to maintain them in a miserable fashion through the winter. They fill the cheap lodging houses and hang out in saloons. To one who has not tried it, it is remarkable how long the spark of life may be kept alive by an occasional nickel for a glass of beer and attending free lunch privileges. According to an estimate by one of my friends in this class, a man may live "comfortably" in New York on six or seven dollars per month!

But an ever increasing number look to the municipality to provide food and lodging when their own resources are exhausted. Consequently they become reckless in their expenditures, and the mere provision of the Municipal Lodging House undoubtedly adds to the number of men who seek its aid. As Frederic C. Almy has so aptly said, "Relief, like cocaine, relieves pain, but creates an appetite." Having food and shelter for the winter assured, there is no compelling motive for saving or for accepting winter work when offered. A strong tendency in the direction of vagrancy is thus unavoidably given by the very institution endeavoring to combat it.

Policy of New York Department

For each of the types of men I have been describing, distinctive and appropriate treatment should be applied. And it is the aim of Commissioner Kingsbury to make the Municipal Lodging House the diagnosing agency in which the treatment required in any particular case should be determined. This is the keynote of the policy of the Department of Public Charities of New York City toward homeless men; relief or treatment suited to individual needs, by means of adequate diagnosis of individual cases.

To put this policy into effect, the department has several plans in process of development. Originality is claimed for none of them, for perfection of existing machinery and better co-ordination between its parts is of greater present importance than the creation of new institutions.

1. The staff of the Lodging House is being thoroughly renovated and competent men installed. Within the last two weeks charges have been filed by Commissioner Kingsbury against the superintendent, a Tammany man, who was formerly the proprietor of a notorious East Side dive. He has placed in charge as acting superintendent, Mr. Whiting, the energetic young investigator previously mentioned, whose vigorous, humane and scientific methods are rapidly bringing the Lodging House machinery into smooth and effective running order.

2. Continued co-operation between departments. This was widely noted at the time of the opening of the Recreation Pier as an annex to the Municipal Lodging House—one of the first acts of Commissioner Kingsbury. Five city departments were then brought into play, namely, Docks, Fire, Police, Street Cleaning and Charities.

3. For dealing successfully with vagrancy, especially of the professional type, the departments of police and public charities must co-operate under a single well-understood policy. Plans for a Mendicancy Squad are being developed by Commissioners Kingsbury and Woods in collaboration. The street beggar now receives either toleration, a rough order to "move on," or at worst, a nominal fine. A mendicancy officer in plain clothes would detect imposture, escort offenders to their homes, if they had any, learn if possible of any sources of support, if the individual were incapable of self-support, or start him upon the road to suitable institutional care.

4. The only effective method of testing a man's desire to obtain work is to give him the opportunity to work. The minority of the British Poor Law Commission, on page 1188, of their report, take this position in the following words: "The National Labor Exchange presents what, in our opinion, is the only effective way of suppressing vagrancy. As is recited in the report of the recent Department Commission, every variety of treatment of the vagrant from the most penal severity to the most generous laxity has been tried in vain. So long as the only method of finding work is for the workman to go and

seek it, there is no possibility of preventing the unemployed from wandering from town to town. So long as the workman in search of a job has to wander, it is impossible to distinguish between him and the professional vagrant."

Co-operation between the Municipal Lodging House and the Municipal Employment Office, which is under the control of the Department of Licenses, is, therefore, highly desirable though until the present, entirely lacking. For a period of two weeks, while living at the Municipal Lodging House as a homeless man, and at other institutions under the Department of Charities, I failed to hear a single reference by either lodging house officials, police officers, or homeless men associates, to the Municipal Employment Office. Co-operation of an effective nature between the Municipal Lodging House and both the City Employment Bureau, which has been made permanent, and the State Employment Offices, recently established by legislative act, is planned by Mr. Kingsbury.

5. An opportunity for profitable labor under the direction of the Lodging House itself is under consideration. This is to be accomplished, if plans develop, by a work plant, in which several simple industrial processes will be carried on. A man from the Lodging House will be allowed credit towards lodging and meals and toward an outfit of clothing, thus removing the stigma of charity.

6. A large proportion of the applicants at the Municipal Lodging House were found to be confirmed victims of drink. In a very short time these men will have an opportunity for rehabilitation at the Municipal Farm Colony for inebriates.. This institution, comprising 800 acres of land, is under the control of a Board of Inebriety, of which the Commissioner of Charities is ex-officio a member. With the object of establishing a close unification of work between this farm colony and the institutions within the Department of Public Charities, including the Municipal Lodging House, Mr. Kingsbury has been elected president of this board. It has been assured of the close co-operation of the mayor and the Board of Estimates. In a few months work will be under way—developing the farm and reconstructing human character by the work of self-committed inebriates.

Lastly, with a real work-test available through co-operation with state and municipal employment agencies, and through the operation of a work plant; with the aged, the sick and the inebriate being cared for, each according to his needs, the habitual vagrant may be singled out from the more unfortunate and given treatment appropriately severe. Whether any large proportion of this class may be restored to legitimate work by farm colony treatment at the new state institutions remains yet to be seen, and depends very largely, no doubt, upon the skill of the farm colony directors. We trust that every effort towards reclamation will be at all events made. The prospect of certain detention, however, as a sequence to habitual vagrancy, will be

a very powerful deterrent. A locality soon gains a reputation in the hobo world, either for its leniency or for its severity. New York is now known as "the best city in the country for bums." When it becomes known for its careful discrimination between involuntary dependents and impostors, the number of the latter will lessen materially.

We do not forget in the discussion of the foregoing plans that the roots of unemployment, and hence of vagrancy, are deep in the very groundwork of our economic structure. Together with poverty and disease they can be eliminated, but the surgeon's knife must cut deeper than the patient is yet ready to allow. In the personal opinion of the speaker, nothing else will be found adequate than to make the purchasing power of the worker equal to the value of his productive activity. But our work for a distant goal of scientific prevention, whatever form we conceive it to take, must not prevent the immediate task of relief, assuagement, and repression which may be accomplished to-day. It is a practical problem which confronts the Department of Public Charities of New York City and it is taking as rapidly as it may, the intermediate practical steps which seem best devised to meet the immediate situation.

ALMSHOUSES: EXISTING CONDITIONS AND NEEDED REFORMS

Murray A. Auerbach, Secretary, United Charities Association, Little Rock, Ark.

To give a thorough analysis of the almshouse question would take more time than is permitted in the presentation of this paper. Therefore only some of the salient points are gone into briefly, the purpose being to direct more thought along these particular lines. The statements that follow are based on an inquiry sent to the secretaries of the state board of charities of each state, the reports of the United States Census Bureau and on personal observation. Where percentages are mentioned and the source is not given, it should be assumed that these came from the reports of the state boards of charities.

In almshouses as in other institutions work for inmates keeps them out of mischief, insures discipline, helps time to pass more pleasantly and makes their stay at the institution more agreeable. On the other hand, idleness begets viciousness, the inmates are more unmanageable, whereas efficiency in the institution is reduced to a minimum. Despite this, from information received from secretaries of state boards of charities all over the country, hardly 25 per cent of the inmates are given work of any sort. True in almshouses a large proportion of the inmates are old, many are very feeble and not a few are wholly incapacitated for work of any sort, yet there is no question but some work can be given to many who are now unemployed. Alex-

ander Johnson says: "There is no more important part of almshouse administration than the employment of inmates. While their labor in many cases has little cash value, it is none the less valuable for other reasons. It may be stated as a rule to which there is no exception that every inmate except the bedridden ones should have some employment during a part of the day, and the more fully the usual hours are occupied, the better." Surely something is radically wrong with almshouse management when reports show three-quarters of these institutions providing no means of supplying this natural desire.

Unregulated Admission

One of the greatest evils prevailing in our almshouse-systems, however, appears to be the indiscrimiate admission of applicants. For instance, reports from every state in the Union show that almost 50 per cents of the almshouses admit tramps. So far as could be learned, New York and Massachusetts are the only states that have prohibited the admission of this class. In other states it is left to each almshouse to do as it thinks best. In California, tramps gain easy admission to all such institutions and the same applies to Illinois in the winter. In Connecticut, Missouri and Ohio, it applies to about one-half of the almshouses. These few states are mentioned because it brings out the fact that this grave evil is found existing even in states considered socially up-to-date, Illinois, Missouri and Ohio especially having some of the best types of institutions found in this country. The tramp in the almshouse should never be sanctioned. He is a social problem to be dealt with by other social agencies organized and equipped for the purpose. When we consider also that in almost 80 per cent of our poor houses, according to the reports received, there is insufficient regulation regarding the coming and going of inmates the enormity of this evil is more readily understood.

The tramp also by being allowed to come and go at will helps to spread disease to other communities. For he can very easily contract diseases in the almshouse and spread it to every village he passes through. This then brings the almshouse in closer relationship to every town and hamlet in the country. But, aside from the danger to other communities, think of the manner in which those who belong in the almshouse are exposed to disease. For it is not the exceptional place that disregards the need for segregating contagious diseases. Only 40 percent of our almshouses—less than ½—make any provision for this. A growing sentiment due perhaps to the activities of anti-tuberculosis societies or other social agencies has brought about some care for the tubercular, for in many places though cancer and syphilis is given no attention whatever, those afflicted with tuberculosis are given either a separate ward or a tent in the open air. But in comparatively few is proper medical attention given those afflicted with other ailments.

Most of the institutions are small and cannot afford a physician on full time nor is there room for separate wards. The physician is usually hired not for his interest or ability but because he is cheapest. The work is let to the lowest bidder and in some places pays no more than $75.00 or $100.00 a year, the physician to come once a week and sometimes simply to be ready for call.

Medical records, examinations before admission, or during stay, are unknown. And the superintendent who is either paid so much per capita or who is the lowest bidder or who is paid a small annual stipend from which he must pay the expense of running the institution, is often ignorant of almshouse management, conscientious though he may possibly be.

Even many of the larger almshouses where the superintendent is better paid is this true. For in very few instances are superintendents chosen for knowledge or ability. In this connection it may be well to mention that the secretary of the Board of Public Charities of North Carolina recommends a trained nurse to be present when new buildings are opened, and to remain several months in order to teach the keepers how to keep the place in a sanitary condition. On the other hand the secretary of one of our densely populated states, Ohio, a state considered socially awake, reports, "Very little attention is given to the prevention of infectious or contagious diseases and facilities for handling such are very inadequate." Surely we cannot blame the respectable poor for refusing the shelter of the almshouse.

Separation of Sexes

This also leads to the necessity for a strict separation of sexes not only in the almshouses but on the grounds. Composed as the almshouse is, of all sorts and conditions of human beings, there should be absolutely no mingling of sexes in any part of the institution. In almost every large almshouse, this separation is carried out and though the reports showed that 80 per cent of these institutions have rules for sex separation in many places, especially the smaller ones, this was not made complete enough. The United States Census report of 1910 shows 1,107 illegitimate babies born in the almshouse. Of course, a considerable number of the mothers of these children were admitted as lying-in cases, but some of these mothers had lived at the institutions for some time and in at least twenty-eight instances, the fathers of these illegitimate children were inmates at the almshouses at which they were born. The secretary of the state board of charities in one of our largest states probably expressed correctly the situation existing all over this county when he said in answer to an inquiry, "In all of our almshouses there is an effort toward separation of sexes. The type of construction of some of the older buildings makes this exceedingly difficult." This is, therefore, a good argument for the consideration of all features of almshouse management when the plans

for buildings are submitted. It also suggests a potent reason for the doing away with the institutions that continue to perpetuate these almost unbelievable conditions. Far better would it be to destroy immediately the almshouses that help to weaken the human race than to provide such meager shelter as it affords to the aged and infirm.

Perhaps the most pathetic feature of old age poverty is that of the old couple who after many years of congeniality find themselves without shelter or care. The reward for former service to the community, meted out by the state, is generally the poor-house—and separation. In most of the almshouses there is no provision made for the old couple. To be consigned to the poor-house means to be separated till death joins them together in the hereafter. Of a number of secretaries of charity organization societies who were interviewed, all stated emphatically that respectable old couples are not sent by their organizations to the almshouse where separation prevails because of the hardship and anguish it would entail. This is indeed a sad commentary on the entire system. Instead of making the last resting place in life a welcome home for the aged and infirm it is instead viewed with dread by the poor and the social worker alike. The charity organization secretaries may have seen the almshouse in only a limited fashion, yet their attitude is significant.

While there are a number of almshouses that make provision for old couples the best type, perhaps, is the New York City Farm Colony on Staten Island. New York has three almshouses, each institution receiving its inmates according to their social status. The better kind, that is, those who have been rendered public charges through no fault of their own, and those who have led exemplary lives, are sent to the farm colony, where the old couples are kept together in little cottages offering them all the comforts of home. Not alone does the Farm Colony allow each couple a room for themselves, but they can take to their room furniture and pictures which have been made dear by association, and which adds cheer to their weary lives.

The inmates of this home are allowed to work on the place for such time as their strength permits. The superintendent's report for 1909 says: "The old men find great interest in 'our vegetables.' Enough are raised to supply the colony and ship two-thirds of the crop to other institutions in the department. Some help is hired." Bear this in mind and reflect that only a little over 40 per cent of tillable land belonging to almshouses all over the country is utilized. The Farm Colony in 1909 alone raised $10,602.93 of farm products, market value at a cost of $6,380.32, or a profit to the institution of $4,222.61.

Present Almshouses Mistaken Charities

The almshouse as conducted today is a mistaken charity. It is in many instances a charity that hurts rather than helps. It is a charity that is destructive rather than constructive. We have just considered

percentages. Let us now consider actual figures that will show how the almshouse is continually creating problems for the next generation to solve.

Although some few states have passed laws against the keeping of children in the almshouse, the United States Census report shows that in 1910 there were harbored in these institutions 3,278 children up to 19 years of age as follows:

Under 5 years	1,186
Between 5 and 9 years	641
Between 9 and 14 years	543
Between 15 and 19 years	908
Total between 5 and 19 years	2,092

The census report does not state whether this includes feeble-minded children, but assuming that it does, there are many grades of feeble-mindedness that are improvable and which are not improved by the almshouse. Also it does not change the status of the normal children involved.

While we are concerned with *all* children, the greatest danger lies with the girls. Of these there were in almshouses in 1910:

Between 5 and 9 years of age	615
Between 10 and 14 years of age	376
Between 15 and 19 years of age	429
Or a total of	1,420

There are no figures to show how many years these children spent with their associates in the almshouse, but we do know that 113 children from 5 to 19 years of age had spent all their days in the institution and that 62 females from 5 to 24 years of age knew no other home than the poor-house.

We are now simply allowing ourselves to run through channels that offer no obstructions or impediments, regardless of where it leads us. If we have any interest in the future of the race, we must begin at once to travel the most difficult course, if necessary, but at least to know that something is being contributed toward the creation of a higher civilization. Our present system is much like buying furniture on the instalment plan. The cost is apparently low but before we are through with our payments we have cheated ourselves out of a thousand per cent.

Mental Defectives

Few almshouses are equipped to care for mental defectives, especially the feeble-minded. Some of the larger institutions are provided with some facilities but the smaller the institution, the less pre-

pared is it to care for the varied cases that are admitted. The danger of keeping the feeble-minded in the almshouse is a particularly glaring one. Says Alexander Johnson: "It would be easy to give hundreds of instances of abuse, usually sexual, of feeble-minded persons in almshouses. It is the common understanding that few or none of the women of child-bearing age escape maternity, and that their children, usually of strong-minded fathers ordinarily inherit the mother's psychic defect in one of its various forms. The conclusion is inevitable—that the feeble-minded woman of child-bearing age is not in her proper place in an almshouse; and if perforce, she is kept there, in default of better accommodation, then the superintendent and matrons and governing board, too, are under the strongest obligation to protect her against abuse and the state against her possible progeny."

The State Charities Commission of Illinois in 1910 reports as follows: "In Johnson County there is a feeble-minded woman of 23 with her eight-months-old child, whose father was a tramp who stopped at the farm for a short time and then disappeared. The child shows indications of venereal diseases." This is but one instance and the Johnson County poor-house is not different from a great many similar institutions all over this country.

Let us again revert to the figures of the United States Census Bureau. In 1910 there were in the almshouses of this country 2,857 insane, 9,813 feeble-minded and 1,289 epileptics. Were we to add to this the 540 deaf and 2,427 blind, we have a total of 16,926. Also add to this the 3,278 children above referred to and it gives a grand total of 20,204 persons in almshouses but who did not properly belong there. These classes should not be cared for at the almshouse. They belong in institutions specially equipped for the specialized treatment the cases demand.

At present the almshouse is a melting pot into which is thrown human beings without selection or discrimination, the finished product being a socially unfit race for the next generation.

Political Abuse

For the causes of almshouse evils, we must not blame the superintendent altogether—for he often acts according to his best knowledge, but the entire system must be condemned. Missouri may be taken as an average state. It has densely populated centers and sparsely inhabited districts. It contains some of the largest cities and the smallest hamlets. It has some of the best institutions and some of the poorest. Its almshouses rank among the best and among the worst. Therefore, what is true of Missouri may be true in a greater or lesser measure of other states. Through the kindness of the secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections we have some figures that throw interesting light on the subject. The average time of service of the superintendent is 3½ years. The average length of service for 17 superintendents

was 11 years; and for 81, 1 8/9 years. What a potent argument for the removal of the almshouse out of the range of politics! Here are human beings consigned to the care of, in many cases, ignorant, illiterate persons who have shown merit only in producing a few votes. Human beings experimented with by politicians to further their own political careers. What a fitting climax to a life spent in the service of the world. The almshouse becomes not a home for the aged and infirm, but a place of torture for the respectable poor. Under the political system even if a man who is conscientious is appointed, he is sorely handicapped. He may study almshouse management with a view to instituting many reforms that will make the place more habitable but before he is able to carry his plans into effect, a new election takes place and he is succeeded by a new appointee who knowing nothing of the almshouse must begin all over again only in time to be succeeded by another, and the vicious circle is continued. Does this sound like an exaggeration when 81 of 98 superintendents in Missouri served on an average of 1 8/9 years?

Another most important feature to consider is the compensation of the superintendent. Let us take Missouri again for an illustration. The ten best paid superintendents average $99.00 a month; for 66 the average is $55.60; and for 55, the average salary is $47.53. Imagine getting expert service for less than $50.00 a month. Yet all defectives, physical wrecks, the dissolute and the sensitive are thrown together into one group, and the problems emanating from this group are left to a poorly paid executive with no previous experience, ability or adaptability. Social workers today boast of preventing problems, yet here are they created in geometrical proportion to the solution. Here are selfish communities saving a few dollars now but sacrificing the health and happiness of human beings and creating huge economic and social losses for the country at large and for succeeding generations.

A More Hopeful Vision

After considering the faults of existing almshouses let us now observe conditions as they should be. In the first place, there is something in a name, and the name "almshouse" or "poor-house" through its many years of usage and abuse has attracted to it a stigma that can never be eradicated so long as the names continue. After all, the institution is intended to be a "home for the aged and infirm," which would be quite an appropriate name. In some places the name of some person or locality is adopted as the Wm. C. Graves Home in Illinois, or the Bay View Home in Baltimore, both excellent means of doing away with the objectionable name "poor-house."

The ideal system would include the cottage plan and a close classification of inmates upon their entry to the institution, considering their past lives and the places held by them in the communities from which they came. Those who are of higher moral and social standard

should be kept separate from those of lower standards. This may jar the senses of equality but it is decidedly unfair to take old people who have led exemplary lives and ask them to choose as bed fellows and general companions victims of drunkenness and debauchery.

It is not easy of course to effect the separation in a smaller institution, but the fact that the smaller institutions cannot afford the expense of proper conduct it is the best argument for their being wiped out. The almshouse does not serve its purpose if it does not help to lessen the number and complexity of social problems for the future. This study has brought out one prominent fact—that the best conditions are found in the larger institutions and the worse affairs are found in the numerous smaller institutions that dot the country.

The small institutions, by the way, far outnumber the large ones. In 1910, there were a total of 2,396 almshouses in the United States of which the following classification was made:

Population 400 and over	26
Population 300 to 400	9
Population 200 to 300	26
Population 100 to 200	80
Population 10 and under	1,005

A little more than one-half of one per cent of the almshouses in this country have a population of 100 or more while 42 per cent have a population of ten or less. Surely this is sufficient evidence in view of the facts already brought out that there is going on continually a great economic waste at a fearful social cost.

New Virginia Plan

Almshouses originally started with the town as a unit. Now the county is generally the unit. But there is need for a much larger unit and when counties are too small or too poor to conduct an almshouse along proper lines it should arrange with other counties for the establishment of a joint institution. In Virginia at the last legislature the socially interested have introduced a bill the intent of which was to do away with the small almshouse, and to create instead for each congressional district, district homes. The bill directed that each district home be located on a large farm, having a hospital for the sick, a home for the aged, a workhouse and custodial care for the drunkards, non-supporters and tramps, and an institution for the low grade feeble-minded and idiots. And, best of all, it proposed that a trained superintendent be placed in charge, who regardless of his political affiliation would be retained so long as he showed knowledge of his work and ability to carry out the purpose of the district home. This bill did not come to a vote last year but will be introduced again at the next session. Since the plan has not yet been carried out, it cannot be judged but it presents another proof of the gradual, but certain, evolution of

the almshouse. The congressional district plan is a recognition of the failure of the small almshouse, and the separation of the various classes into individual buildings is an acknowledgment of the evils emanating from the promiscuous herding together of all classes of people. But if the various buildings are to be located on the same site they must be kept wide apart and entirely separate, for the relatives of the feeble-minded will object to having them placed among paupers, and the poor will protest against being sent to live among idiots, drunks and tramps. And even in this district home, should it come to pass, there must be a social classification of the aged poor above referred to if it is to be a success.

The Virginia plan, however, injects a lot of hope into the present almshouse situation. It shows an awakening of social conscience, and may be but the beginning of a general movement to bring about greater concentration in almshouse management. At any rate the smaller institutions must be done away with, and a large almshouse must be created to draw from a larger district if efficiency of management and the comfort of the inmates is to be secured.

What is needed most, however, is the application of organized charities principles to almshouse management. A social worker keen to his responsibilities to the inmates and the public, must be placed in charge and all cases should be given study, investigation and care. If this were done, the almshouse could be made a source of great help to the aged poor by locating relatives who may be financially able to care for the applicant or inmate, and by placing the responsibility where it belongs. Indeed, by interesting the relatives intelligently a family may be reunited, and the applicant reap the benefit of home life, whereas constructive work would be effected thereby.

The almshouse can be made the most useful of social institutions, if each locality would but awaken to its social duty and its responsibility to posterity.

THE ALMSHOUSE: DISCUSSION

Francis Bardwell, Inspector of Almshouses for Massachusetts State Board of Charity, Boston.

Why an almshouse? And if an almshouse what is to be the unit of control, town or county? Who are we to consider as the legitimate inmates? What makes admission permissive? Mr. Auerbach in the able paper under discussion sets forth the general conditions obtaining in many states, and I acknowledge that the almshouse situation, one always full of discouragements, seems a trifle darker than heretofore.

First, let me say I am going to consider the almshouse as an almshouse, not as one building in a group of many, each devoted to its

particular class of public charges. I am going to so consider the question, because I contend that the almshouse is in the present deplorable condition because the state has failed to do its duty and the community has failed to require the state to assume charge of certain types of public wards. It is ridiculous to assume that the town, city or county unit should provide for such groups as the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the chronic drunkard, the tubercular, the tramp and vagrant, the crippled child of school age, losing his chances at an education, and the neglected child. These groups are entitled to better care than a town or county can afford to give, in any collection of buildings a town or county can afford to maintain.

It is because we have dumped, helter-skelter into one scrap-heap these types, given the heap in charge of incompetents, in many cases, that we are now considering the best process of sorting, ready to begin anew. An almshouse is an almshouse. It is not a branch of a jail, a workhouse, an orphan asylum, a school for the feeble-minded, an epileptic hospital or an asylum for dipsomaniacs. What's the logic, except short sighted economy, in classing the poor with the criminal and the defective? It is not a crime to be dependent. It may be and is in some cases due to minor defects, mental and physical,—but why the combination of misdemeanant and dependent? We bemoan the fact that the word almshouse is a word of horror to the decent dependent, but we have made it so.

The child problem we learn is a family problem. The almshouse problem is a community problem in the abstract and an individual problem in the concrete. You are never going to get away from present conditions until you lay plans to build anew. And you have to lay those plans with always the almshouse in view and the betterment of the condition of its legitimate inmates as the ultimate goal. As conditions exist in the typical almshouse, elimination of the non-almshouse type is the first consideration.

The Special Classes

First, the vagrant. What is he? A roving dependent, generally a petty criminal. It is bad for him to tramp and worse for the community upon which he thrives. He should not be the town or city charge. He belongs to the correction department of the county, or preferably the state. He is entitled to fair and humane treatment. First make him work, at least three hours a day for food and lodging. But this will only alleviate and not wholly cure the evil. Nevertheless it is the way to rid the traveling confraternity of a portion of its full strength. Make vagrancy a misdemeanor. Arrest, letting the court decide whether or not the individual case is one for commitment or release. We used to have an army of vagrants in Massachusetts, as many as 270,000 cases in a year. We passed four laws in 1904 and enforced them. Now we have 16,000. We do not consider a county

jail the best place to which to commit the sentenced vagrant. He should be under the care of the state and housed in a farm colony, where proper effort can be made for rehabilitation under the parole system.

Second, the feeble-minded and mentally defective. This is the problem of the day, and there is no exaggeration in all that has been said. You can not handle this problem through a county almshouse. Economy demands immediate action. One feeble-minded woman at large means 5 dependent children in 5 years, 25 in 20 years and you can supply the geometrical progression. This is a state problem. Third, children. Keep out all children over two years of age, except for a period of 60 days. This is fair and allows for proper placing. Fourth, able bodied under 60. Force them to work to such an extent that they will be glad to re-enter the self-supporting class. Let me say this, those able bodied I always find are the male of the species. Fifth, the insane and worst type of idiot and mentally defective. Epileptics should most certainly be committed. The almshouse is never the proper abode of the family. As a temporary place for the unfortunate family awaiting rehabilitation it serves its legitimate purpose.

How Treat the Remainder

And now take a census and what have you left? The old, the crippled, blind, deaf and dumb,—and a certain class I have always noted who simply can't take care of themselves. These are your legitimate almshouse inmates. You have sifted your soil, thrown out and thrown out, and those who remain are your almshouse people. You will please note that I only suggest two new institutions, a hospital for the feeble-minded and a farm colony. Nor is it necessary at first to build a separate institution for the feeble-minded. A part of the insane hospital will serve, until such time as increasing numbers warrant a separate institution. Mr. DeWitt said there were some 16,000 almshouse inmates in the South. That is not bad. We are taking care permanently of more than a quarter of that number in Massachusetts. Get rid of those who should be cared for elsewhere and you will have a surprisingly small almshouse population in the South.

You have the county as a community unit. Almost all states save Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut have the county unit. I feel, for our needs, we can not better conditions by a change to the county system. You see we do not forget the county jail and we will not permit the association of our poor with our criminal classes. It is because we have town and city almshouses that we have been able to make them efficient. Why? Local pride,—that's all; community "get-together." One does not expect a warden at $50 per month to be a good farmer, an expert in the care of the feeble-minded, a constable to handle the vagrant, a physician to administer to the

insane, and a good financier and steward. You have loaded your cart too heavily and blamed the team which has proved unable to draw the burden.

Because these conditions as set forth do exist, the community is to blame and you are the community. You are doing the meanest thing possible, visiting upon the poor and unfortunate the fruit of your diffidence and incompetency. It is really time to consider ways and means for in these matters delays are costly. There is no use in talking of combining the small almshouses, unless by such amalgamation you propose to give proper care to those under your charge. Simply to increase population, to reduce overhead charges is small financial saving in the long run, unless the ultimate result leads to state care of those groups that need special care and more humane treatment for the legitimate almshouse population.

Personal Work with Almshouse Inmates

With the normal almshouse population the question then becomes one of personal work with the individual. I do not call the almshouse the melting pot, but rather the scrap-heap. Individual castings are often taken from a scrap heap to serve a purpose. So you can, by effort with an individual, sometimes rehabilitate an almshouse inmate. Personality counts more than any other one factor. The inmate of a small almshouse is more easily reached than the one in the larger institution. He is known to the warden and matron and a plan for his future may be formulated. He has an identity, which is lost in the larger institution. Wardens and matrons are born and not made. They should feel assured that neither politics nor change of policy will remove them, so long as their work is for the best interests of their wards and the community.

There must be supervision by the state. There is need of an ultimate power to which inmate, warden and governing board can appeal. There is need of supervision which will lead to the proper standards of diet, housing and sanitation and then beyond, to that human element in care and general welfare. Public funds are wasted that are not expended in obtaining the highest standards in humane treatment and the best care. You must set the standard in your almshouse of what proper housing conditions should be, not to care for your dependents "as good as they deserve," but as they should have lived to have prevented the misfortune of ending their days as public charges.

You have to educate your community to this and it is an up-hill fight. Your community ultimately has to be brought to a point where it will be proud of its almshouse. There is no better indicator of the progress and intelligence of a people than the standard maintained for the care of their unfortunate. This is one reason why we in Massa-

chusetts hold to the town system. Town and city pride are responsible for the high standard of our almshouses. And the other reason of our adherence to the system is we recognize the right of the poor to be cared for in their own environment and among their neighbors and friends. Do you question that we get better results because of this?

Spirit of Supervisory Improvement

Singular as it may seem to you, perhaps, I differ radically with Mr. Auerbach's statement that the small almshouse is the worst offender against a proper standard. It has been my experience that serious conditions as to overcrowding, promiscuous admission, non-enforcement of labor requirements, unvaried dietary, exist to a far greater extent in the large almshouse than in the small one. A town will remedy conditions more quickly than a city, a town will maintain a higher standard than a large city, and a town warden and overseer will seek state recommendation and advice more quickly. Remember that in Massachusetts we have a board of supervision and apart from the two laws relating to vagrants and children our work must be done by suggestion and recommendation. Does it work? Yes, the fewer the laws, the fewer the obligations, the more you can teach by suggestion, by educating and not forcing public opinion, the more lasting the results. No important recommendation of my board goes long unheeded. And if the controlling agency is lax, the public will back it up, and have in many instances insisted upon the adoption of the recommendations of the State Board. So as we have gotten things done, you can. Human nature is the same. Feel your public pulse. By the proper methods operate so that the pocket nerve lies nearer the pulses of the heart and the rest is easy.

I have no time to go into detail as to our methods of almshouse management. Suffice it to say we do not stop at the mere creature comforts, the physical welfare of our inmates. We recognize and work for the human side. These are *our people*, they are entitled to *comfort and happiness*. Individual work counts. Personality of the warden counts. To you people from the South I can say two of the best town almshouse wardens in Massachusetts to-day are natives of North Carolina, the type of man God made to be guardians of the poor and unfortunate.

To sum up for the rehabilitation of the almshouse: Force state legislation so that those types properly falling to the state can be removed from the almshouses. Insist upon adequate vagrancy laws properly executed. Consolidate, if in so doing better care results, and if it is not inhuman to remove your people to a distance. And, finally, start the campaign for community education, not forgetting the women can help you wonderfully.

There is always going to be an almshouse. There is the need. I know in certain localities of small and decreasing population the almshouse is passing. But where there is an influx of people from other countries there still persists the almshouse type, to fill the places of those of native stock. There are still the cripple, the blind, the improvident who can be best cared for in the almshouse.

OPENING EXERCISES

INTRODUCTION

S. F. McDonald, Memphis, Chairman Local Committee

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Forty-first Annual Session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction is now open. As chairman of the committee for the arrangement of the details of your conference, I wish to say that it has been a very pleasant matter to each member of the committee and we trust they have been made in such a way as to make you feel very much at home with us. To many of you this is the first impression of a southern city and we trust it will be such that after you have finished your labors here and have returned to your homes you will want to come again and live with us and help us to build a great city of good people. This is not the first Conference held on Tennessee soil, for the twenty-first annual session was held at Nashville. After adjourning there, a branch of the convention came to Memphis and were welcomed by Rabbi Samfield. We are very glad indeed that Rabbi Samfield is still with us and will welcome you again and at the same time give you a synopsis of his forty-four years of effort in Memphis in social work.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Rabbi M. Samfield, Memphis, Tennessee

Hail, oh Hail to thee, oh Charity,
The child of God and Humanity.
All hail to the pity of human love,
Divine blessing descending from above.
Welcome, thrice welcome, all who have come from afar and from near
Messages of sympathy and helpful charity to hear.

Yes, thrice welcome you delegates that have come from near and afar, to attend this National Conference of Charities and Correction. For in giving you a heartfelt welcome to our city, to our hearts and to our homes, we recognize the finger of God pointing to that universal spirit of benevolence that will unite all men and women no matter of what nationality, of what creed, of what political opinion. The gates of our city are open to you.

Well do I remember what a great blessing the first gathering proved to be to the citizens of Memphis in all the benevolent efforts that we then attempted to make. We older citizens of Memphis feel profound gratitude as we remember the dark days of our calamity of the yellow fever epidemic of 1873. I was then vice-president of the charitable association we had, with a small number of members and little means to carry out the objects for which we had organized, and when the epidemic came upon us we were perplexed, because we were not acquainted with

the advanced methods of charity and benevolence. Though there were men, hundreds of them, that risked their lives in order to bring aid to those stricken down and whilst there was a spirit prevailing of benevolence, and charity and altruism, all we could do was of little good because we had no organization strong enough to cope with such a terrible calamity. In 1878 we were wiser and had commenced to organize and to bring order and system into chaotic conditions. Charity in Memphis, the relief of the poor and sick, had been in the hands of the police department, and when any man or woman came to apply for aid we had to send them to the chief of police, and you can easily understand that there was no thorough investigation, no scientific principles applied, no work for prevention instead of cure. There was only temporary relief given to the widow and to the orphan, so we knew we had to organize.

Visit of General Brinkerhoff

In 1878, therefore, there visited us one of the noblest men, one of the most self-sacrificing souls I ever knew, and today it seems to me his spirit hovers over those here, and especially over those that remember what wonderful work the man did in the field of philanthropy;—General Roeliff Brinkerhoff. I wrote him a letter in which I described the conditions of the city, without knowing that again the calamity would come and spread its dark shadow over our community. His reply was full of good, practical advice. Gen. Brinkerhoff spoke especially of the new method of establishing charity organization societies in cities and expressed his belief that such a co-operative plan would be started in Cincinnati that very year, and true to his expectations, the Cincinnati Conference of Charities was established.

We had already a charity society in 1878, most of whose self-sacrificing members now have passed into the beyond. They held regular monthly meetings, and had a superintendent whose duty it was to seek out the needy in our city, and examine into their conditions. Yet until the National Conference held its adjourned meeting here, we had not attained the highest ideals in charitable administration.

In 1894 the National Conference met in Nashville. It seemed that it was not quite a satisfactory meeting, for many delegates had been delayed on the road. We sent three ladies from Memphis who had always been connected with the administration of charity. Let it be said to the credit and to the praise of our women of the City of Memphis, the incentive came from them. These three women of Memphis were the representatives of our entire population at the meeting in Nashville. Not one man was there. These ladies spoke to General Brinkerhoff, at that time president of the Conference, and said, "Come to Memphis. Come over, for we want instruction. We want you to tell us what to do in order that our charities may be consolidated and that we may improve our service." They represented the Federation of Women's Clubs of Memphis.

Former Reception of Conference

So the Conference came to Memphis. In that Conference Memphis, like the ophidian child in the cage of snakes, began to upturn the causes of our troubles. May I express my admiration of what Memphis did for that Conference? I possess a copy of General Brinkerhoff's remarks made about Memphis and the Conference. I will let him speak. The voices from the dead to the living have the significance of a divine revelation. These are his words, in his reminiscences, a book every charity worker should have in his library, the reminiscences of a hero in the battle, a Christian without guile, a charity worker such as few

men in the United States ever have been. "Our reception in Memphis was exceedingly cordial. We were taken directly to the elegant library building overlooking the Mississippi river where addresses of welcome and responses were made which were followed by a reception and lunch and a ride in a steamer up and down the river. At the hall of the Federation of the Women's Club the meetings were held. The audience was an ideal one and comprised over two hundred men and women, the very elite of the city, and a more appreciative audience I have rarely seen. The result of the deliberations was very gratifying, leading to the formation of a Board of Charities for the State of Tennessee (Page 349, Recollections of a Lifetime by Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff)."

This session in 1894 was the first one of the National Conference in the South. The visiting delegates came under the leadership of Mrs. W. Floyd, Mrs. H. Betts, Mrs. R. Taylor and Mr. W. Smith and Rabbi Samfield.

Thus the words of that man are heard today. I have not cherished the friendship of any man in this world more than I did his.

Humanity has now at last realized the truth that though men differ in religious belief, in truth they are children of the same God, children of the same Father, bearing the same burden, partners in the performance of every civic duty. More potent than the voice of any particular creed, more strong and more beneficial than theology, is the sympathy and love when that voice is heard commanding the strong to help the weak and the rich to assist the poor.

Let me say in conclusion that men and women are not fully enough acquainted with the science of sociology. There are now books in abundance which describe social conditions in language that everyone understands. Banded together just as the members of this Conferecne, there should be in cities like Memphis, associations of men and women of all creeds for the study and improvement of social conditions. Our social organizations have a great task upon them in the promulgation of new social ideals—more than the mere contribution of money. Everyone should render personal service. This was the example set by General Brinkerhoff in his many activities. There is a legend that Charity was born in Paradise and Sympathy was its mother. The great love of God to man begat the love of man to God.

RESPONSE

J. W. Magruder, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Chairman, Rabbi Samfield, Citizens of Memphis, Members of the Forty-first National Conference of Charities and Correction:

Long before we came to Memphis, we had the assurance of faith in our hearts that we would have just such a welcome as we are now enjoying. It seems from what we have just heard that this is the second time the National Conference has been in session in Memphis, and that not only the memory of that session twenty years ago, under the presidency of General Brinkerhoff, but the spirit of it has been projected over into the hearts of Memphians and of ourselves who are here as their successors.

Not until tonight did I know what Mark Twain, in his "Life on the Mississippi," meant when he described Memphis as the Samaritan City of the Mississippi. I have just read in the booklet issued for the benefit of this Conference, that here you have a group of hospitals unsurpassed,

and that not only are the citizens of Memphis who are stricken down, cared for in their own hospitals, but for every two citizens of Memphis treated in these hospitals there are eight citizens not of Memphis but of the region round about and from remoter parts, New Orleans, San Francisco, perhaps my own city of Baltimore; and since those days when Samuel M. Clemens was piloting up and down the river, you have been keeping not only the letter of the Parable but the spirit of it, as explained by Rabbi Samfield, not contenting yourselves with the relief of poverty and misery but applying yourselves to its cure, and better still to its prevention; and, best of all, to a constructive program, in that you are seeking to make this city such a city as is yet to be.

Now then, Mr. Chairman, it is our custom in going from city to city, to interest ourselves in the contributions that have been made by these several cities to our American life. Here, in the first place, I learn about your "up-to-the-minute" commission form of government, and about your splendid federated charities, about the extraordinary co-operation between the federated charities and the police. I have seen your civic center—those marvellously beautiful buildings, one of them your police headquarters. It is but fitting that there should be such a magnificent housing for a department in which the ideal of the officer on the beat is not that of the cop, going about with a club and revolver, but of a social worker, let us say a floor-walker in a great department establishment, the greatest in fact in the city of Memphis in that it consists of the city itself. If I have the facts aright, you stand a good chance of becoming the first city to have a thoroughly socialized police department such as social workers have been dreaming of.

But with these and other advantages, your greatest distinction is yet to be mentioned. Let me hark back to the time when your city lost something like seventy or eighty thousand of its inhabitants by the plague or by flight from the fear of death, so that the population was reduced to about ten thousand and the city nearly went off the map. Somehow such calamities become our best blessings. What gave the commission form of government to the United States? It was the Galveston flood; and while Memphis is now showing us a thing or two about commission government, the beginning of it all was in Galveston. On the other hand you had the plague of yellow fever; and what came out of it? You know the story, but I have just begun to realize it in recalling the events that have become a part of the history of Memphis. Somebody from here went up into New England, and in Rhode Island discovered a sanitary and civil engineer. He consented to come down here at the peril of his life, and turn to your advantage the knowledge he had gained by study and experiment in New England, with the result that you have one of the first, if not the very first, sanitary sewer system in the United States. Mark Twain says that when he made his visits here in those early days, the pride of the city was in its sewers! The man to whom you gave the opportunity in your then small city was afterwards appropriated by New York City and soon for the first time in the history of the metropolis, thanks to the "white wings," New York was clean. Because of his record there, Uncle Sam appropriated his services, sending him to Havana, where he cleaned up that plague spot in the late possession of Spain, but did so at the forfeit of his life.

It was Memphis who gave to the world the late lamented Colonel George W. Waring. No man of this generation illustrates better than he what I believe to be the spirit of this National Conference. He was not only an engineer or a business man, but a man who lived up to Ruskin's ideal, in that in his business he became a martyr in the service of humanity. Not until we are ready to inject the missionary spirit of martyrdom into social work, into our industrial life, into political life, following

the spirit of Colonel Waring, shall we see the end of our present troubles. It is the spirit of such men that has made this nation; and when that spirit of devotion finds expression in social justice, such as has been described in the addresses of two former presidents of this Conference, Miss Jane Addams and Mr. Frank Tucker, and becomes the common possession of the rank and file of American citizens, then we shall have the America that must be; then Memphis will become what all true Memphians dream of and what you have visualized in your beautiful civic center; then you will have done your part towards making this city a City of God.

CLOSING EXERCISES

CLOSING REMARKS

President Graham Taylor

As this is the first Conference at which I have been on the inside, my last word may best give an insight to the inside as it seems to an outsider. Prior to this year, I have been one of you all in the membership of the Conference and in attendance upon its ever inspiring and informing meetings. Not until last year did I ever serve as chairman of a committee. At Seattle my nomination and election took place without any intimation reaching me that I was even thought of for the presidency. Indeed, at the final meeting of the nominating committee, I asked audience to suggest another for the leadership of this Conference. Neither in the choice of its president nor in the selection of the general secretary was there any trace of factional, sectional or personal partisanship. Neither in the executive committee, nor in the committees on nomination and organization have I been able to discover any other motive or purpose than to serve the best interests of the Conference and to subordinate every personal preference thereto.

Loyalty to the public interests for which this Conference stands, and to the Conference only as a means to those ends, characterizes this good fellowship more than any organization known to me. Self-seeking and institutional self-consciousness are nowhere more conspicuous by their absence. There is a rare combination among us here of courageous conviction and courteous consideration for the convictions of others. Individual independence ever registers its strength here not only by toleration, but by incitement of free thought and free speech. Specialization is intensive to a scientific degree, but co-operation has extended with experience in dealing with interlocking conditions of life. Interest in individuals and classes has steadily broadened and deepened into community consciousness. The charity of yesterday has become the justice of today, and, therefore, the committee and discussions on "The Standards of Living and Labor" naturally and inevitably evolved from the consideration of and work for "family rehabilitation." Thus charities and correction have blended with social, industrial, civic, and community issues in the ever-growing community of interests within the all-inclusive humanitarian scope of this Conference.

The choice of the Conference city is guided only by the intent to give and to get the most human service through the medium of the Conference. Here in Memphis we have gotten the good of seeing the advantage in the commission form of government for city and county. Nowhere else have we seen the offices of the Associated Charities located at police headquarters. Nowhere else has the police force of the city attended in a body the Conference session on correction, or acted as a reception committee to the delegates on their arrival. Nowhere else has the trades and labor council been present in a body at our discussion of the standards of living and labor. Here, as everywhere else we have been, the Conference has sought the permanent good of the city, whose invitation to meet within its borders was taken in good faith to be an obligation to serve its citizens. If criticism has mingled with credits, it has been only friendly, constructive, co-operative. There is no token of friendship

so true and valuable as friendly criticism. To avoid any reflection upon conditions in the locality where we meet, the Conference would have to meet in the moon, where there are no human conditions. Memphis may yet mark the beginning of the end of its segregated vice district from the date of these fearlessly frank discussions of this impolitic policy which has been shown to be out of date in the best modern municipal administration.

In turning over the president's gavel to my successor, I am at a loss to know whether the selection of Baltimore as the place for the next Conference suggested Mrs. John M. Glenn for the presidency, or whether the thought of her prompted the choice of her old home city. Either way it came about, the correlation of Mrs. Glenn and Baltimore in the plans of this Conference for its forty-second annual meeting is in line with the eternal fitness of things.

You and I, Mrs. Glenn, came into this Conference from different points of contact with it—you from your active participation in the charitable work of your city, and I from struggling with others for better industrial, social and civic conditions. We have both been educated by this Conference to see and share the other's point of view. With public officials and representatives of volunteer agencies, with fellow citizens from East, West, North and South, with women and men working on more equal terms than anywhere else, with youth and age in fine reciprocity, with Catholic and Quaker, Christian and Jew, Protestant and agnostic, in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace as nowhere else, we have met, mingled and exchanged values. In transferring the gavel of the Conference to you as the second woman receiving it in all these forty-two years, I do so in token of its members' deep appreciation both for your distinguished services and for the leadership of women in all the human service which this Conference seeks to promote and standardize. The Conference and its country-wide constituency unite in the congratulation just received from Robert W. de Forest, extended on behalf of the society in whose work you are volunteering such effective service:

"The Central Council of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York congratulates the entire country and the National Conference of Charities and Correction upon the election of Mrs. John M. Glenn as its president."

President-Elect. Mrs. John M. Glenn, on Receiving Gavel

This gavel belongs to you, Dr. Taylor, for thirty days more. It is for President Taylor to declare the Conference adjourned. Before he does so, may I say in behalf of Baltimore that she warmly welcomes the next Conference, and that her delegation wishes through me to express hearty appreciation of the fact that this body has chosen Baltimore for its next meeting place. I hope everyone is determined during the next twelve months to see how many southerners he can induce to become members of the National Conference. I should like to see the South participate in the National Conference to a much greater degree than she has ever done before. So this is my last word—work to have a large representation of southerners at Baltimore in 1915.

Reports from States

Saturday, May 9, 1914,—9 a. m. and 3 p. m.

At the request of the General Secretary, Dr. Hastings H. Hart of New York presided at the regular meeting for reports from states in the morning and at the adjourned session in the afternoon at which these reports were completed. The reports consisted of three-minute addresses by State Corresponding Secretaries or their substitutes. (A digest of more complete reports from states in written form, is published annually in the October BULLETIN of the Conference.)

The reports from states were made according to geographical groups by the following members:

New England: Maine, James F. Bagley; New Hampshire, William J. Ahern; Massachusetts, C. C. Carstens; Rhode Island, James B. Williams; Connecticut, Charles P. Kellogg.

Middle Atlantic: New York, Dr. Gertrude E. Hall; Pennsylvania, W. H. McGarry.

East North Central: Ohio, H. H. Shirer; Indiana, J. A. Brown; Illinois, A. L. Bowen; Michigan, J. B. Montgomery; Wisconsin, Miss Katherine Williams.

West North Central: Minnesota, Otto W. Davis; Iowa, H. S. Hollingsworth; Missouri, George B. Mangold; Nebraska, C. E. Prevey; Kansas, H. C. Bowman.

South Atlantic: Maryland, W. H. Davenport; District of Columbia, A. J. McKelway; Virginia, Miss L. F. Price; West Virginia, A. E. Sinks; North Carolina, Miss Daisy Denson; Georgia, Miss Helen Pendleton; Florida, Mrs. W. A. Coats.

East South Central: Kentucky, Miss Frances Ingram; Alabama, Mrs. W. L. Murdock; Mississippi, Rev. J. L. Green.

West South Central: Arkansas, Murray A. Auerbach; Louisiana, Rev. J. L. Sutton; Oklahoma, Miss Novella Gould; Texas, Prof. C. S. Potts.

Mountain: Montana, M. L. Rickman; Idaho, O. P. Christian; Colorado, Mrs. Sarah K. Walling; Arizona, Miss Christianna Gilchrist; Utah, E. J. Milne.

Pacific: Washington, Miss Virginia McMechen and Rev. John W. Beard; California, Stuart A. Queen.

Reports of social progress in the several states for the year 1914 are contained in analytical form, completely indexed, in the quarterly *Bulletin* for October, 1914, No. 66.

BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE FORTY-FIRST CONFERENCE

Friday, May 8, 1914, 10 P. M.

At the direction of the president, announcement was made by the general secretary of the appointment of the following business committees of the 1914 Conference:

Committee on Organization—Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago (Chairman); Miss Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Miss Grace Trumbull, San Francisco; M. J. Tappins, Madison; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle; Dr. Frank P. Norbury, Springfield, Ill.; Byron Deacon, Pittsburgh; Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, New York; Miss Daisy Denson, Raleigh; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, New York; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago. (The membership of this committee was later modified by the substitution of Superintendent A. J. Hutton, of Wisconsin, in place of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise).

Committee on Nomination—James Mullenbach, Chicago (Chairman); Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston; Robert W. Hebberd, Albany; Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago; Maurice Willows, New York; Aretas E. Kepford, Des Moines; Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul; Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans. (The membership of this committee was later modified by the substitution of Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of Washington, D. C., in place of Sherman C. Kingsley, James O. White, of Cincinnati, in place of Mrs. Eva Whiting White, and Jeffrey R. Brackett, of Boston, in place of Maurice Willows).

Committee on Resolutions—A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C.; Miss Adah Hopkins, Grinnell, Ia.; George B. Robinson, New York. (The membership of this committee was later changed by the substitution of James F. Jackson, of Cleveland, in place of George B. Robinson).

Committee on Time and Place—Judge George S. Addams, Cleveland (Chairman); Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Miss Harriet E. Anderson, Louisville; Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis; Miss Kate Barnard, Oklahoma; William Thomas, Denver; Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago; J. T. Mastin, Richmond; C. L. Stonaker, Newark; George B. Mangold, St. Louis; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; Dr. John R. Haynes, Los Angeles; Prof. John M. Gillette, University, N. D.; Robert J. Newton, Austin, Tex.; V. R. Manning, Portland, Ore.; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia.

Saturday, May 9, 1914, 2 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by President Taylor, who announced that all resolutions presented should be in writing, and after being read would be referred without debate to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, submitted, on behalf of herself, Miss Jane Addams, Miss Lillian Wald, and several others not present,

a resolution urging the Conference to declare in favor of the abolition of capital punishment.

Mr. Louis H. Levin, Baltimore, on behalf of the National Association of Jewish Workers, presented a plan of a retirement fund for social workers, and spoke at length on its merits.

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, asked the Conference to pass a resolution in favor of the Palmer-Owen bill relating to child labor.

President Taylor spoke of the correlation of the National Conference and the related organizations that hold their meetings at the same time and place, and asked for suggestions. He announced that he would call a meeting of the presidents of these organizations to confer in the matter.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart, New York, having been called to the chair during a series of reports from states, presided during the remainder of the business session.

Several suggestions as to change of name of the National Conference were informally made.

Judge George S. Addams, Cleveland, presented the following report of the Committee on Time and Place, which, on motion, was adopted:

Invitations to the Conference have been received from Chicago, St. Paul, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Toledo, New York, Buffalo, Denver, Atlantic City, Baltimore, San Francisco and Oakland.

After full consideration the Committee recommends that the place of the forty-second Conference be Baltimore, Md., and the time as selected by the Executive Committee of the Conference.

(Signed) GEORGE S. ADDAMS, Chairman.

Meeting adjourned.

Tuesday, May 12, 1914, 12 M.

President Taylor called the attention of the audience to the fact that resolutions were to be presented without debate—read and then, under the rules, referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh, New York, read a resolution relating to taxation, which was referred by the president to the Committee on Resolutions, to report on Thursday.

Mr. Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J., presented a resolution relating to the dates of state conferences.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C., read a resolution presented verbally on May 9 by Mrs. Florence Kelley and others, urging the Conference to indorse the movement for the abolition of capital punishment; also one for the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis in the advocacy of peace and relating to the present Mexican situation. These were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The general secretary read resolutions presented by the Executive Committee relating to the appointment by the general secretary of

state corresponding secretaries, instead of their election by the Conference. He explained that as a matter of fact this had been the custom and urged it as a matter of expediency, and moved the adoption of the resolution. It was moved and seconded that the report of the Executive Committee be accepted and the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Carried.

Mr. J. M. Hanson, Youngstown, Ohio, presented a resolution relating to the suppression of the liquor traffic, which was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Dr. McKelway read two resolutions relating to a retirement fund for social workers and to the change of name of the National Conference to the "American Federation of Social Betterment Agencies". These were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Richard M. Neustadt, New York, presented a resolution urging the indorsement of the plan of caring for dependent children in their own or foster homes. This was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. James Mullenbach, Chicago, submitted the following report of the Committee on Nomination, and moved the adoption of the first part containing nominations for officers for the ensuing year. The first part of the report consisted of names of officers, contained in list on page 502 of these Proceedings. The second part was as follows:

Whereas, a sentiment exists that not sufficient opportunity is afforded for individual choice in the selection of officers of the Conference, the Committee on Nominations begs to submit the following recommendations:

1. The Committee on Nominations shall be appointed as at present.
2. The Committee shall present not later than the third day before the close of the Conference, three nominees for the office of President.
3. These nominees shall be submitted to a vote by the members of the Conference—the candidate receiving a plurality of the votes to be declared elected.
4. The Committee on Nominations shall have charge of the polls, shall keep the polls open on a designated day from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m., shall prescribe such regulations as may seem necessary, shall count the ballots, and shall announce the result in accordance therewith.
5. The balance of the ticket shall be submitted by the Committee as now, after the result of the election of President is declared.
6. This plan shall become operative in 1915.

(Signed) JAMES MULLENBACH, Chairman.
" CHAS. C. STILLMAN, Secretary."

Motion seconded, and carried by a rising vote.

Mr. Mullenbach asked for a ruling as to the possibility of discussion by the Conference of the second part of the report.

President Taylor ruled that the Conference had the right to adopt and discuss a report of one of its committees.

Moved and seconded that this matter be made the special order of business for a meeting to be held Thursday. Carried.

President Taylor announced a special business meeting of the Conference to be held Thursday, May 14, at 12 o'clock.

Thursday, May 14, 1914, 12 M.

The meeting was called to order by President Taylor, who at once asked for the report of the Committee on Organization.

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, read the report of the Committee on Organization (reproduced as list of committees and subjects on pages 502-4 of these Proceedings).

Moved and seconded that the report be accepted. Carried.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, Washington, D. C., read the following report of the Committee on Resolutions, and moved the adoption of the report. The motion was seconded and carried.

There have been referred to your committee a number of resolutions, which have already been read to the Conference.

1. A resolution urging that the state conferences of charities and correction fix the time for their meetings in a series, so as to afford opportunity for those who may wish to present matters of importance to several such conferences. It is recommended that the state conferences be urged through correspondence with the general secretary to arrange their time for meetings so as not to conflict with each other, and that the general secretary be instructed to keep in touch with all the state conferences, with this end in view.

2. A resolution proposing that the Rules of Procedure be so amended as to provide for the appointment of state corresponding secretaries by the general secretary. This amendment being already indorsed by the executive committee, is recommended for adoption by the Conference.

3. A resolution from the committee on Nominations recommending that the Conference shall hereafter select its president by ballot from a list of three names to be presented by the committee on Nominations; also a recommendation suggesting a change of name for the Conference. These resolutions require the amendment of the Rules of Procedure, and have, therefore, been referred to the executive committee without recommendation.

4. A resolution urging the appointment of a committee on economic reform; and one suggesting the appointing of a committee to consider and report a plan for the creation of a retirement fund for social workers. These resolutions have been referred to the committee on Organization.

5. The remaining resolutions urge the committing of the Conference by resolutions (a) to the abolition of capital punishment, (b) to the indorsement of the Palmer-Owen bill for the federal regulation of child labor, (c) to a protest against war with Mexico, (d) to the indorsement of the plan of caring for dependent children in their own or foster homes, (e) to the initiative and referendum with home rule for cities, (f) to the recovery by the government of the ground rent of the country, (g) to the nation-wide suppression of the traffic in alcoholic beverages.

With regard to all these resolutions your committee begs leave to recall the definition of the functions of this Conference contained in the preamble to its Rules of Procedure: "The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reform. *It does not formulate platforms.*"

Two of the resolutions referred to are, according to their preamble, mutually exclusive. Both refer all the abuses which this Conference seeks to abolish to widely different causes, one a moral, the other an economic cause. Either remedy for all human ills may be the correct one. Both cannot be. A third resolution contends that all our social abuses are aggravated by fundamental evil. Your committee not only holds that it is inhibited from formulating platforms, but that this is a wise provision of our Rules of Procedure, in order to maintain here a free and open forum. People are more readily convinced and are more willing to maintain an open mind when they do not feel that they must commit themselves by resolutions and platforms. We believe that through these meetings for free discussion, which would be necessarily limited if resolutions must follow debate, this National Conference of Charities and Correction shall stand as it always has stood the "enemy of the last abuse and the advocate of the next reform". Your committee, therefore, begs leave to report that concerning these questions, to quote from a congressional formula, "it has come to no resolution thereon".

Your committee begs leave to report the following resolutions: That the thanks of the Conference are hereby extended to the citizens of Memphis for their entertainment of the Conference; to the local committee for the admirable arrangements made for the business of the Conference; to the manager of the Orpheum Theater and the officials of churches and clubs for the use of their auditoriums; to the newspapers for the reports of the proceedings; to the railroads for the reduced rates they gave for attendance upon the Conference; and to public officials and private citizens for courtesies and hospitalities too numerous to mention. The Conference has noted with gratification the great advance made in social service here during the last few years; the establishment of the Juvenile Court and its equipment; the work of th Associated Charities and the splendid co-operation between the association and the city government; the provision made for recreation in playgrounds and parks. We rejoice that the citizens of Memphis, with the great material prosperity of the city, have been turning their attention to the work of human welfare and the rectification of old abuses, and we trust that the great work of social reform to be accomplished here as elsewhere may be speedily carried forward, and that the discussions of this Conference and the criticisms of existing evils may in some measure aid in the desired consummation.

(Signed) A. J. McKELWAY, Chairman.

Mr. Robert W. Hebberd, New York, presented a resolution in favor of discontinuing the practice of accepting a sum of money from the Conference city. This was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The General Secretary read from the minutes of the Executive Committee its action with regard to resolutions referred to it by the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

In conformity with action taken by the Executive Committee of the National Conference, the Conference is asked to modify the section of the Rules of Procedure, entitled "Officers," to read as follows:

"The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more assistant secretaries, a Treasurer and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference, with the exception of the State Corresponding Secretaries, who shall be appointed by the General Secretary."

And the Conference is likewise requested to modify the fourth para-

graph under the Rules of Procedure, entitled "Committees," to read as follows:

"The President, soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of nine on nomination. This committee shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice-President, the elective members of the Executive Committee, the Secretaries and the Treasurer."

The Committee on Resolutions, through its Chairman, Mr. McKelway, referred to the Executive Committee the resolution originally presented to the National Conference by the Committee on Nominations, relating to change in method of selecting the President of the Conference.

A motion prevailed to report the resolution respecting change of procedure in electing the President back to the Conference with the recommendation that it be not adopted, and with an explanation to be prepared beforehand in writing stating the reasons for which the resolution was reported upon unfavorably.

The General Secretary also announced that the resolution on the change of name had been referred to a special committee on Change of Name appointed by the Executive Committee.

Dr. McKelway, on behalf of the Executive Committee, made a detailed explanation of its action regarding the resolution to change procedure in election of president, as follows:

The executive committee has carefully considered the amendment suggested by the Committee on Nominations and makes the following report upon its recommendations:

1. In the first place, if it is desired to incorporate into our proceedings the principles of democratic popular government, this proposed amendment does not go far enough. Why should the members of the Conference be confined in their choice of three names selected for them by the Nominating Committee? Under the present plan any member of the Conference may nominate any other member for president from the floor, and a majority favoring such a nomination can always elect. Further, the president alone is to be elected by the proposed amendment, while the Nominating Committee, which is not elected but appointed, could under the proposed method always control the election by suggesting one popular and two unpopular names. The Organization Committee, which has the important task of selecting the committees and the topics for the following conference, is likewise appointive.

2. The proposed amendment is based upon the theory that this Conference is a governmental body with legislative or executive functions, and that therefore the modern principles of popular government should apply. But this body is a conference, and as such has existed for forty-one years; its authority is derived only from the truth of the principles here advocated in discussion and debate. It is an informal gathering of people with many differences, political, sectional, religious and economic, but devoted to human welfare. The single qualification for membership is the payment of a fee of $2.50.

3. The proposed amendment would introduce into this informal body the methods of a political organization. No member of the Conference, unless backed by a powerful and numerous group, could ever be elected president. A single state delegation would often have a plurality vote itself, and this would inevitably result in appeals to state pride, to sectional feeling, to religious preference, or to political affiliations. The time of the members of the Conference would be taken up with the discussion of persons rather than the themes of human welfare, and be distracted from the main business of the Conference itself. Any ambitious

city desiring to obtain the honor of presidency for itself could easily win the election by securing a few hundred local memberships.

4. And if it be argued that this is but the opening wedge for the application of the principles of popular government to a Conference concerned with human welfare, we are led to a still more absurd conclusion. If the members of the Conference should vote upon the election of a president they should also vote for all of the officials and committees, and the business sesions, which are now subordinated and take but little time, would become the main concern of the Conference. Time would be wasted in balloting and roll calls which is now devoted to papers and addresses. It takes an hour for a roll call in the Congress of the United States with half of the present membership of this body as now constituted, and the House is about to install an electrical apparatus which will enable the members to save time by simultaneously pushing buttons and recording their votes.

5. The only way to secure the recognition of the Conference heretofore has been by attending its meetings from beginning to end regularly and faithfully, taking part in its proceedings, laboring on its committes and working for the good of the Conference with devotion to its interests and without self-seeking. We contend that this is still the better way.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

(Signed) A. J. McKELWAY.

Moved and seconded that the report of the Executive Committee be received.

After discussion it was moved and seconded that the Conference adjourn to the afternoon at 2:30.

Meeting adjourned.

Thursday, May 14, 1914, 2:30 P. M.

President Taylor opened the meeting by announcing that the question before the house was that of the adoption of the report of the Executive Committee on resolutions providing that the Committee on Nomination submit three nominees for President of the Conference.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, read a substitute proposition, as follows:

Resolved, That the Nominating Committee is hereby instructed to adopt such means as it may in its judgment deem wise and practicable to take into its counsels the whole membership of the Conference in presenting nominations for officers and members of the Executive Committee; and further, that the members of the Nominating Committee be appointed within sixty days, in order to consider fully all suggestions looking to putting this principle into effect.

Moved and seconded that the report of the Executive Committee on the resolutions of the Committee on Nomination be accepted. Carried.

Mr. Baldwin moved the adoption of the proposition submitted by him.

After discussion Mr. Baldwin again moved the adoption of his proposition. It was seconded, and President Taylor announced that the matter would go to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Baldwin then read a second proposition in the form of a motion, as follows:

That a special committee be appointed by the president to bring in a report at the 1915 meeting, suggesting such amendment of the by-laws as may be necessary to put into effect the principle of full participation of the membership in nominating the officers of the Conference.

The motion was seconded and carried.

After further discussion the meeting was adjourned.

Thursday, May 14, 1914, 10 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by President Taylor, who asked at once for the report of the Executive Committee on the resolution presented by Mr. Baldwin at the afternoon meeting.

The general secretary read the original motion and then from the minutes of the Executive Committee, as follows:

The resolution submitted was: "Be it Resolved, That the Nominating Committee is hereby instructed to adopt such means, as it may in its judgment deem wise and practicable, to take into its counsels the whole membership of the Conference in presenting nominations for officers and members of the Executive Committee; and, further, that the members of the Nominating Committee be appointed within sixty days, in order to consider fully all suggestions, putting this principle into effect."

On motion duly made, seconded and carried, it was resolved that the Executive Committee recommend to the Conference that the Rules of Procedure be amended in respect to section relating to "Committees" as printed in the 1913 Proceedings to read as follows:

COMMITTEES.

"The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, and all ex-presidents, ex-officio, and ten members who shall be selected as follows: Five each year for a term of two years.

The President, not later than three months after the closing of the Conference, shall appoint:

A committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference whose duties shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairman, vice-chairman and some members of the committee;

A committee of nine on Nomination, who shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice-Presidents, the elective members of the Executive Committee, the Secretaries and the Treasurer;

A committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate;

A committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the organization of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities desiring to present such invitations. The

Committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon, of the day following. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, unless otherwise ordered, provided, that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and, provided further, that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

The President shall fill promptly any vacancies occurring in these committees, and the Secretary shall publish the names of these committees continuously in the Bulletin, together with an invitation to all members of the Conference to submit to these committees suggestions that are pertinent to the work of these committees."

It was moved and seconded that the report be accepted and adopted. The motion was carried.

Mr. Baldwin moved that it is the sense of the meeting that the president be requested to instruct the Nominating Committee for the 1915 Conference to adopt such means as might secure the fullest possible co-operation of the whole membership in the selection of officers next year. The motion was seconded, and without further remarks, carried.

President Taylor called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Dr. McKelway read a resolution presented by Mr. R. W. Hebberd, relating to methods of financing the Conference, including advocacy of abolishing the requirement of a donation from the Conference city. and the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

"The Committee on Resolutions reports that, in their judgment, this should not be adopted."

Moved that the report be accepted. Seconded.

Moved that the report be not accepted, and the resolution be adopted. The second motion was seconded.

After discussion the motion that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be accepted was carried.

The meeting adjourned.

(Signed)

GRAHAM TAYLOR, President.
W. T. CROSS, General Secretary.

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be $2.50, and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this Conference at the rate of one member for each $2.50 paid.

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference, with the exception of the State Corresponding Secretaries, who shall be appointed by the General Secretary.

Committees

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, and all ex-presidents, ex-officio, and ten members who shall be selected as follows: five each year for a term of two years.

The President, not later than three months after the closing of the Conference, shall appoint:

A committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference, whose duties shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairman, vice-chairman and some members of the committee;

A committee of nine on Nomination, who shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice Presidents, the Elective Members of the Executive Committee, the Secretaries and the Treasurer;

A committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate;

A committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the organization of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon, of the day following. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, unless otherwise ordered, pro-

vided that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and, provided further, that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

The President shall fill promptly any vacancies occurring in these committees, and the Secretary shall publish the names of these committees continuously in the Bulletin, together with an invitation to all members of the Conference to submit to these committees suggestions that are pertinent to the work of these committees.

Duties of Officers

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the First Vice-President, and he in like manner by the Second or Third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The retiring President of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a Publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

The Duties of Committees

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a quorum, provided, that, when the Conference is not in session, three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the Chairman of each standing committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adoption, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

Section Meetings

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program.

Debates

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Kindred Organizations

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of the next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

Amendments

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1914

Officers

President—Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.

First Vice-President—Dr. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta, Ga.; Second Vice-President, Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City; Third Vice-President, W. Almont Gates, San Francisco, Cal.

General Secretary—William T. Cross, Chicago, Ill.

Assistant Secretaries—William P. Capes, New York City; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; Lewis Meriam, Washington, D. C.; John M. Tuther, Memphis, Tenn.; Miss Katherine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; W. H. Winans, Cleveland, O.

Executive Committee—The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles R. Henderson, Illinois (1899); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., Minnesota (1905); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C., (1912); Frank Tucker, New York (1913). In addition, the president and first vice-president as named above, and the following: Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.; J. A. Riechman, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. John A. Ryan, St. Paul, Minn.; James O. White, Cincinnati, O.; Miss Maude E. Miner, New York City; Miss Mary E. Richmond, New York City; Rabbi W. S. Friedman, Denver, Colo.; Edmond J. Butler, New York City; Richard Hayter, Seattle, Wash.

Also, standing, or program, committees, as follows:

The Family and the Community.

Chairman—Eugene T. Lies, Chicago, Ill.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. Kenyon R. Butterfield, Amherst, Mass.

Members—M. A. Auerbach, Little Rock, Ark.; William H. McGrath, Birmingham, Ala.; Louis H. Levin, Baltimore, Md.; R. M. Little, Philadelphia, Pa.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Beverly B. Mumford, Richmond, Va.; Monsignor D. J. McMahon, New York City; William H. Matthews, New York City; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati, O.; W. Frank Persons, New York City; Miss Mary R. Vose, Topeka, Kas.

Neighborhood Development.

Chairman—Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago, Ill.

Vice-Chairman—Allen T. Burns, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Members—Miss Charlotte Rumbold, St. Louis, Mo.; Edward B. DeGroot, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Anita Whitney, Oakland, Cal.; Miss Elizabeth B. Neufeld, Toronto, Ont.; John Collier, New York City; H. S. Braucher, New York City; J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn.; Austin E. Griffiths, Seattle, Wash.; Miss Elizabeth Cocke, Richmond, Va.

Children.

Chairman—Miss Mary Vida Clark, New York City.

Vice-Chairman—Marcus C. Flagg, Jacksonville, Fla.

Members—Ralph S. Barrow, Birmingham, Ala.; Edmond J. Butler, New York City; Meigs V. Crouse, Cincinnati, O.; Bernard Flexner, Louisville, Ky.; Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Denver, Colo.; Miss Theresa McCarthy, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; R. R. Reeder, Hastings, N. Y.; Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. J. M. McCormack, Memphis, Tenn.; Father Peter Crumly, Memphis, Tenn.; Miss Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, O.; Prof. C. S. Potts, Austin, Texas; Pres. Bruce Payne, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Charles Spencer, Birmingham, Ala.; Judge J. William Latimer, Washington, D. C.; William J. Doherty, New York City; W. S. Reynolds, Chicago, Ill.; C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass.

Standards of Living and Labor (Including Social Insurance).

Chairman—Dr. Charles P. Neill, New York City.

Members—Prof. Henry R. Seager, New York City; Prof. Edward T. Devine, New York City; Miles M. Dawson, New York City; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City; Paul U. Kellogg, New York City; Prof. Charles R. Henderson, Chicago, Ill.; Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Chicago, Ill.; John Mitchell, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; Rev. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta, Ga.

Social Hygiene.

Chairman—Miss Maude E. Miner, New York City.

Vice-Chairman—Very Rev. Walter T. Sumner, Chicago, Ill.

Members—Dr. Howard A. Kelly, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Katherine B. Davis, Bedford, N. Y.; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.; Miss Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, Hoboken, N. J.; Mrs. Anna Garlin, Sponcer, Meadville, Pa.; Francis Bacon, Norfolk, Va.; Mrs. Frances F. Morse, Sauk Center, Minn.; Dr. William F. Snow, New York City; Abraham Flexner, New York City; Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Mary O'Brien Porter, Chicago, Ill.; James B. Reynolds, New York City; Mrs. Mary Willcox Glenn, New York City; George Kneeland, New York City; Mrs. Henry Seligman, New York City; Hon. William McAdoo, New York City; Hon. Harry Olsen, Chicago, Ill.; Pres. W. T. Foster, Portland, Ore.

Corrections.

Chairman—Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.

Vice-Chairman—Major R. W. McClaughry, Pontiac, Ill.

Members—Judge Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Arthur W. Towne, Albany, N. Y.; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo, N. Y.; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago, Ill.; E. Stagg Whitin, New York City; Miss Kate Barnard, Oklahoma, Okla.; Judge Quincy A. Myers, Indianapolis, Ind.; Judge W. H. Thomas, Montgomery, Ala.; Prof. C. H. Brough, Fayetteville, Ark.; W. H. Moyer, Atlanta, Ga.; Judge A. J. G. Wells, Frankfort, Ky.; F. S. Shields, New Orleans, La.; Dr. J. C. Guthings, Parchman, Miss.; Judge J. A. McCullough, Greenville, S. C.; John H. Dewitt, Nashville, Tenn.; F. C. Weinert, Austin, Texas; Maj. J. B. Wood, Richmond, Va.; Rev. B. M. Spurr, Moundsville, W. Va.; T. P. Sale, Raleigh, N. C.

Health.

Chairman—Dr. Ennion G. Williams, Richmond, Va.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. Thomas S. Cullen, Baltimore, Md.

Members—Surgeon Gen. Rupert Blue, Washington, D. C.; Dr. O. N. Hurty, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. E. C. Levy, Richmond, Va.; Dr. Charles

V. Chapin, Providence, R. I.; Prof. C. E. A. Winslow, New York City; Mrs. S. S. Crockett, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Livingston Farrand, New York City; Alexander M. Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Homer Folks, New York City.

Public Charities.

Chairman—David F. Tilley, Boston, Mass.

Vice-Chairman—Le Roy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.

Members—Fred R. Johnson, Boston, Mass.; Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.; Bromley Wharton, Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Katherine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; William T. Cross, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant, Los Angeles, Cal.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kas.; Miss Daisy Denson, Raleigh, N. C.; W. E. Brooks, Topeka, Kas.

Defectives.

Chairman—Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. W. A. Fernald, Waverly, Mass.

Members—Warden J. T. Gilmour, Toronto, Ont.; Everett S. Ellwood, New York City; Dr. P. D. McMillan, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. William H. Healy, Chicago, Ill.; Clifford W. Beers, New York City; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. L. T. Royster, Norfolk, Va.; Dr. Madeleine A. Hallowell, Vineland, N. J.; J. T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.; Stanley H. Howe, Philadelphia, Pa.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1915

Corrected to date, November 1, 1914.

Officers

President, Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City.

First Vice President, Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., St. Paul, Minn.; Second Vice President, Frank J. Sessions, Davenport, Ia.; Third Vice President, James T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.

General Secretary and Treasurer, William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.

Assistant Secretaries: Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.; Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland, O.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; E. J. Milne, Salt Lake City, Utah; Stuart A. Queen, San Francisco, Cal.; Nathaniel T. Grasty, Baltimore, Md.; J. J. O'Connor, Minneapolis, Minn.; Miss Louise F. Price, Richmond, Va.; Miss Margaret F. Byington, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Oscar Leonard, St. Louis, Mo.; Miss Jenny Mandel, Chicago, Ill.; William P. Capes, New York City.

Executive Committee: The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles R. Henderson, Illinois (1899); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., Minnesota (1905); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C., (1912); Frank Tucker, New York (1913); Graham Taylor, Illinois (1914). In addition, the President and First V.-P., as named above, and the following: Hon. Harvey H. Baker, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph, Mo.; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, Ky.; J. A. Riechman, Memphis, Tenn.; Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., St. Paul, Minn.; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; James O. White, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Also standing, or program, committees, as follows:

Children

Chairman, C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.

Other members: J. B. Montgomery, Coldwater, Mich.; Miss Katherine A. Gallagher, Canton, Ill.; George L. Jones, Baltimore, Md.; John L. Green, Jackson, Miss.; E. M. Williams, Cleveland, O.; Samuel McClintock Hamill, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. R. R. Reeder, Hastings, N. Y.; Miss Mabel Hutzler, Baltimore, Md.; James E. Fee, Boston, Mass.; L. J. Covington, Seattle, Wash.; J. A. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. Frances Sage Bradley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H.; Mrs. Thomas H. Ryan, Seattle, Wash.; Edmond J. Butler, New York City.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Program for child care (state, county, city); (b) Relation of public and private agencies in child care; (c) Social and health responsibilities of the school.

Corrections

Chairman, Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.

Other members: Guy C. Hanna, Plainfield, Ind.; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago, Ill.; Judge Wm. H. DeLacy, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Winans, Cleveland, Ohio; John H. DeWitt, Nashville, Tenn.; W. H. Whittaker, Occoquan, Va.; G. Lombardi, Dallas, Texas; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Ia.; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Prof. Calvin C. Derrick, Ione, Cal.; Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn, N. Y.; Cleon B. Roe, Monroe, Wash.; Eli Frank, Baltimore, Md.; Joseph P. Byers, Trenton, N. J.; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. P. J. Toomey, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Toronto, Ont.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Employment of prisoners; (b) Compensation of prisoners and their families; (c) Indeterminate sentence and parole; (d) Penal farms, vagrancy.

Education for Social Work

Chairman, Porter R. Lee, New York City.

Vice Chairman: Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Mo.; C. W. Williams, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago, Ill.; Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.; Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; Dr. George Thomas Palmer, Springfield, Ill.; Boris D. Bogen, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, Boston, Mass.; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston, Mass.; Miss Nannie J. Minor, Richmond, Va.; James E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Jessica B. Piexotto, Berkeley, Cal.; Miss Kate McMahon, Boston, Mass.; William O. Easton, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Frank A. Manny, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. James E. Hagerty, Columbus, Ohio.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Training the professional; (b) Training the volunteer; (c) Training the community; (d) Social Research and Survey.

The Family and the Community

Chairman, Riley M. Little, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice Chairman: Miss Amelia Sears, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: William H. Pear, Boston, Mass.; Miss Katherine C. Felton, San Francisco, Cal.; Gertrude Valle, Denver, Colo.; Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago, Ill.; Charles M. Hubbard, St. Louis, Mo.; Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul, Minn.; James L. Fieser, Columbus, Ohio; Miss Helen Glenn, Philadelphia, Pa.; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland, Ohio; Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington, D. C.; Robert Biggs, Baltimore, Md.; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago, Ill.; Leroy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; Louis H. Levin, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Helen B. Pendleton, Savannah, Ga.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Interrelations of case workers in family treatment; (b) Unemployment; (c) Inebriety.

Health

Chairman, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman: Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Indianapolis, Ind.

Other members: Dr. A. R. Warner, Cleveland, Ohio; C. Eugene McGillicuddy, Worcester, Mass.; Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Livingston Farrand, Boulder, Colo.; Dr. John S. Fulton, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Fred T. Murphy, St. Louis, Mo.; Miss Isabel Strong, Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary S. Gardner, Providence, R. I.; Miss Katherine Tucker, New York City; Miss Alice S. Griffith, San Francisco, Cal.; Mrs. K. H. Schulken, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Elizabeth C. Kane, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. Lawrence Flick, Philadelphia, Pa.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Medical and social relations; (b) Social responsibility of the hospital.

Public and Private Charities

Chairman, George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. Charles R. Henderson, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.; Alexander M. Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. A. McCormick, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. F. H. Gavisk, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.; Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City, Mo.; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Boston, Mass.; William J. Ahern, Concord, N. H.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. J. A. Reed, Seattle, Wash.; Oscar K. Cushing, San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Katherine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; Miss Daisy Denson, Raleigh, N. C.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kas.; Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury, Conn.; Marl T. Murray, Lansing, Mich.; A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Chartering and supervision; (b) State subsidies; (c) Outdoor relief; (d) Relationship of public and private charities.

Social Hygiene

Chairman, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. William F. Snow, New York City.

Other members: Dr. William T. Foster, Portland, Ore.; James B. Reynolds, New York City; Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Dallas, Tex.; Miss Maude E. Miner, New York City; Dr. Donald R. Hooker, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Walter T. Summer, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Katherine B. Davis, New York City; Dr. Francis Hollingshead, Cincinnati, O.; Orin C. Baker, New York City; Miss Linda Neville, Lexington, Ky.

Social Legislation

Chairman, Prof. H. R. Seager, New York City.

Vice-Chairman: John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.

Other members: Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo.; Frederick L. Hoffman, Newark, N. J.; John B. Andrews, New York City; Louis D. Brandeis, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City; Rev. Harry F. Ward, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, Portland, Ore.; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York City; Alexander Johnson, Vineland, N. J.; James Mullenbach, Oak Forest, Ill.; John Mitchell, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; John H. Ferguson, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Dr. Royal Meeker, Washington, D. C.; Prof. George E. Barnett, Baltimore, Md.; James Jenkins, Jr., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Taxation reform as it relates to congestion and poverty; (b) Social insurance.

State Care of Insane, Feebleminded and Epileptic

Chairman, Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Waverly, Mass.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. W. C. Van Nuys, New Castle, Ind.

Other members: Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. W. F. Drewry, Petersburg, Va.; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; Dr. J. H. Fox, Jackson, Miss.; Dr. A. C. Rogers, Faribault, Minn.; H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. E. E. Southard, Cambridge, Mass.; Miss Edith N. Burleigh, Cambridge, Mass.; Daniel B. Murphy, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Owen Copp, Philadelphia, Pa.

Suggested subject matter: (a) Defective delinquent; (b) Institutional care and treatment.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

dmin.	Administration,-ive	Descr.	Description,-s,-ive,--ibed.	Org.	Organized,-ation,-s.
gr.	Agriculture,-al.	Disc.	Discussion,-ed.	Pop.	Population.
ssn.	Association.	Educ.	Educate,-d,-ion.	Prev.	Prevent,-ion,-ing.
hil.	Child,-ren,-'s.	Gen.	General.	Pris.	Prison,-s,-er,-ers.
har.	Charity,-ies,-able.	Govt.	Goverment,-al.	Prob.	Probation.
om.	Committee.	Imgt.	Immigration,-nts.	Pub.	Public,-ity.
omn.	Commission,-s.	Indus.	Industrial,-y.	Ref.	Reference.
onf.	Conference,-s.	Inst.	Institution,-s,-al.	Refor.	Reform,-atory.
or.	Correction,-s,-al.	Introd.	Introduction,-ory.	Reg.	Regulate,-ion,-s,-ing
rit.	Criticized,-ism.	Investg.	Investigate,-d,-ion.	Rehab.	Rehabilitation.
efec.	Defective,-s,-ness.	Legis.	Legislator,-s,-ive,--ure,-ion.	Rep.	Report,-ed,-ing.
elinq.	Delinquent,-cy.	Memb.	Member,-s,-ship.	Quot.	Quoted,-ation.
ep.	Dependent,-cy.			Sec.	Section,-s.
ept.	Department.			Soc.	Society,-al.
				Superv.	Supervisor,-s,-ion.

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EXPLANATION

Names of states, etc., the usual postoffice abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S. Phrases in *Italics* signify titles of papers. Author's name follows title.

The Index contains the names of all speakers at the Memphis meeting and of all persons to whom important reference is made or who are quoted. The Index does not contain reference by name to officers and members of committees, nor to speakers whose words are not published. These may be found by reference under the words "committee" and "officers."

The Index contains references to all geographical divisions to which important reference is made, except where series of data or statistics are given, with many references to cities or states. In such cases the material is usually classified under "statistics." The Index does not contain references to social developments in the various states usually known as the *Reports from States*. For the year 1914 this material is contained in Bulletin 66, issued by the Conference, carefully classified and indexed.

Papers, addresses and reports will be found not by reference to their exact titles, but under the general subjects to which they most nearly relate. The Index is intended to include all the more important subject references in the volume.

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